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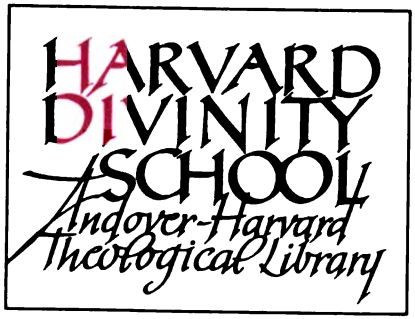

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Anecdota Oxoniensia

THE

Churches and Monasteries of Egypt

AND

Some Neighbouring Countries

ATTRIBUTED TO

ABÛ ṢÂLIḤ, THE ARMENIAN

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

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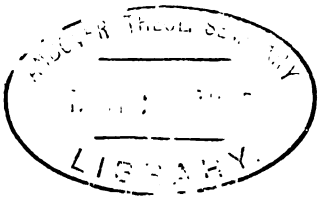

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PREFACE.

THE History attributed to Abû Ṣâliḥ the Armenian is here edited for the first time, by the kind permission of the Minister of Public Instruction and of the Administrator of the National Library in Paris, from the unique MS. purchased by Vansleb in Egypt in the seventeenth century, and now preserved in that Institution. The present edition is based upon a copy made by the editor from the original, which he afterwards had the advantage of comparing with another copy most liberally placed at his disposal by M. l'Abbé Hyvernat, together with the results of a collation by Professor Ignazio Guidi. To these eminent scholars, therefore, the editor begs to express his deepest gratitude. Professor Margoliouth has also had the goodness to look through both the copy of the text and the translation, and to elucidate many points of difficulty. Mr. Alfred Butler, whose book on the *Coptic Churches* forms the only work of importance existing on that subject, has generously consented to aid in the interpretation of an obscure author by his knowledge of Coptic history and archaeology; and his contributions to the work are by no means limited to the notes which bear his initials. The system adopted in the transcription of Arabic names is similar to that used in Mr. Butler's *Coptic Churches*. It does not pretend to be perfect,

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and among other defects does not express the ل of the article before the 'solar letters,' or the shortening of the long final vowel in ابو and other words before the article, or the Hamzah except in the middle of a word; nor are the *nuances* in the pronunciation of the vowels indicated; but perhaps no other system is preferable to this. The vocalization of the Arabic forms of names of places is, where possible, that of Yâḳût, as being in use at the time of our author.

In the transcription of the text the original has been closely followed, the diacritical points alone being added where they were wanting. Some of the deviations, however, from classical orthography and grammar are indicated by foot-notes on the first few pages of the text.

The existence of the work has long been known to scholars through the references made to 'Abu Selah,' and the passages quoted from him by Eusèbe Renaudot and Étienne Quatremère. Recently also, M. Amélineau, in his *Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, has made some little use of the history of Abû Ṣâliḥ, although he has by no means extracted all the information which the book affords on the subject of Egyptian geography.

M. Amélineau seems to be fully aware of the value of the work of Abû Ṣâliḥ, at least in certain portions. On the other hand, he seems to have an exaggerated idea of the difficulties presented by the MS. 'It is very badly written in point of language,' he says, 'and most of the diacritical points are wanting; yet I have translated 'the whole of it, in spite of the difficulties which it presents. I believe 'that the MS. is incomplete in several parts, and has been badly 'bound together. The possessor of the MS. has erased the Coptic 'numerical figures at the top of each leaf, in order, no doubt, that 'the absence of part of the MS. might escape notice. Nevertheless, 'the figures are still visible, and enable me to conclude that a con-

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'siderable part of the MS. is wanting, and that the leaves are not 'arranged in their proper order. Moreover, it is often impossible to 'translate, because the sense cannot be completed.'

The French scholar here seems to overstate the case. From an examination of the MS. made by the authorities of the National Library, the editor is able to say that, while it is true that no less than twenty-two leaves are wanting at the beginning of the book, the rest of the leaves are bound in their proper order, according to the Coptic ciphers, which are still visible, as M. Amélineau states; with the single exception of the leaf which formed the thirtieth folio of the MS. in its original state, but which is now wanting. The reader, therefore, will understand that there is a lacuna between fol. 8, according to the new or Arabic pagination, and fol. 9, which bears in the MS. the Coptic number 31; and that the words at the beginning of fol. 9, 'This revenue,' &c., do not refer to the preceding estimate of the revenues of Egypt. The owner of the MS. seems to have supplied the first folio himself, and to have given a new pagination in Arabic figures to the remaining portion of the original book, so that folio 23 became folio 2, and so on. It should be added that the Coptic figures are wanting on fol. 38, which formed fol. 60 of the complete MS., and also on the last two folios.

The word زيجة on fol. 12a is translated as 'Extreme Unction,' a meaning which the word bears at least in Africa. In late Arabic, however, زيجة is also a *nomen verbi* of زاج, and signifies 'to marry' or 'marriage,' so that our author may perhaps here refer to a practice of marrying within the prohibited degrees then existing among the Copts.

The statements of the Coptic *Synaxarium*, occasionally quoted in the notes to the present edition of Abû Ṣâliḥ, are not guaranteed as being always historically accurate. For instance, the Emperor Diocletian is usually represented, without reference to his colleagues in

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the empire, as himself carrying on the persecution which goes by his name, although in reality he abdicated two years after the promulgation of the edict which sanctioned and originated it: and, to take another example, St. Theodore is called 'magister militum,' although this office was not instituted until the reign of Constantine. Nevertheless valuable traditions of early Church history, and in particular of the great persecution itself, are embodied both in the *Synaxarium* and in the Coptic *Acts of the Martyrs*, on which it is partly founded.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE sole indication which we possess of the name of our author is to be found in the title inscribed on the first page of the MS. This title, however, was supplied, as it has already been said, by a later hand; and it is, moreover, obviously incomplete. No name is there given to the work, beyond the meagre designation of 'chronicle' or 'history;' and this is so contrary to the rule of Arabic literature that it is enough by itself to prove that the original title had been lost. The author is designated by his praenomen only, as 'Abû Ṣâliḥ the Armenian.' It is a recognized fact in Arabic orthography that the proper name Ṣâliḥ (صالح) is one of those which may by common custom be written defectively without the ا; see Vernier, *Grammaire arabe*, i. p. 91. Hence there is no reason to adopt the form 'Abû Selah,' used by Renaudot, Quatremère, Amélineau, and others. It must, in the absence of further proof, remain doubtful whether 'Abû Ṣâliḥ' can be taken as the true praenomen (*kunyah*) of the author of the present work. His nationality, on the other hand, may be inferred, not only from the title, but also from the internal evidence of the book, for the lengthy description of the Armenian churches, and of the affairs of the Armenian patriarch, would tend to show that the writer had a special connexion with the Armenian nation; and, although he often speaks as though his sympathies and interests were bound up with those of the Copts, we must remember that this very Armenian patriarch, of whom we have spoken, was consecrated in the presence of Gabriel, the seventieth patriarch of the Copts (Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 507–509); and there are many other proofs of friendly intercourse between the two races. Moreover, on fol. 3 a, the Armenian form of the name Sergius (Սարգիս, *Sarkis*) is, as Mr. F. C. Conybeare recognizes, correctly transcribed in Arabic as شركيس, *Sharkîs*, and explained as being equivalent to سرجة, *Sirjah*. It may be maintained, therefore, as a proba-

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bility, that the author of the work was Armenian by nationality. It is surprising, however, that M. Amélineau says that 'Abou Selah (sic) visited Egypt at the moment when the Armenians were all-powerful in that country.' It is surely much more probable that Abû Ṣâliḥ, if that was his name, was not a mere visitor to Egypt, but rather a member of the Armenian colony, the ancestors of which had settled there at the end of the eleventh century of our era, under the protection of Badr al-Jamâlî, the Armenian vizier to the caliph Al-Mustanṣir; and that our author had been born and bred in the country. This would explain his Arabic name, the fact of his writing in Arabic, and his familiarity with the history of Egypt. As for his being in Egypt at a time of Armenian preponderance in the state, the facts are precisely the contrary. There is no proof that the Armenians were in special favour under the three last of the Fatimide caliphs, and the greater part of our author's life must have been passed during a time when the Armenians in Egypt had succumbed to the misfortunes which overtook them at the time of the Kurdish invasion, and had been much reduced in numbers. Of these misfortunes our author was an eye-witness.

The work itself affords sufficient internal evidence of the date of its composition, for the author constantly refers to events which, he says, happened in his own time, and to incidents in his own life, of which he gives us the date. Thus on fol. 4 b he tells us of an interview which he had at Cairo with the physician Abu 'l-Ḳâsim al-'Asḳalânî, in A. H. 568 = A. D. 1173. Again on fol. 61 a he mentions a visit which he paid in A. H. 569 = A. D. 1174 to the monastery of Nahyâ. But the latest date given in the book is that of the death of Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar in the month of Amshîr A. M. 924 = Jan.–Feb., A. D. 1208. The composition of the work, therefore, may confidently be assigned to the first years of the thirteenth century of our era, when the writer had probably reached a considerable age.

In spite of these distinct indications of date, however, M. Amélineau speaks as if the work had been composed at a much later period, for he begins his account of Abû Ṣâliḥ as follows: 'I must also 'speak of an author who wrote in Arabic, and who has left us a history 'of the churches and monasteries of Egypt, written in the year 1054 of 'the Martyrs, that is to say in the year 1338 of our era. He was called

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'Abou Selah (sic), and was an Armenian by nationality' (*Géogr.* p. xxiv). The fact is that M. Amélineau is here speaking of the date at which the copy, now in the National Library, was made; but his readers may certainly be pardoned if they understand him to be giving the date of the composition of the work. It is quite true that the copy was finished on Ba'ûnah 2, A.M. 1054 = Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah 8, A.H. 738 = May 27, A.D. 1348, as the copyist himself informs us in his note at the end of the book.

The title supplied by a later hand on fol. 1 b of the MS. describes the book as a 'history, containing an account of the districts and fiefs of 'Egypt.' As, however, the principal part of the work is taken up with an account of churches and monasteries, with regard to which it supplies us with much original information, I have furnished the new title of 'Churches and Monasteries of Egypt.' This new title is in accordance with the description of the MS. in the catalogue of the National Library, where it is called 'Histoire des églises et des 'monastères de l'Égypte.' The object of the author would seem to have been to collect information of all sorts about Egypt and the neighbouring countries; but he evidently desired above all to describe the churches and monasteries, and to narrate incidents of ecclesiastical history. It is to those concerned with this last-named branch of study that the work of Abû Ṣâliḥ should be of special interest.

The only work now existing in Arabic of a similar character to the present work is that portion of the *Khiṭaṭ* of Al-Maḳrîzî which contains an account of the Coptic churches and monasteries, and which is affixed as an appendix to this volume. Other Mahometan writers, however, besides Al-Maḳrîzî, composed works, which are now lost, on the subject of the Christian monasteries, and the most celebrated of them was Ash-Shâbushtî, who is quoted by our author and also by Al-Ḳazwînî, Yâḳût, Al-Maḳrîzî, and others.

Indeed, one of the most interesting features of the present work is the constant reference which it makes to the relations between the Christians of Egypt and their Mahometan fellow-countrymen. These relations, naturally, varied in their character from time to time. There were periods of disturbance, marked by outrages committed by the stronger race upon the weaker, by riots, incendiarism, murders, or even

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by systematic persecution, as in the reign of the caliph Al-Ḥâkim. But there were also periods when the two races lived peacefully side by side, and the adherents of the two creeds were on the best of terms with one another. Sometimes the Muslim governors would authorize and even assist in the restoration of the churches, contrary as this was to the written law of Islam. Mahometans were in some places allowed to be present at the celebration of the Christian liturgy, although the stricter among the Copts regarded this as a profanation. One of the most wealthy and magnificent princes that have ever ruled Egypt, Khamârawaih, the son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, used to spend hours in silent admiration before the mosaics, representing the Virgin and Child, attended by Angels, and surrounded by the Twelve Apostles, in the Melkite church at the monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair, where, moreover, he built a *loggia* in order that he might sit there with his friends to enjoy the scenery, and, it must be confessed, also to quaff the good wine, prepared by the monks and fully appreciated by the laxer followers of the Arabian prophet.

The present work in its existing form is an abridgment of the original, as the copyist himself informs us in his final note. He adds that his abridgment has been unsuccessfully carried out, and while we may admire his modesty, we must of necessity agree with him on this point. Nothing could be worse than the present form of the work, which resembles rather a collection of undigested notes than a deliberate composition in its finished shape. That feature of the book which it is most difficult to understand is the repetition of passages on the same subject, and sometimes almost in the same words. We meet with a short account of some place, which is then dropped, and the history proceeds to the discussion of other matters, only to recur some pages further on to the subject which it had apparently left. Thus, for instance, the passage on the Fayyûm on fol. 18 is repeated in slightly different terms on fol. 70; the description of Bûṣîr Banâ and other places on fol. 17 occurs again, almost word for word, on fol. 68; and often after leaving a place, we are brought back to it and receive further information about it. There appears to be no arrangement or order in the work at all.

We do not know what may have been the subjects which occupied the first score of leaves, now lost to us. It may, perhaps, be conjectured

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that they were filled with an account of the churches of Lower Egypt and Cairo, and of the monasteries of the Wâdî Habîb, which could hardly be neglected in such a work. Probably also we have lost part of the history of the Armenians in Egypt.

The book, as we have it at present, opens with an account of the Armenian monastery and churches at Al-Basâtîn, a little to the south of Cairo. The latter buildings consisted of a 'Great Church,' or main building, to which a smaller church or chapel was attached after the manner of churches in Egypt. Sometimes these dependent churches were on the same floor as the principal edifice, and sometimes they formed an upper story to it. The mention of the Armenian monastery and churches leads our author to a digression on the recent history of the Armenians in Egypt, and on the misfortunes which had befallen them during his own lifetime. He then starts off upon quite a different matter, namely the revenues of the Coptic church and of the Egyptian rulers; but this is a subject to which he recurs quite unexpectedly in one or two subsequent paragraphs. Then comes what is almost the only uninterrupted narrative or description in the book, that is the account of the so-called heretic Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar. Next follows a list of certain remarkable features of Egypt and of distinguished men who have lived in that country; but in the middle of this is inserted a note on the churches of Bûṣîr Banâ and other places. Then, after a note on the boundaries of Egypt, comes an account of the city of Al-Fusṭâṭ and its churches, which would seem to be fairly systematic and complete were it not for notes on king Afṭûṭîs, the revenues of Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar and the patriarch Demetrius, inserted in the middle of it without any apparent occasion for them. After describing the churches of Al-Fusṭâṭ, our author proceeds up the Nile, noticing the churches and monasteries in the towns and villages, principally, of course, on the more populous western bank; but he does not go straight on in his journey; he frequently dashes from south to north, and then again from north to south in a manner which would horrify us in a modern guide to the Nile; and he still keeps up his trick of inserting notes from time to time on perfectly irrelevant matters. After reaching Nubia, our author returns again down the Nile for a short visit to certain places in Egypt which he had passed over; and then he suddenly takes us to Abyssinia,

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to India, to North-Africa, and even to Spain, and the shores of the Atlantic, ending up with south-western Arabia, and with the mention of certain ancient cities, the foundation of which is referred to the remotest antiquity.

The most valuable part of the present work is probably that part which the author based upon his own experience, and did not borrow from other writers. Much of the information with which he supplies us on the churches and monasteries of Egypt seems to be of this character. Thus he himself tells us that great part of his account of the Monastery of Nahyâ is derived from what he saw and heard during a visit which he paid there for devotional purposes in the year 569 of the Hegira. A young monk whom he met in the monastery on this occasion seems to have been questioned by him, and to have discoursed to him at some length on the history of the place. It may be taken for granted that our author had also visited in person the churches and monasteries of Cairo and its neighbourhood, and had made similar enquiries of the priests and monks as to the foundation and restoration of these buildings and other matters of interest concerning them. But how far our author had travelled up the Nile is doubtful; and perhaps he had not himself seen the great White Monastery of Saint Sinuthius, opposite to Ikhmîm. If he had been in that neighbourhood, he would surely also have spoken of the 'Red Monastery.' Similarly, it is probable that he had not paid a personal visit to the Monastery of Saint Anthony near the Red Sea, for if he had, he would have given a fuller account of the neighbouring Monastery of Saint Paul.

Some of our author's statements with regard to these churches and monasteries which he had not himself seen, probably rest upon the testimony of some of his friends and acquaintances whom he questioned on the subject. Part, however, of what he tells us is borrowed from the *Book of the Monasteries* of Ash-Shâbushtî, a work in prose and verse much read at the time. The author, Abu 'l-Ḥusain 'Alî ibn Muḥammad ash-Shâbushtî, was a Mahometan, and his work is a proof of the constant practice on the part of Muslims of resorting to the Christian monasteries, for the purpose of sauntering in their gardens, sitting in their galleries and *loggias*, and drinking their

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wines. Besides Ash-Shâbushtî, other writers, such as Abû Bakr Muḥammad al-Khâlidî, Abû 'Uthmân Sa'd al-Khâlidî, and Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahânî, composed works on the monasteries in the course of the tenth century of our era, and Ibn Khallikân tells us that many other books were written in the Arabic language on the same subject. The work of Ash-Shâbushtî contained an account of all the monasteries of Al-'Irâḳ, Al-Mauṣil, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, with all the poems composed on them, and a history of the events which concerned them. It is unfortunate that this work is lost, and only known to us through quotations made from it by other writers. Ash-Shâbushtî, who is said to have died at Al-Fusṭâṭ or 'Old Cairo' in A.H. 388 or 390, was private librarian and reader to the Fatimide caliph Al-'Azîz, and his agreeable manners and conversation led the sovereign to make him his constant boon-companion. It is in accordance with this character that he wrote of the monasteries chiefly as places for enjoying pleasant social intercourse and drinking wine. The surname Ash-Shâbushtî is difficult to explain, and Ibn Khallikân says that he 'repeatedly made researches to 'discover the origin of the surname, but that all his pains were fruitless, 'until he found that the chamberlain to the Dailamite prince Washmaghir 'ibn Ziyâr was also called Ash-Shâbushtî, from which it appears that 'this is a Dailamite family name.'

Part of our author's information with regard to the churches and monasteries of Egypt, and to the ecclesiastical history of that country, is derived from the Biographies of the Patriarchs, compiled in the ninth century by Severus, bishop of Al-Ushmûnain, and from the continuation of the Biographies by a later writer. The name of this work is well known to scholars, because Renaudot based upon it the greater part of his *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum;* but the work itself has never been published, either in the original Arabic or in a translation, although copies of it are to be found in European libraries. The publication of this work is much to be desired, as it affords a great mass of information on the ecclesiastical history of Egypt, since the schism of Dioscorus, which is not supplied from any other source; and although Renaudot has revealed to the learned world part of its contents, there is a very large part only to be known

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at present through a study of the original Arabic MSS. It is from these patriarchal biographies that our author borrows the greater part of what he tells us on the subject of the history of the Coptic patriarchs, and part of what he says on the churches and monasteries. It is thence that he takes, for instance, his account of the visit of Al-Ḳâsim to the White Monastery.

The Patriarchal Biographies of Severus of Al-Ushmûnain are based in their earlier portion, as he himself tells us, on Greek and Coptic documents preserved in the ancient Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Nitrian Valley. In the later part the compiler has inserted the works of certain writers almost without change, such as the biography of the patriarch Khâ'îl or Michael by John the deacon, a contemporary and acquaintance of that patriarch, and a considerable portion of the series written by George, archdeacon and secretary of the patriarch Simon. Many of our author's quotations are taken from the life of the patriarch Michael.

Another writer, to whom our author is considerably indebted, is better known to European readers, since his history was published in 1654–6 by Pococke, at Oxford. This is Sa'îd ibn al-Baṭrîḳ, the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, whose name was translated into Greek in the form Eutychius. He was a famous physician, as well as a priest, and composed a medical work in addition to his historical labours. His chief work, however, was that from which our author quotes, namely the *Naẓm al-Jauhar* or *Row of Jewels*, to which the European editor has given the Latin title of *Eutychii Annales*. It is a history, beginning with the earliest events narrated in the Bible, and continued down to the author's own time; but its most valuable part is the ecclesiastical chronicle of Egypt which it contains. The author was born at Al-Fusṭâṭ in A. H. 263 = A. D. 877, became Melkite patriarch of Alexandria in A. H. 321 = A. D. 932, and died in the latter city in A. H. 328 = A. D. 940.

Our author makes more references than one to a writer whom he calls Maḥbûb ibn Ḳusṭanṭîn al-Manbajî, that is 'Maḥbûb, son of Con-'stantine, a native of the city of Manbaj.' This writer also bore the Greek name Agapius, corresponding to his Arabic appellation. He composed a history of the world in two parts, of which a copy of the first part is

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preserved at Oxford, and a copy of the second part, relating events from the Incarnation onwards, exists at Florence. The latter work, however, has been carried on by a continuator down to the year A. D. 1312, and this has occasioned the erroneous belief that Maḥbûb himself lived in the fourteenth century. Maḥbûb is a writer several times quoted by Al-Makîn in the first part of his history. According to the Florentine MS., Maḥbûb or Agapius was a Jacobite or monophysite bishop of Manbaj.

Use was also made in the work now edited of a *History of the Councils*, of the homilies of the patriarch Theophilus, and of a *Guide to the Festivals*. It seems that there were several of such *Guides* in the ecclesiastical literature of Egypt, and the *Synaxaria* were partly based upon them. Our author was, moreover, acquainted with some at least of the biblical books, and he quotes from the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Gospels.

He would seem to have read the romance of Aurâ, which still exists in Arabic, and was probably translated from the Coptic.

The curious work called the *Book of Clement* or *Apocalypse of Peter* is also quoted by our author at the end of his history. Copies of this work exist in Europe, as, for instance, in Paris and at Oxford.

Our author does not tell us whence he derived his accounts of Nubia, of Abyssinia, and of the Indian Christians. Of Nubia he may have read in the work of 'Abd Allâh ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulâ'im, quoted by Al-Maḳrîzî. Of Abyssinia he may have learnt something from the envoys who frequently arrived in Egypt from that country, as bearers of despatches addressed to the Coptic patriarch. Of India he may have received information from the mouths of Christian travellers; or perhaps those Indian priests who at the end of the seventh century came to Egypt, to beg the Coptic patriarch to send out a bishop to their fellow-countrymen, may have left behind them some account of the state of Christianity in India.

In those parts of his work which treat of the general history of Egypt, our author chiefly follows Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and Al-Kindî. Copies of the *Futûḥ Miṣr* or *History of the Conquest of Egypt by the Muslims*, composed by the former of these two writers, exist in Paris.

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The author, 'Abd ar-Raḥmân 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, seems to have written at the end of the second century of the Hegira, but the work was continued by his disciples, and in the Paris MSS. goes down to the end of the third century. There is little legend in the work, which consists chiefly of pure history, and in this respect compares favourably with later histories, such as those of Al-Maḳrîzî and As-Suyûṭî. Al-Kindî, who is called by Ḥâjî Khalfah the first Arab historian of Egypt, died in A. H. 247 = A. D. 860, or according to others in A. H. 350 = A. D. 961. The title of his great work was *Khiṭaṭ Miṣr* or *Topography and History of Miṣr*, its object being to describe the foundation of the city of Miṣr and its subsequent alterations. This work seems to have been the basis and model of the later works named *Khiṭaṭ*, such as that of Al-Maḳrîzî. Two other works of Al-Kindî exist in manuscript at the British Museum, namely a *History of the Governors of Egypt* and a *History of the Cadis*. Al-Kindî also wrote a book called *Faḍâ'il Miṣr* or *Excellences of Egypt*, which is quoted by our author more than once. The full name of Al-Kindî is Abû 'Umar Muḥammad ibn Yûsuf al-Kindî. Some of his works were continued by Abû Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrâhîm ibn Zûlâḳ, who died A. H. 387 = A. D. 997, and who is once quoted by our author, through a copyist's error, as An-Nasr ibn Zûlâḳ.

The great history of Aṭ-Ṭabarî had also formed the subject of our author's studies, as he shows by his reference towards the end of the work.

Finally, our author, although a Christian, shows on more than one occasion that he is not unacquainted with the Koran itself, thus giving a fresh proof of the friendly feeling which existed between Christians and Muslims at the beginning of the thirteenth century of our era.

From the account given above of the plan, or rather want of plan, of Abû Ṣâliḥ's work, it will be seen that it resembles a note-book which has not yet been put into order, rather than a formal composition. It is clear then that such a book could hardly be worth publication were it not that, in the words of the author, 'he has here collected information which is not to be found in the work of any other writer.'

The present work is full of allusions to the history of Egypt, and

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especially to the more important periods, such as the Mahometan conquest, the overthrow of the Omeyyad dynasty, the rule of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn and his son Khamârawaih, and the invasion by the Fatimide caliph Al-Mu'izz. The conquest of Egypt began in A.H. 18, when 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî entered the country by the Syrian frontier, and subdued the imperial forces in a battle near Pelusium, where the Arab town of Al-Faramâ afterwards stood. 'Amr then advanced upon the fortress of Babylon, about ten miles to the south of Heliopolis, which was, after a long siege, ceded to him by the treachery of George son of Mennas, the 'Muḳauḳis.' After this it was necessary to attack the capital of the country, Alexandria, and here again serious resistance was offered to the Muslims. The siege of Alexandria lasted several months, so that the conquest of Egypt was not completed until the first of Muḥarram, A. H. 20 (A. D. 641). The conqueror did not, however, select Alexandria as his capital, but chose a spot easier of access from Mecca and Medina, namely the Fortress of Babylon and its neighbourhood, as the site of the new city which he founded and named Fusṭâṭ Miṣr.

From the time of the conquest, Egypt was governed by wâlîs, appointed by the caliphs, who rarely visited the country themselves. The last of the Omeyyad caliphs, however, Marwân II, who reigned from A. H. 126 to 133, took refuge in Egypt from the armies of the new claimant to the caliphate, As-Saffâḥ, the Abbaside. The Khorassanian troops of the latter pursued Marwân, who set fire to the city of Fusṭâṭ Miṣr, and, having crossed the Nile, destroyed all the boats upon the river in order to stop the progress of the enemy. A vivid picture of this disastrous conflict is given us by an eye-witness, the contemporary biographer of the Coptic patriarch Michael, whose life is included in the compilation of Severus of Al-Ushmûnain. The Khorassanians soon found boats with which to cross the river; and they pursued Marwân as far as Bûṣîr Ḳûrîdus, near the entrance to the Fayyûm, where they put him to death. His head was sent round the country as a proof of the extinction of the Omeyyad dynasty and the victory of the Abbasides.

The Omeyyad caliphs had resided at Damascus, and the Abbasides established their court in A. D. 750 at the newly-erected city of Bagdad, so that Egypt was still ruled by wâlîs, who, on account of their remote-

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ness from the seat of the central government, soon became practically independent. One of the most celebrated governors of Egypt was Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, who ruled the country from A. H. 254 to 270. By this time the importance of the city of Fusṭâṭ Miṣr had greatly diminished. The Ḥamrâs or quarters to the north of Al-Fusṭâṭ, founded at the time of the Arab conquest, had fallen into decay, and the ground had become bare of houses; but upon the flight of Marwân into Egypt, the Abbaside troops had settled upon it, and gave it its new name of Al-'Askar, and here the emirs who ruled Egypt resided. It was in this quarter, now called the quarter of Ibn Ṭûlûn, that Aḥmad built his great mosque. He no longer, however, chose to reside here, but founded the new quarter of Al-Ḳaṭâ'i', which extended from the lowest spurs of the Muḳaṭṭam hills to the mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn. Neither Al-'Askar nor Al-Ḳaṭâ'i' was destined to exist long. When the Fatimide caliph Al-Mu'izz sent his general Jauhar to invade Egypt, the latter demolished the houses between Al-Fusṭâṭ and his own new city of Cairo, which formed these two quarters, and they thus entirely disappeared, save for the Christian monasteries and churches, which, as Abû Ṣâliḥ tells us, still remained in the Ḥamrâs, as the antiquaries of Egypt continued to call the place.

Between the fall of the Omeyyads and the appearance of the Fatimides, it would seem that the Christians of Egypt enjoyed greater prosperity than had been their lot during the later days of the fallen dynasty. Nor do the Fatimide caliphs appear to have treated their Christian subjects with harshness, with the notable exception of the fanatical Al-Ḥâkim, the great persecutor of the Copts and Syrians. The work now published is full of instances of benevolence shown to the Copts, and practical favours conferred upon them by Mahometan rulers and officials.

The work of Abû Ṣâliḥ was composed immediately after a great revolution in the affairs of Egypt, following the invasion of the Kurds and Ghuzz under the leadership of Shirkûh and Saladin. This invasion was due to the unscrupulous intrigues of Shâwar as-Sa'dî, the vizier of the last of the Fatimide caliphs, Al-'Âḍid li-dîni 'llâh. Shâwar had been in the service of a former vizier, Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ ibn Ruzzîk, who

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appointed him wâlî of Upper Egypt, a post only second in importance to the vizierate; and in this capacity Shâwar had shown much ability, and gained great influence over the principal officials of the country. On the death of Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, however, in the year 556 (A. D. 1161), his son and successor in the vizierate, Al-'Âdil, jealous of Shâwar's influence, deprived him of his office, in spite of the warnings against such a step which had been uttered by Ibn Ruzzîk upon his death-bed. Shâwar assembled a body of troops, marched to Cairo early in the year 558, and, on the flight of Al-'Âdil, pursued him and put him to death, himself assuming the reins of government as vizier, under the nominal supremacy of the Fatimide caliph.

In the month of Ramaḍân of the same year, however, a fresh aspirant to the vizierate appeared in the person of Aḍ-Ḍirghâm, who, collecting a body of troops, forced Shâwar to flee from Cairo, and put himself in his place. Thus, in the course of the year 558, the post of vizier was held by three statesmen in succession. Shâwar, however, took the bold step of making his way to Syria, and applying for aid to Nûr ad-Dîn, the most powerful Mahometan prince of his time. Accordingly, in the month of Jumâdâ the First of the year 559, Nûr ad-Dîn despatched a body of Turkish and Kurdish troops to Egypt under the command of a Kurdish general, then in his service, named Asad ad-Dîn Shîrkûh. On the arrival of the army of Nûr ad-Dîn, Ḍirghâm was defeated and slain, and Shâwar was restored to his post of vizier. He, however, now refused to perform his part of the contract, and would neither grant money nor land to the troops, nor send to Nûr ad-Dîn that portion of the revenues of Egypt which he had promised. Upon this, the Kurdish general seized the city of Bilbais, and great part of the province of Ash-Sharḳîyah. The unscrupulous vizier, however, instead of satisfying the just expectations of his auxiliaries, sent messengers to the natural enemy of his countrymen and his religion, the Frankish king of Jerusalem, offering him a sum of money if he would defend Egypt against Nûr ad-Dîn and his troops, who, he said, had formed the design of conquering the valley of the Nile. Complying with this request, Amaury led a body of troops to Egypt and besieged Shîrkûh at Bilbais during three months, but without success in spite of the low

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walls and the absence of a moat. Suddenly the news came that Nûr ad-Dîn had captured Ḥârim, and was marching upon Bâniyâs. On hearing this, the Franks hastened homewards to defend their own country, after inducing the besieged general, who was ignorant of any cause for the Frankish retreat, to make terms by which he bound himself to leave Egypt also.

In the year 562, Asad ad-Dîn Shîrkûh was again sent to Egypt by Nûr ad-Dîn, who was now filled with the desire of subduing that country, and had obtained from the Abbaside caliph Al-Mustaḍî a sanction for his enterprise, which made it a crusade with the object of extinguishing the rival dynasty of the Fatimides. Amaury, however, was again induced by a bribe to come to the rescue of Shâwar and his nominal master Al-ʿÂḍid, and this time actually entered Cairo, while a sandstorm destroyed part of the army of Shîrkûh, who was forced to retreat. In the same campaign, part of Amaury's army was defeated by Shîrkûh, and Alexandria submitted to the Kurdish general; but finally the latter retired from Egypt after a blockade which drove him to make terms with the king of the Franks.

The third and final campaign of Shîrkûh in Egypt began in the month of Rabîʿ the First of the year 564. The Frankish king had soon broken off his alliance with the Fatimide caliph, on the plea of treachery on the part of the Egyptians, and making a sudden descent upon Al-Faramâ, the ancient Pelusium, he had put the inhabitants to the sword. Shâwar now once more asked for help from Nûr ad-Dîn, whom he had treated so unfaithfully, and Shîrkûh with his nephew Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, known to Europe as Saladin, led an army to the frontiers of Egypt, where they found the Frankish troops who had been detained there by a stratagem on the part of Shâwar, and who now had to beat a hasty and disastrous retreat. Shîrkûh now took possession of Egypt, under the sanction of the Fatimide caliph, whose nominal rule he for the present maintained. The assassination of Shâwar, however, was a natural and rapid consequence of the Kurdish occupation; and Shîrkûh became vizier in his place. After filling this post for two months and five days, Shîrkûh died, and was succeeded in the vizierate by his nephew Saladin.

The history of Saladin is well known to European readers. He was

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the son of Ayyûb the son of Shâdî, a member of the noble Kurdish tribe of Rawâdîyah, natives of Duwîn, a town of Adharbaijân, and was born A. H. 532 at Takrît, where his father and uncle were in the service of Bihrûz, who was acting as governor of the district under the Seljucide sultan Masûd ibn Muḥammad Ghiyâth ad-Dîn. When Saladin became vizier of Egypt he at once began to give free rein to his ambition, and to display his capabilities for administration and for military activity. By his amiable demeanour and by promises of money, he won the emirs and the soldiery to his side, and was soon able to carry out the project of extinguishing the Fatimide dynasty, and once more proclaiming the Abbaside in Egypt as the true caliph. In the year 567, on the 2nd day of the month of Muḥarram, the *Khuṭbah* of Al-'Âḍid was stopped by command of Saladin, and the name of Al-Mustaḍî was put in its place. The last of the Fatimide caliphs, however, was seriously ill at the time of this change, and never knew that his high position had been lost. A few days later the deposed caliph was dead.

Saladin now took possession of the palace of the caliphate. Treasures of fabulous value are said to have been found there, hoarded up by the rulers of so large a part of the Mahometan world during two centuries of religious and political supremacy. We read of a carbuncle weighing seventeen dirhams or twelve mithḳâls, of a pearl of unequalled size, and of an emerald four finger's breadths in length and one in width. There was also a most valuable collection of books, in spite of the loss of a great portion of the library of the Fatimide caliphs in the reign of Al-Mustanṣir. Saladin, however, sold all the treasures of the palace. The rejoicings at Bagdad were great when the news came that the Abbaside caliph had been prayed for in the mosques of Egypt, and that the rival dynasty had been overthrown; and the city was decorated while the revolution was publicly announced during several days. Al-Mustaḍî sent robes of honour to Nûr ad-Dîn, and to his general Saladin in Egypt.

The effect of these political changes upon Egypt in general, and upon the Copts in particular, had been striking. On the approach of the Franks, Shâwar ordered that Miṣr should be burnt, and that the inhabitants should remove to Cairo. The results of this burning of the already decaying city, which had suffered so greatly from the famine

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and plague in the reign of Al-Mustanṣir, are noticed on several occasions in the work attributed to Abû Ṣâliḥ. Churches and monasteries were destroyed, although they were afterwards in part restored. When the Kurdish general Shîrkûh had taken possession of Egypt in the name of Nûr ad-Dîn, a considerable part of the land was taken away from its owners and settled upon the Kurds and Ghuzz, who formed the invader's army. In this way the Coptic church lost, for the time, all, or great part of, her landed property.

The Ghuzz, who are so often mentioned in this work, and who seem to have formed perhaps the largest and most efficient contingent in the army of Shîrkûh and Saladin, were a Turkish tribe whose original home lay 'beyond the river' of Central Asia, in the region which the Romans called Transoxiana. They removed, however, into the regions of Mesopotamia in the first centuries of Islam, and in the twelfth century entered the service of Nûr ad-Dîn.

The theory of land tenure among the Muslims was that all the land had been placed by divine providence at the disposal of the prophet Mahomet and next of his successors the caliphs, who had the right to settle it upon whom they would. Acting upon this principle the prophet himself settled land in Syria upon Tamîm ad-Dârî, even before the conquest of the country. Some of the titles to landed property in Egypt at the time of our author, and later, were traced back to the earliest caliphs. In general a rent or land-tax was paid to the government in return for such property; but in later times a system of military fiefs was introduced, similar to those held under the feudal system of western Europe. The present work supplies us with several instances of the rent paid for land held under the Fatimide caliphs.

The philological features of the present work form a subject too large to be discussed in an introduction, and would be better treated in a grammar of the Middle Arabic language. It must be remembered, however, that the author is represented in the title as an Armenian, and that his acquaintance with Arabic was probably imperfect. It is also quite clear that the copyist was no more equal to the task of correctly transcribing, than to that of judiciously abbreviating the book. Apart from these considerations, the orthography and grammar of the MS.

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seem to be those of other MSS. of the same period. Among purely orthographical faults ا is sometimes written for ى, س for ص, and ظ for ض; once or twice even چ for ش. The distinctions of case have been almost entirely lost, and the accusative is written where the nominative should be, and *vice versa*. In the case of the word ابو=ابى the confusion of cases is especially frequent. Mistakes in gender are also common, especially in the demonstrative pronouns هذه for هذا, تلك for ذلك, and *vice versa*. The dual sometimes appears, especially in the numerals, even when they are not in the oblique case or construct state, with the termination ـى for ـَيْنِ or ـَانِ; compare Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, p. 132, where such forms as ثُلْثَى 'two-thirds,' خُمْسَى 'two-fifths,' are said to be used in all cases and states in the official language of the Divans, and to have passed thence into the vulgar tongue. At other times the oblique case in ـَيْنِ is used for the nominative, just as in the plural ـِين takes the place of ـُون. On fol. 64 b an adjective in the feminine singular is placed in attribution to a dual masculine, according to the rule in modern Arabic, although a few lines afterwards the masc. plur. is used. On fol. 93 a there is a noticeable form of the 2nd pers. plur. masc. of the perf., viz. سجنتموا for the classical سجنتمُ, instead of the more modern سجنتوا; but this may be a proof of the greater purity of the Arabic spoken in the Oases. It is a peculiarity of the present work that in certain parts the language is far more classical than in others; but this may be because the author has in some places closely followed some writer of the first ages of Islam, such as Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam or Al-Kindî, and in other places has composed his sentences for himself.

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CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

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HISTORY

Fol. 1 b

COMPOSED BY

THE SHAIKH ABÛ ṢÂLIḤ,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICTS AND FIEFS OF EGYPT.

Armenian Monastery and Churches at Al-Basâtîn.

Section I. Let us begin[1] with the help and guidance of God. In this our own time, namely at the beginning of the year 564[2] (Oct. 4, A. D. 1168–Sept. 23, 1169), took place the rebuilding of the [Armenian] church, named after Saint James, which stands in the district of Al-Basâtîn[3], one of the districts of Egypt, in the neighbourhood of the hills. This was in the days of * * *, who was an emir[4], and ruled Egypt on behalf of the Fol. 2 a

[1] Folio 1 b was not part of the original MS., of which, in reality, the first twenty-two leaves are wanting, but was added by its owner, who perhaps compiled it from mutilated fragments of some leaves now missing, to supply a beginning to the incomplete book. Hence the abruptness, obscurity, and inaccuracy of the text. See Preface.

[2] This date must be rejected; it is the date of the dispersion of the monks (see fol. 2 a), not of the rebuilding of the church, which must have taken place many years before.

[3] Or, in the singular, Al-Bustân. It lies a few miles to the south of Cairo, on the right or eastern bank of the Nile, near the Muḳaṭṭam range, in a region of gardens, as the name implies. It is now included in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Jîzah, and in 1885 had a population of 1,698; see *Recensement de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1885, tome ii. p. 65. (A. J. B.)

[4] This first page of the MS. is so little trustworthy in its present form, that it can hardly be determined who this emir was. Since the events here related

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caliph. He was a friend to all Christians, whether high or low. He received a monthly revenue of ten dinars[1] from the lands [of the monastery] which he held in fief[2]. He then undertook and carried out the reconstruction of this church of Saint James, which had been burnt down; he built for it, above the sanctuary[3], a lofty dome, which could be seen from afar; he erected arches and vaults; and he completed the whole by setting up the great doors. These, however, were afterwards carried away, and accordingly he renewed them once more; the same thing happened a second time, and again he renewed the doors. He also completed the rebuilding of the [adjacent] church, which, however, he did not cause to be consecrated, nor was the liturgy celebrated in it. When the emir died, he was buried in this church. Now the monastery, [in which this church is contained,] stands in the midst of gardens and plots of vegetables and cornfields; and it is reckoned among the most charming of resorts for pleasure.

§ When the Ghuzz[4] and the Kurds took possession of the land of

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cannot really belong to the year A. H. 564, as they would seem to do if the date here given could be relied upon, it may be suggested that this emir was the Armenian Badr al-Jamâli, who was vizier to the caliph Al-Mustanṣir from A. H. 467 to 487 = A. D. 1075–1094, and was known as *Amîr al-Juyûsh* or emir of the troops, i. e. commander-in-chief. On account of his nationality and religion, Badr was a benefactor to the Christians of Egypt. Cf. Renaudot (*Hist. Patr.* pp. 459 and 508), who speaks of the Armenian settlement in Egypt in the time of Badr, mentioned by our author on fol. 47 b.

[1] The dinar was a gold coin, slightly over 66 grs. in weight.

[2] For remarks on the tenure of land in Egypt, see Introduction.

[3] The word *Askina* (أَسْكِنَا or أُسْكِينَا), from the Greek σκήνη, is used in this work in the sense of 'sanctuary,' and appears to be synonymous with *Haikal* (هَيْكَل). Cf. Vansleb (*Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1677, p. 50), who speaks of 'la lampe de *l'Askéné* ou du Tabernacle, ce qui est le chœur intérieur.' The modern Copts, however, use the word to denote the baldakyn over the altar, such as may be seen, for example, in the church of Abû 's-Saifain at Old Cairo. See Butler, *Ancient Coptic Churches*, Oxford, 1884, vol. i. p. 114. (A. J. B.)

[4] For remarks on the Kurdish conquest of Egypt, see Introduction. Our author, or more probably his copyist, by putting الغز and الأكراد in apposition

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Egypt, in the month of Rabi' the Second, in the year 564 (A. D. 1168–9), calamities well known to all men overtook the Armenians[1], who were then settled in Egypt. Their patriarch[2], together with the Armenian monks, was driven away from that monastery of which we have been speaking; its door was blocked up, and those churches remained empty, nor did any one venture to approach them.

§ Al-Bustân [or Al-Basâtîn] was next allotted as a fief to the Faḳîh Al-Bahâ[3] 'Alî, the Damascene, who set apart for the Armenians the church of John the Baptist, built over[4] the church of the Pure Lady[5], in the Ḥârah Zawîlah[6]; and here the patriarch dwelt during the year 564 (A. D. 1168–9).

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seems to consider them as two names of the same nation. Perhaps there is some confusion between الغز الاتراك, which would be correct, and الغز الاكراد.

[1] There were a large number of Armenians in Egypt during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 460 ff. Yâḳût, who died A.H. 596 = A. D. 1200, speaks of the Armenians among the mixed nationalities of which, as he says, the population of Egypt was in his time composed. See his *Geogr. Wörterbuch* ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. p. 001. Under the later Fatimides, high offices were frequently held by Armenians in Egypt, of whom the most distinguished were Badr al-Jamâli, the vizier of Al-Mustanṣir; his son, Al-Afḍal, vizier to Al-Âmir; and Tâj ad-Daulah Bahrâm, the vizier of Al-Ḥâfiẓ.

[2] The first patriarch or catholicus of the Armenians in Egypt was Gregory, who, towards the end of the eleventh century, was consecrated at Alexandria by his uncle the catholicus, Gregory II. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 461; and, for references to Armenian writers, Dr. Aršak Ter-Mikelian, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zur byzantinischen*, Leipsic, 1892, p. 84.

[3] Afterwards chief professor in the college called Manâzil al-'Izz at Fusṭâṭ, and preacher in the same city; died A.H. 584=A.D. 1188. See Ibn Shaddâd, quoted by Ibn Khallikân, *Biogr. Dict.* trans. De Slane, iv. p. 421.

[4] In Egypt churches are frequently built one over another, forming two stories.

[5] A church of *Al-'Adhra* (the Virgin) is still standing in the Ḥârah Zuwailah, and is almost beyond question to be identified with the church mentioned in the text; it bears marks of great antiquity. See Butler, *Coptic Churches*, vol. i. p. 273. (A. J. B.)

[6] The quarter of Cairo called *Ḥârah Zawîlah*, and now Zuwailah, was founded

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Fol. 2 b

The Armenian Patriarch.

§ This patriarch had been bishop of Itfîḥ[1]; and afterwards, during the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiẓ[2], he conceived the idea[3] of becoming patriarch by means of money which he gave in bribes. He made an agreement with Al-Ḥâfiẓ, binding himself to give instruction in historical matters to the caliph, who granted him permission to appear at the palace of the caliph, together with the emirs and officers of state, on two days in the week, namely Monday and Thursday[4], and also on festivals, to pay his respects, and to bring any new information that he had discovered. In this way, during his visits to the Emerald Palace[5], the patriarch imparted to Al-Ḥâfiẓ all the results of his researches among biographies

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by the Berber tribe of Zawîlah, who assisted Jauhar, the general of the Fatimide caliph Al-Mu'izz, in the conquest of Egypt, A. D. 969, and the foundation of Cairo. The Bâb Zawîlah or Zuwailah is one of the principal gates of the city. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, Bûlâḳ, A. H. 1270 = A. D. 1854, vol. ii. p. ٣; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *Kitâb al-Intiṣâr li-wâsitah 'iḳd al-amṣâr*, Bûlâḳ, A. H. 1310=A. D. 1893, v. p. ٣٧.

[1] Now called Aṭfîḥ; generally written اطفيح; see fol. 8 b, 10 a, 47 a, &c. The town lies south of Cairo, on the eastern bank, and is the Coptic ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲉϩ, the Greek Aphroditopolis; it now gives its name to a district of the province of Jîzah, and in 1885 had a population of 2,731. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٣١١; Amélineau, *Géogr. de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, p. 326. Under the Fatimide dynasty, and for some centuries after, Iṭfîḥ was the capital of a province; see fol. 8 b; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ١٣٣.

[2] Al-Ḥâfiẓ Abû 'l-Maimûn 'Abd al-Majîd, the eleventh of the Fatimide caliphs, reigned A. H. 524–544=A. D. 1130–1149. See Introduction.

[3] تحيل should be تَخَيَّلَ.

[4] These were the two days of public reception at the palace during the rule of the Fatimide caliphs. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٣٨٦.

[5] The Emerald Palace (قصر الزمرذ or الزمرد) was part of the Great Palace (القصر الكبير) of the Fatimide caliphs, which stood in the east of Cairo, and was founded by Jauhar in A. H. 358=A. D. 969. The name was taken from the Emerald Gate near which this palace stood. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. pp. ٣٠٣, ٣٠٥, ٣٣٥; cf. p. ٣٨٣ ff.

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and histories of wars, and chronicles and annals of former rulers, and carried on intercourse of this kind with Al-Ḥâfiẓ until the death of the latter, which took place in the month of Jumâda the Second, in the year 544 (A. D. 1149).

§ Outside this monastery[1], and in its neighbourhood, beside the pottery, there stands a small church, which was rebuilt in the caliphate of Al-Âmir[2] bi-aḥkâmi 'llah, for the use of the Melkites, instead of the church which had stood in the Ḥârah Zawîlah but was wrecked in the same caliphate, and later, namely in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiẓ, was transformed into a mosque. Abû 'l-Barakât ibn al-Laith wrote verses on the subject of this church which was thus restored. It was built upon vaults, and beneath it there was a burying-place for the dead.

§ On account of the ruin brought upon the Armenians by the Ghuzz and the Kurds, their patriarch left Egypt and departed to Jerusalem. He took with him seventy-five sacred[3] books, among which was a copy of the Four Gospels with illuminations[4] in colours and gold, representing

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[1] The monastery of Al-Basâtîn, described above.

[2] The tenth of the Fatimide caliphs, reigned A. H. 495–524=A. D. 1101–1130. See Introduction.

[3] The books here spoken of were perhaps brought by Gregory (see note on fol. 2 a) from Armenia to Egypt. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 461, and Ter-Mikelian, *Die armen. Kirche*, &c. p. 84.

[4] Probably the miniatures here spoken of were the work of Byzantine or Syrian artists. Native Armenian miniatures are not met with earlier than the thirteenth century. See Strzygowski, *Das Etschmiadzin Evangeliar*, 1891, p. 87. A native writer of the eighth century says that all figure-painting in Armenia was the work of Greek artists (*ibid.* p. 77 f.) The Armenian gospels of Echmiadzin, of A. D. 989, have Syrian miniatures of an earlier date inserted at the beginning and end. An Armenian book of the Gospels now at San Lazzaro, Venice, and ascribed to the end of the tenth century, contains Byzantine miniatures representing scenes from the life of Christ (*ibid.* p. 76). Another Armenian MS. of the same date contains a figure of the Evangelist Saint Luke with a Greek title (A)ΛΟΚΑΣ, proving the nationality of its designer (*ibid.* p. 77). A similar employment of Byzantine artists was customary in the neighbouring country of Georgia (*ibid.* p. 78 ff.)

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Fol. 3 a the miracles of Christ, to whom be glory! The patriarch's journey was begun on Saturday the 15th of Hatûr[1], in the year 888 of the Martyrs, which is equivalent to the 23rd of Rabî' the First of the year 568 (A.D. 1172). It is said that he founded a monastery outside Jerusalem, containing a church, and named after Sharkîs, who is the same as Abu Sirjah; and to this church he brought all the altar-vessels and golden dinars that he had in his charge; and it is said that this Armenian monastery contained twenty monks. The patriarch appointed a priest at Cairo to act as his deputy, together with the son of the priest, for the purpose of reciting prayers, and performing liturgies at the proper time, in the church of John the Baptist, which stands over the chapel of the Pure Lady in the Ḥârah Zawîlah, as it has already been related; and at this church there assembled a congregation of Armenians, both men and women. As for the monastery which belongs to this people, together with its churches, it was deserted, and its door was fastened up.

§ The news came that the patriarch had arrived at Jerusalem in safety, and that all the Christians had gone out to meet him with joy
Fol. 3 b and gladness, chanting psalms, and carrying before him crosses and lighted tapers, and censers with incense[2].

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[1] The Coptic Athor (ⲁⲑⲱⲣ)=Oct. 28–Nov. 27.

[2] According to the custom of antiquity upon the arrival or departure of guests whom it was desired to honour, and especially of bishops. So it was when Saint Athanasius visited the different parts of Egypt: 'He journeyed southwards, accompanied by some of the chief bishops and a great company, and with torches and candles and censers without number.'

ⲁϥⲡⲁⲣⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲉⲡⲡⲟϭ ⲛ̀ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲁⲗⲉϥ ⲙⲛ̀ ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲁϣⲱϥ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲉⲛⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ̀ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲏⲣⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ̀ ϩⲉⲛϣⲟⲩⲣⲏ ⲉⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲓ ⲏⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧⲛ (Zoega, *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum*, &c. cod. clxxiii; Amélineau, *Histoire de S. Pakhôme*, &c. p. 296).

On the approach of the officers of Theodosius to Lycopolis, the modern Asyût, the bishop John gave orders for their reception in a similar manner: 'Let

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§ After this, the patriarch lived for a time in happiness, and then went to his rest in the mercy of God, to whom be praise, on the 5th of Tûbah[1], in the year last mentioned; and he was buried in the monastery of James the son of Zebedee at Jerusalem. He was noble in character and beautiful in form; he was of perfect stature; his face was encircled by his beard and whiskers, which were growing grey; and his age was nearly eighty years.

§ It is said that the Armenian bishop[2] resident in Jerusalem, when he saw how men sought the society of this holy patriarch on account of his noble qualities, was filled with envy of him, and gave him poison to drink, which caused his death. But God did not show favour to this bishop after the patriarch's death, or grant him a happy life; for he died only twenty days afterwards. God knows best in his hidden wisdom whether that which was told of the bishop was true. This patriarch of whom we have been speaking was a learned priest, understanding the divine books and able to expound them. But there were those who envied him on account of his good reputation among men; and so they said that he was guilty of immoral conduct. This report arose among those who were most envious of his innocence. The author of this book declared as follows: I met Abû 'l-Ḳâsim Khalîl, the physician and philosopher of Ascalon, who said that he had visited this patriarch one

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all the clergy of the city and the chief men take the holy Gospel of the Saviour and crosses and censers, and go forth and bring them into the city with honour, singing hymns.'

ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲭⲓ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙⲙⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲥ̅ⲣ̅ⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲙⲙⲓⲁⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲙⲁⲏ ⲙⲙⲛ ϩⲛϩⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ (Zoega, *op. cit.* cod. ccxix. p. 542).

[1] The Coptic Tobi (ⲧⲱⲃⲓ)=Dec. 27–Jan. 25.

[2] At the Armenian synod of Hromkla in A. D. 1180 an Armenian bishop of Jerusalem appears among the signatories who subscribed to the creed of Nerses IV. See Ter-Mikelian, *Die armen. Kirche*, &c. p. 104.

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day in his cell in the monastery of Az-Zuhrî[1] [and the result of the visit was that the patriarch was proved innocent].

* * * * * * * *

Fol. 4 b The report was not spread until after he had departed to Syria and had died there. It was at the house of Al-A'azz Ḥasan ibn Salâmah called Al-Bâḳilânî, who was chief cadi[2] at Miṣr, that I the poor author of this book met Abû 'l-Ḳâsim, on Monday, the 27th of Shawwâl, in the year 568 (A.D. 1173).

Fate of the Armenian Churches of Al-Basâtîn and Az-Zuhri.

§ Since no Armenian of authority was now left in Egypt, the Copts acquired possession of this large and ancient church[3] by a decree of our Lord the Sultan, through the intercession of the Shaikh ar-Ra'îs Ṣafî ad-Daulah ibn Abû 'l-Ma'âlî, known as Ibn Sharâfî, his scribe. Then its fittings were renewed by the emir Sa'îd ad-Daulah Bahrâm the steward of the Armenians. When the Shaikh Ṣafî ad-Daulah had fully provided all that was needed for the construction of the church, through
Fol. 5 a the priest Abû 'l-Wafa ibn Abî 'l-Bashar, the patriarch Anba Mark[4], who was the seventy-third in the succession, came with Anba John,

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[1] Janân az-Zuhrî or Bustân az-Zuhrî was the name given to gardens between Fusṭâṭ and Cairo, from the former owner of the land 'Abd al-Wahâb ibn Mûsa az-Zuhrî. The pool called Birkat an-Nâṣirîyah was excavated on their site in A.H. 721 by the Sultan Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalâ'ûn. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. pp. ١١٣ and ١١٥.

[2] The cadi of cadis (قاضى القضاة) or chief judge was the principal legal officer under the Fatimide caliphs and their successors. This high dignitary was distinguished by riding on a grey mule, and he held his court in great state on Tuesday and Saturday at the Mosque of 'Amr. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٣٠٣ f.; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah fî Akhbâr Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳâhirah*, ii. p. ١٢٠. Al-A'azz became chief cadi in A.H. 549.

[3] I. e. the church of Al-Basâtîn or Al-Bustân spoken of above, fol. 2.

[4] Occupied the see from A.D. 1174 to 1189. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 530–554. The title Anba transcribes the Coptic ⲁⲃⲃⲁ and means 'father.'

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bishop of Ṭamwaih[1], and Anba Michael, bishop of Basṭah[2], and a body of priests and chief men and orthodox laity; and the church was consecrated on Wednesday, the 17th of Ba'ûnah[3], in the year 892 of the Blameless Martyrs; and the liturgy was celebrated and the people communicated at the hand of the patriarch. This church became a patriarchal church, and the liturgy was conducted henceforth by the priests of the church of the Lady in the Ḥârat ar-Rûm[4] in Cairo. Abû Sa'îd ibn az-Zayyât provided for the painting of the apse[5] of this church,

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[1] On west bank of Nile, a little south of Cairo, and opposite Ḥulwân; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٦٧٣. It is the Coptic ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓ, and is now in the district of Badrashain, province of Jîzah; its population in 1885 was 794, besides 454 Bedouins; Amél., *Géogr.* p. 478. M. Amélineau does not explain why he writes the Arabic name as طموية and transcribes it as Tamouîeh.

[2] Basṭah is the classical Bubastis, Coptic ⲡⲟⲩⲃⲁⲥⲧ or ⲃⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧ, and under the name of Tall Basṭah is now a small hamlet close to Zagazig, in the province of Ḳalyûb; see Amél., *Géogr.* p. 89. (A. J. B.)

[3] The Coptic Paoni (ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲓ) = May 26–June 24.

[4] The 'Quarter of the Romans,' who came with the army of the caliph Al-Mu'izz, and took their part in the foundation of Cairo. The quarter was sometimes called the Lower Ḥârat ar-Rûm in distinction from the Upper or Inner Ḥârat ar-Rûm. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٨; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *op. cit.* v. p. ٣٧. The word 'Rûm' was used very loosely by the Arabs, sometimes in the sense of Europeans generally, sometimes in that of subjects of the Byzantine empire.

[5] The word جاق here and on fol. 31 a evidently stands, by a clerical error, for شاو, which occurs on fol. 41 b, &c. If we suppose the book to have been written from dictation, the sound of ش might be mistaken for that of ج; and an ignorant copyist might add two points over و, making it ق.

The apse is an almost indispensable feature in the architecture of a Coptic church, and is usually highly decorated. Marble seats in tiers, forming a tribune or synthronus, run round the foot of the wall, while above the tribune the wall is cased with marble panelling for some little height; and over this stand the painted figures of Our Lord and the Twelve Apostles. It is probably to such frescoes that Abû Ṣâliḥ is alluding. See Butler, *Coptic Churches*, i. pp. 40, 112, &c. (A. J. B.)

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which was executed by Abû 'l-Fatḥ ibn al-Aḳmaṣ, known as Ibn al-Ḥaufî the painter; and this work was finished in the month of Amshîr, in the year 892 of the Blameless Martyrs (Jan.–Feb., A.D. 1177).

§ There came a bishop from Armenia, accompanied by three priests, and sent by the king[1] of Armenia and the patriarch. He brought a despatch from both of them and two letters, one of which was from Al-Malik Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn[2], and the other from Al-Malik Saif ad-Dîn Abû Bakr[3], his brother, to Al-Malik Taḳî ad-Dîn[4], and they recommended in their letters that the bishop should be received with honour, and that the two churches of the Armenians in Az-Zuhrî[5] and Al-Bustân[6] should be given up to him. So this bishop alighted at the church of John the

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[1] Leo or Levon II, the Rubenide, who reigned in Cilicia, not in Armenia proper; he ascended the throne in 1186. He was a great supporter of his own church and of other Oriental churches. See Alishan, *Léon le Magn.* p. 294, &c.

[2] Saladin had left Egypt in A.H. 578, and was now in Syria, engaged in wars and sieges; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٢٢٥; Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil* (ed. Tornberg), xi. p. ٢٢٩; Ibn Shaddâd, *Sîrah Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn* (ed. Schultens), p. 38 ff.

[3] Abû Bakr Muḥammad ibn Abî 'sh-Shukr Ayyûb ibn Shâdî ibn Marwân, surnamed Al-Malik al-'Âdil Saif ad-Dîn, brother of Saladin, was born A.H. 530 = A.D. 1145 and died A.H. 615 = A.D. 1218. He acted as Saladin's viceroy for Egypt from A.H. 578 to 579, but was now ruling Aleppo, handed over to him by his brother. In A.H. 596 = A.D. 1200 he became sultan of Egypt. See Ibn Khallikân, *Biogr. Dict.* iii. p. 235; Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil*, xi. p. ٢٢١; Ibn Shaddâd, *Sîrah Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn*, p. 56; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. ٢٧ ff.

[4] Taḳî ad-Dîn 'Umar, surnamed Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, nephew of Saladin, had been appointed viceroy of Egypt by the latter, when he summoned Al-Malik al-'Âdil to Syria in A.H. 579 = A.D. 1183 (see fol. 6 b). Taḳî ad-Dîn was recalled to Syria towards the end of A.H. 582 = A.D. 1186, so that it must have been in this year that the envoys mentioned in the text arrived from Armenia. See Ibn Khallikân, *Biogr. Dict.* ii. p. 391; Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil*, xi. p. ٢٢٥; Ibn Shaddâd, *Sîrah Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn*, p. 64; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. 50; Abû 'l-Fida, *Ann. Musl.* iv. p. 60.

[5] See fol. 3 b.

[6] See fol. 1 b.

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Baptist[1] in the Ḥârah Zawîlah; but the Faḳîh at-Ṭûsî[2] did not allow it, so the bishop compelled him, and stayed there several months, and then grew sick and died without carrying out his object. He was buried in the church of the Armenians in Az-Zuhrî; may God rest his soul. Fol. 5 b

§ On the Sunday of Olives[3], the first day of the eighth week of the Holy Fast, and the 1st of Barmûdah[4], in the year 892 (A. D. 1177) of the Blameless Martyrs, a body of priests came to this church, with the laity, among whom were Abû Sa'îd ibn Abû 'l-Faḍl ibn Fahd and Abû 'l-Yaman ibn Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Abî 'l-Yaman ibn Zanbûr; and these two had with them a vessel containing pure oil with which they ate their peas; and they placed it within the church, but afterwards when they looked for it, they could not find it. Then they suspected the Muslim guardians of the church, and allowed their servants to beat them; so the guardians went to the Faḳîh Bahâ ad-Dîn[5] 'Alî the Damascene in a fury, on account of what had happened to them, and said to him: 'Shall the Muslims be struck in the face by Christians in the month of Ramaḍân?' Then the faḳîh at once informed the sultan of this occurrence, and it greatly angered him; so he sent for Ṣafî ad-Daulah Abû 'l-Ma'âlî ibn Sharâfî, his scribe, and blamed him for it, and demanded of him the decree which he had received, empowering the Copts to take possession of this church; and this, by ill luck, was in the sleeve of his garment. So he brought it out and handed it to the sultan, who commanded that the door of the church should be barred, and this order was obeyed at once; and the door of the church was barred. After a short time, however, the sultan commanded by a new decree that the church should be restored to the Copts, and its door should be opened to them, and they should pray in it, and that none should molest them in any way without cause. After this the condition of this church remained prosperous, and one of the priests of the church Fol. 6 a

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[1] See fol. 2 a.

[2] See fol. 6 a.

[3] I.e. Palm-Sunday; otherwise called Hosanna Sunday. (A. J. B.)

[4] The Coptic Pharmouthi (ⲫⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲑⲓ)=March 27–April 25.

[5] See fol. 2 a.

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of the Lady in the Ḥârat ar-Rûm was appointed to perform the prayers in it on Sundays and festivals. After this there came to the court from Ṭûs [1] an Imâmite Faḳîh, to whom Al-Bustân, of which we have spoken, was allotted as a fief, after the death of Al-Faḳîh Ali of Damascus, in whose hands it had been. The new-comer began to oppress the Christians, and required gifts from them in the form of bribes, so far as his power extended. Then he shut the two churches [2], after pillaging the Great Church, the door of which he barred with a plank until Friday the 13th of Sha'bân, A. H. 581 (A. D. 1185). There came an Armenian, who said that he was a friend of Tâj ad-Daulah Bahrâm [3] the Armenian, who had been vizier to Al-Imâm Ḥâfiẓ; and he said that he had buried money, belonging to Tâj ad-Daulah the said vizier,
Fol. 6 b in the Great Church [4], and that he had arrived in order to bring it to light; but no heed was given to him. It is said that he went on in his imaginings until the church was opened to him, and he dug in certain places. Then he said: 'The money has vanished from this place; those who pillaged the church have taken it.' Thus he complained that a wrong had been done. The church remained open for him, and he lived in it as long as the fancy held him; only he placed a second seal upon it on the part of Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [5]; but nothing was restored there.

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[1] In Khorassan.

[2] I. e. the two adjacent churches of Al-Bustân.

[3] Became vizier to the caliph Al-Ḥâfiẓ in the month of Jumâda the Second, A. H. 529 = A. D. 1135. Being a Christian, he aroused the enmity of the Mahometans, a body of whom collected under Ruḍwân ibn al-Walakhshi (see fol. 9 a), and marched to Cairo with intentions hostile to Bahrâm, who fled in the month of Jumâda the First, A. H. 531 = A. D. 1137. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٥٧; As-Suyûṭî, *op. cit.* ii. p. ١٠٠; Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. ٧٣; Abû 'l-Fida, *Ann. Musl.* iii. pp. 460, 468; Ibn al-Athîr, xi. p. ٢١. For the subsequent fate of Tâj ad-Daulah Bahrâm, see below, fol. 50 a.

[4] I. e. at Al-Bustân.

[5] I. e. Taḳî ad-Dîn (see fol. 5 a and note), then acting as viceroy of Egypt for Saladin.

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When Taḳî ad-Dîn went away to Syria[1], in Sha'bân A.H. 582 (A.D. 1186), and Al-Malik al-'Âdil[2] Abû Bakr came to Cairo, the latter ordered that these two churches should be separated from one another on the 10th Ramaḍân in the same year, and the Copts and Armenians obtained possession of the two churches and began to make use of them. Now the time during which they had been closed was one year and fifteen days. So the Copts celebrated the liturgy in the Great Church on the first day of the blessed month of Kuhiak[3] in the year 903[4] of the Blameless Martyrs; and after this the Copts forbad the Armenians to make use of the Great Church. Then an assembly of the chief men took counsel on this matter; and both the churches were restored to the possession of the Armenians.

Church of Iṣṭabl al-Fîl.

§ The street called *Iṣṭabl al-Fîl*[5] lies near the two pools of

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[1] He was at first chagrined at being thus superseded in Egypt, but finally consented to remain in the service of Saladin, who made him prince of Ḥamâh (Hamath). Taḳî ad-Dîn died A.H. 587=A.D. 1191. Ibn Khallikân, *Biogr. Dict.* ii. p. 391; Ibn al-Athîr, *op. cit.* xi. p. ٢٣٥; Ibn Shaddâd, *op. cit.* pp. 67 and 213.

[2] He came as guardian to his nephew Al-Malik al-'Azîz the son of Saladin, who superseded Taḳî ad-Dîn in A.H. 582 as viceroy of Egypt, and became sultan on the death of his father in A.H. 589. It was not until A.H. 596=A.D. 1200 that Al-Malik al-'Âdil became actual ruler of Egypt for the second time, succeeding his great-nephew Al-Malik al-Manṣûr, son of Al-Malik al-'Azîz, as sultan. Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* ii. p. ٢٢٥; Ibn Khallikân, *op. cit.* ii. p. 391; Ibn al-Athîr, *op. cit.* xii. p. ١٠٢.

[3] The Coptic Khoiak (ϫⲟⲓⲁⲕ)=Nov. 27–Dec. 26. The common Arabic transcription of the name is Kîhak (كيهك).

[4] I.e. A.D. 1187.

[5] I.e. Elephant's Stable. The Dâr al-Fîl or House of the Elephant and the Birkat al-Fîl or Elephant's Pool, which still exists in name, lay to the south of Cairo, near the Birkah Ḳârûn. Perhaps Iṣṭabl al-Fîl was another name for Dâr al-Fîl, which may have been turned into stables like other palaces at Cairo; the Mamlûk sultans had stables on the Birkat al-Fîl. After A.H. 600 the borders

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Ḳârûn[1], which are between Miṣr and Cairo; and in this street there is
Fol. 7 a a church, which was long ago ruined, and became a yard, while its walls remained visible above the surface of the ground. Its site has been used for the erection of a mosque, which was built by Ḥusain the Kurd, the son-in-law of Ṣalâḥ ibn Ruzzîk[2], the vizier in the caliphate of Al-Imâm Al-'Âḍid li-dîni 'llâh[3].

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of the *Birkat al-Fîl* were much built upon and surrounded by lofty *manẓarahs;* and this became the finest quarter of Cairo. During the high Nile, when the pool was full, the sultan used to be rowed about it at night, while the *manẓarahs* were illuminated. Ibn Sa'îd says:

انظر الى بركة الفيل التى اكتنفت ♦ بها المناظر كالاهداب للبصر
كأنما هى والابصار ترمقها ♦ كواكب قد اداروها على القمر

'See the Elephant's Pool, encircled by *manẓarahs*, like lashes around the eye;
It seems, when the eyes behold it, as if stars had been set around the moon.'

See Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* ii. p. ١٦١, cf. p. ١٩٨; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *op. cit.* iv. p. ١١ and v. p. ٣٥.

[1] The copyist has probably omitted the words والفيل 'and of the elephant' after بركتى قارون 'the two pools of Ḳârûn.' There was but a single *Birkah Ḳârûn*, which was, however, only separated by a dyke from the Birkat al-Fîl. The passage should therefore doubtless read 'the two pools of Ḳârûn and of Al-Fîl.' When the quarters of Al-'Askar and Al-Ḳaṭâ'i' were founded (see Introduction), the borders of the *Birkah Ḳârûn* were thickly inhabited, but were afterwards partly deserted. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* ii. p. ١٦١.

[2] Abû 'l-Ghârât Ṭalâ'i' ibn Ruzzîk, surnamed Al-Malik as-Ṣâliḥ. Ṣalâḥ must be an error. He was born in A.H. 495=A.D. 1101; was appointed vizier to the caliph Al-Fâ'iz in A.H. 549=A.D. 1154; and on the accession of Al-'Âḍid he remained vizier to the new caliph, who married his daughter. He died in Ramaḍân A.H. 556=A.D. 1161.

[3] The fourteenth and last of the Fatimide caliphs; reigned A.H. 555–567= A.D. 1160–1171.

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Revenues of the Coptic Church.

§ The sum of the revenues of the churches and monasteries in the two regions of the North and South, according to the estimate made of them for the year 575 (A.D. 1180), was 2,923 dinars in ready money, and 4,826 ardabs[1] of corn in produce; while the landed property amounted to 915 feddâns. This property came into the hands of the Christians through gifts from the Fatimide caliphs down to the lunar and revenue year 569 (A.D. 1174); but it was taken away from them and given to the Muslims, so that no part of it was left in the possession of the Christians; this was under the dynasty of the Ghuzz and Kurds at the end of the caliphate of Al-Mustaḍî' bi-amri 'llâh[2], and under the administration of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb the Kurd.

The Southern Region: 467 dinars, and the amount of produce which has been stated, and 906 feddâns. The Northern Region: 2,445 dinars and nine feddâns.

Revenues of Egypt.

§ It is fitting to state in this book the number of districts and villages included in the provinces under the dynasty[3], and also the revenues derived from their fiefs; not reckoning the city of Alexandria Fol. 7 b

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[1] The ardab is equivalent to nearly five bushels, and the feddân to about one acre, eight poles.

[2] Proclaimed caliph at Bagdad in the month of Rabî' the Second, A.H. 566= A.D. 1170, upon the death of his father Al-Mustanjid bi-'llâh. He was the thirty-third of the Abbaside caliphs, and was proclaimed caliph by Saladin at Cairo in the month of Muḥarram A.H. 567=A.D. 1171, during the lifetime of the last Fatimide caliph Al-'Âḍid. Al-Mustaḍî' died in the month of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah A.H. 575, in the fortieth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son An-Nâṣir li-dîni 'llâh. See Abû 'l-Fida, *Ann. Musl.* iii. p. 630, iv. p. 38; Abû 'l-Faraj, *Târîkh Mukhtaṣar ad-Duval* (ed. Pococke), p. 406 f.; Ibn al-Athîr, *op. cit.* xii. p. ٢٩١ ff.; Ibn Shaddâd, *op. cit.* p. 38; Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. ٨١.

[3] I.e. of the Fatimides.

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nor the frontier-district of Damietta nor Tinnîs[1] nor Ḳifṭ[2] nor Naḳâdah[3] nor the Lake of Al-Ḥabash[4], outside Miṣr; the sum total of the revenue

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[1] Tinnîs, the Coptic ⲑⲉⲛⲛⲉⲥⲓ, to which a foundation in remote antiquity was ascribed, stood on an island in Lake Manzâlah, between Damietta and Al-Farama, where the mound called Tall Tinnîs is still existing. It was famous for fish, of which seventy-nine kinds were said to be caught there, and for fine, variegated linen and other tissues, sometimes brocaded with gold. Cf. below, fol. 19 b, and see Ibn Haukal (ed. De Goeje), p. ١٠١; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٨٨٢; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *op. cit.* v. p. ٧٨ f.; Al-Idrîsî (trans. by Jaubert), i. 320; Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* i. pp. ١٧١–١٨٢; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 507 f.

[2] The classical Coptos and the Coptic ⲕⲉⲫⲧ. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ١٥٢; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* p. ٢٢٢ f.; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *op. cit.* v. p. ٢٢ f. Ḳifṭ or Ḳubṭ is now in the district of Ḳûs, province of Ḳana, and contained, in 1885, 2,544 inhabitants. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 213 ff.

[3] Now in the district of Ḳûs, province of Ḳana; and in 1885 had a population of 4,534. See *Recensement de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 258; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٢٢.

[4] I.e. Lake of the Abyssinians. This was a tract of low ground, more than 1,000 acres in extent, between Fusṭâṭ and Cairo, approaching on one side the cemetery of Al-Ḳarâfah, and was inundated during the rise of the Nile, from which it was only separated by a dyke on its western side. At other times it was one of the most charming resorts near Cairo, being of extreme fertility, and producing flax and other crops. Beside it were gardens also called Al-Ḥabash or Arḍ Ḥabash. The name was, perhaps, earlier than the Mahometan conquest, and was a translation of the Coptic ⲉⲑⲁⲧⲙ. The Lake of Al-Ḥabash was given as a *waḳf* to the sharîfs, or members of the Prophet's family, by the vizier Ṭalâ'i' ibn Ruzzîk; it also bore the names of Birkat al-Maghâfir, Birkah Himyar, Iṣṭabl Kurrah, and Iṣṭabl Ḳâmish. Ibn Sa'îd sings:

يا بركة للحبش التى يومى بها ♦ طول الزمان مبارك وسعيد
حتى كأنك فى البسيطة جنة ♦ وكأن دهرى كله بك عيد
يا حسن ما يبدو بك الكتان فى ♦ نوارة او زرة معقود
ولما منك سيوفه مسلولة ♦ والقرط فيك رواقه ممدود
وكأنّ ابراجا عليك عرائس ♦ جليت وطيرك حولها غرّيد
يا ليت شعرى هل زمانك عائد ♦ فالشوق فيه مبدى ومعيد

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from those places being 60,000 dinars. From 2,186 districts and village-districts, that is, 1,276 districts and 890 villages, came 3,061,000 dinars.

	Total No. of Places.	Districts.	Villages.	Dinars.
Northern Egypt	1,598	917	681	2,040,040
Provinces:				
Ash-Sharḳîyah	452	294	158	694,121
Al-Murtâḥîyah	89	48	41	70,358
Ad-Daḳahlîyah	70	39	31	53,761
Al-Abwânîyah	6	6	0	4,700
Jazîrah Ḳûsanîya	74	68	6	159,664
Al-Gharbîyah	314	149	165	430,955
As-Samannûdîyah	129	70 or 97	32	200,657
Al-Manûfîyatain	101	69	32	140,933
Fûwah and Al-Muzâḥamîyatain	13	10	3	6,080
An-Nastarâwîyah	6	6	0	14,910
Rosetta, Al-Jadîdîyah and Adkû	[3]	3	0	3,000
Jazîrah Banî Naṣr	64	41	23	62,508
Al-Buḥairah	176	87	89	139,313
Ḥauf Ramsîs	[101]	0	101	[59,080]
Total	1,598	917	681	2,040,040

Fol. 8 a

'O Lake of Al-Ḥabash, at which I spent a day of unbroken pleasure and happiness, so that thy whole surface seemed to me like Paradise, and all the time I seemed to be keeping festival. How charming is the young flax upon thee, with its knots of flowers or buds, and when its leaves like swords are unsheathed from thee, and the leeks have extended their canopy over thee. It seemed as if the towers upon thee were brides unveiling, while birds warbled round them. Would that I knew whether thy season would return, for my desires begin with it and return to it!' See Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* ii. pp. ١٥٢–١٥٥; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. pp. ٥٥–٥٧; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 162. M. Amélineau has overlooked the fact that Al-Maḳrîzî speaks of the Arḍ Ḥabash as well as Abû Ṣâliḥ.

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		Total No. of Places.	Districts.	Villages.	Dinars.
Fol. 8 b	Southern Egypt	588	379	209	1,020,953
	Provinces:				
	Al-Jîzîyah	97	70	27	129,641
	Al-Iṭfîḥîyah	17	13	4	39,449
	Al-Bûṣîrîyah	14	13	1	39,390
	Al-Fayyûmîyah	66	55	11	145,162
	Al-Bahnasâ'îyah	105	84	21	234,801
	Al-Ushmûnain	111	54	57	127,676
Fol. 9 a	As-Suyûṭîyah[1]	54	22	32	——
	Total	464	311	153	716,119

[1] Most of these names will be well known to the reader, but a few of them may be commented on. Al-Murtâḥîyah is now part of Ad-Daḳahlîyah. Al-Abwânîyah was a small province near Damietta, named from the town of Abwân, the inhabitants of which were chiefly Christians; in the fourteenth century it had become part of Al-Buḥairah. See Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٧٨; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ١٠١. Jazîrah Ḳûsanîya lay between Cairo and Alexandria, *ibid.* iv. p. ١٠٠٠. An-Nastarâwîyah lay between Damietta and Alexandria, and was named from its capital Nastarû, *ibid.* iv. p. ٧٨٠. Al-Jadîdah is reckoned by Yâḳût in the province of Murtâḥîyah; but Al-Idrîsî names Al-Jadîdîyah as a separate district [p. 121] (ed. Rome). Ḥauf Ramsîs was between Cairo and Alexandria; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٧١٣. Our copyist omits some names and figures.

The nomenclature and the boundaries of the Egyptian provinces have fluctuated much under Muslim rule. Al-Ḳuḍâ'i, who wrote at the end of the eleventh century, divides Lower Egypt into thirty-three provinces (كُوَر) and Upper Egypt into twenty; see his list quoted by Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٥٣٩.

The official list of places in Egypt drawn up for the purpose of estimating the revenue in A.H. 777=A.D. 1375 gives the following names of provinces:—Lower Egypt: district of Cairo, Al-Ḳalyûbîyah, Ash-Sharḳîyah, Ad-Daḳahlîyah, district of Damietta, Al-Gharbîyah, Al-Manûfîyah, Abyar and Jazîrah Banî Naṣr, Al-Buḥairah, Fûwah and Al-Muzâḥamîyatain, An-Nastarâwîyah, district of

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This revenue was drawn in the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir[1] and in the days of Al-Kaḥḥâl[2] the cadi.

§ Afterwards, in the time of Al-Afḍal[3] his son, in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, one dinar and a third was imposed as a poll-tax.

§ In the vizierate of Ruḍwân ibn Walakhshî[4], in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiẓ, [this tax was raised to] two dinars.

Alexandria, Al-Jîzîyah; and Upper Egypt: Al-Iṭfîḥîyah, Al-Fayyûm, Al-Bahnasâ'îyah, Al-Ushmûnain, Al-Usyûṭîyah, Al-Ikhmîmîyah, Al-Ḳûṣîyah.

The present principal divisions of Egypt, with the number of inhabited centres, are:—Cairo (1), Alexandria (56), Damietta (5), Ṛosetta (9), Port Said (28), Suez (8), Al-'Arîsh (6), Ḳuṣair (2), Al-Buḥairah (1,882), Ash-Sharḳîyah (1,868), Ad-Daḳahlîyah (1,147), Al-Gharbîyah (1,817), Al-Ḳalyûbîyah (717), Al-Manûfîyah (603), Al-Asyûṭîyah (436), Banî Suwaif (423), Al-Fayyûm (567), Al-Jîzîyah (369), Minyah (734), Isnâ (627), Jirjah (870), Ḳanâ (898). See *Recensement de l'Égypte*, ii. pp. x and xi.

[1] The eighth of the Fatimide caliphs; reigned from A.H. 427=A.D. 1035 to A.H. 487=A.D. 1094.

[2] This refers to Ibn al-Kaḥḥâl, the Ḳâḍî 'l-Kuḍât or chief cadi in the last years of Al-Mustanṣir's reign. It was, however, Badr al-Jamâli, the Armenian slave, who became vizier to Al-Mustanṣir in A.H. 467=A.D. 1075, who was the father of Al-Afḍal Shâhanshâh mentioned in the next paragraph.

[3] After the death of Badr in A.H. 487=A.D. 1094, the soldiery chose his son Al-Afḍal Shâhanshâh as his successor in the vizierate. When Al-Mustanṣir died in the same year, Al-Afḍal remained in his post, and continued to act as vizier during the reign of Al-Musta'lî, and after the accession of Al-Âmir (in A.H. 495=A.D. 1101), who eventually caused him to be put to death in A.H. 519=A.D. 1125. Treasures of immense value were found in his house. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* i. p. ٢٥٦; Ibn Khallikân, *op. cit.* i. p. 612; Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. ٦٦ f.

[4] Successor in the vizierate of Tâj ad-Daulah Bahrâm, the Armenian, whom he deposed from his office by force in A.H. 531. Ruḍwân was an oppressor of the Christians. In A.H. 533, on account of intrigues against him, Ruḍwân fled to Syria and returned with an army, but being attacked by the troops of the caliph, he fled to Upper Egypt, where he was captured. He was imprisoned at Cairo, but escaped in A.H. 442, and made a fresh attempt to seize the power of which he

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Account of Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar.

§ In the northern region, Mark ad-Ḍarîr (the Blind) ibn Mauhûb, called Ibn al-Ḳanbar[1], was made priest by the bishop of Damietta[2], and he celebrated the liturgy and communicated the Holy Mysteries to the people. Then the report of him reached the Father and Patriarch Anba John[3], the seventy-second in the order of succession, who condemned him, and suspended him and excommunicated him. After that, Ibn al-Ḳanbar set his mind to the composition of commentaries on the books of the church and others, according to the inventions of his own mind together with the learning that he possessed. Next he taught the people that a man who does not confess his sins to a confessor, and perform penance for his sins, cannot lawfully receive the Eucharist, and that if such a man dies without confession to the priest, he dies in his sins and goes to hell; and accordingly the people began to confess to Ibn al-Ḳanbar and neglected the practice of

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had been deprived, but he was resisted and slain. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* i. p. ٢٥٧; As-Suyûṭî, *op. cit.* ii. p. ١٥٥; Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. ٧٣; Ibn Khallikân, *op. cit.* ii. p. 179.

[1] Cf. Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 550–554; Al-Maḳrîzî, *op. cit.* ii. p. ٢٩٩. The doctrines of Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar and the existence of his large body of followers seem to confirm the opinion that there have always been some among the Copts, since the Council of Chalcedon, who have refused to join in the rejection of that Council, and in the acceptance of the schismatic and heretical teaching of Dioscorus and his disciples. The chief points of agreement with Catholic belief and practice in the teaching of Ibn al-Ḳanbar, brought out by Abû Ṣâliḥ, are the doctrine of the two natures and wills of Christ, the doctrine with regard to confession, the reservation of the sacrament, the abrogation of peculiar fasts, the denial of the necessity of circumcision and of the shaving of the head. Some other parts of Ibn al-Ḳanbar's teaching were probably misunderstood, and it must be remembered that we have only his enemies' account of the matter.

[2] Probably a mistake for Damsîs; see below, fol. 14 a. The Coptic bishop of Damietta had the rank of metropolitan.

[3] Occupied the see from A.D. 1147 to 1167. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 517–530.

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confession over the censer[1]; and they all inclined to him, and listened to his words. A number of the Samaritans also assembled to meet him, and he disputed with them, and showed them that he who came into the world was the Messiah who was expected; and he converted many of them. He also allowed the people to let their hair grow long[2] Fol. 9 b

[1] It seems strange that Ibn al-Ḳanbar's insistence on the need of confession before communion should have been received as a novel and heretical doctrine; but the fact is that the practice, though enjoined by the canons of the church, had fallen into abeyance. See Renaudot, *Perpétuité*, lib. 3, cap. 5, where it is shown that the doctrine was recognized by the church of Egypt. An example of confession in the eighth century is given also in *Hist. Patr.* p. 219 f. Renaudot adds that John, the seventy-second patriarch, is credited by Coptic writers with having abrogated the rule of confession. The reason alleged for John's action is that the people disliked the practice of confession, and were even in some cases driven out of the pale of the church by the severity of the penance imposed. John substituted for the ancient practice a general admission of sinfulness and prayer for forgiveness, something in these terms: 'O Lord God, look upon me, a miserable sinner. I sorrow in that I have sinned against thee, and humbly crave thy divine pardon.' This confession was made over a burning censer, which the priest waved before the face of the penitent. This use of incense led the ignorant to imagine that the ascending smoke had virtue to waft away their guilt, and, as the superstition fixed its roots more deeply, the custom arose of flinging grains of incense on a brazier in the house in atonement for the sin of the moment. Confession over the censer passed not only to the Abyssinians (see below, fol. 105 b), but also to the Nestorians, the Armenians, and the Malabar Christians. In Ethiopia the error had died out when the Jesuits first entered the country. Among the Nestorians there was no confession in the sixteenth century, and Antonio de Gouvea, who visited Malabar about 1600, says that the Christians there had the greatest abhorrence of the sacrament of penance, and the former custom of confessing over the censer was then almost abandoned. It seems, however, that in all these Oriental churches the practice of particular confession was ultimately restored. See Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, i. pp. 105–108; Butler, *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 298. (A. J. B.)

[2] The objection was to the practice then general in Egypt, as it still is among the conservative classes in that country, to shave off either all the hair of the

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as the Melkites do; and he forbad circumcision[1], saying that circumcision belongs to the Jews and Ḥanîfs[2], and that it is not lawful for Christians to resemble the Jews or the Ḥanîfs in any of their traditions which are in force among them in our time. For this doctrine he set up many proofs. He forbad the practice of burning sandarach[3] in the churches, and allowed only frankincense[4]; because this was offered to the Lord with the gold and the myrrh, and therefore

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head, or all with the exception of a small tuft at the crown. We are told, however (below on fol. 15 a), that Ibn al-Ḳanbar approved of a circular tonsure. Whether this latter notice refers to the clergy does not appear, but it seems that Ibn al-Ḳusṭâl, whose views on the shaving of the head seem to have resembled those of Ibn al-Ḳanbar, particularly objected to the shaving of the whole head in the case of the priests; see fol. 20 a.

[1] Circumcision on the eighth day is customary, but not obligatory; on the other hand, the Coptic church forbids circumcision after baptism. In the Abyssinian church circumcision is a necessary rite, and, according to Damianus a Goes, is performed on infants on the day of their baptism, viz. the seventh day, by which the eighth day is doubtless to be understood. (A. J. B.)

[2] He uses the word 'Ḥanîfs' instead of 'Muslims,' because the latter claimed that in practising circumcision they were following the tradition not only of the Jews, but of the ancient, orthodox religion to which Abraham belonged, and to which the Jews had added. It was this ancient religion which Mahomet professed to restore. The passages of the Koran are well known:

ثُمَّ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ أَنِ اتَّبِعْ مِلَّةَ إِبْرٰهِيمَ حَنِيفًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ

(*Sûrat an-Naḥl*, v. 124; cf. v. 121, *Sûrat al-Fajr*, v. 162, and *Sûrat Âl 'Imrân*, v. 89). 'Then we taught thee by inspiration to follow the religion of Abraham, who was a Ḥanîf; he was not of the polytheists.'

[3] This is a resinous substance, the gum of a coniferous tree, *Callitris quadrivalvis*, which flourishes in north-western Africa, particularly in the Atlas range. (A. J. B.)

[4] For other substances which were burnt in the churches by Copts and Abyssinians see below, fol. 105 b. See also Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 60, where sandarach, frankincense, aloes, and *giavi* are named.

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it is not right that anything else should be burnt in the church. He said to those that confessed to him: 'I will bear part of your sins for you, and part will be forgiven by God through your doing penance; for he who receives a penance for his sin in this world will not be compelled by God to do a second penance in the next world.' His followers who confessed to him called him 'Our Father the Director' (or 'Teacher'). When he stopped in the churches a large assembly came together to meet him, and he raised many dissensions, such as had not been known in the church.

After a time the bishops in the North [of Egypt] were informed of these matters, and laid information of them before the Father and Patriarch Anba Mark[1], the seventy-third in the order of succession, who reprimanded him on account of them, and wrote letters to him in which he warned him and forbad him and exhorted him with exhortations of consolation, but he would not listen to him or return to him. Necessity therefore compelled the patriarch to send to summon him to his presence, so Ibn al-Ḳanbar went up to him to the Cell[2] at the church of Al-Mu'allaḳah[3] in Miṣr. There the patriarch assembled to Fol. 10 a meet him a synod consisting of bishops and priests and chief men[4], and said to him: 'Know that he who breaks any of the commandments of the church, and bids the people act in contradiction to it, lies under the penalties of the law. Why then dost thou not return from thy

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[1] Occupied the see from A.D. 1167 to 1189. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 530–554.

[2] The Cell (قِلَّايَة, from the Greek κελλίον) represented, as we should say, the patriarchal palace; see Appendix. It was attached to the principal church, as the bishop's residence generally was in ancient times, and as the Vatican is attached to St. Peter's basilica.

[3] For a description of the patriarchal church of the Virgin, called *Al-Mu'allaḳah* or 'the Hanging Church,' see Butler, *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 216. The name was given to any structure built upon arcades.

[4] The Arabic أَرْخَن, plural أَرَاخِنَة, is derived from the Greek ἄρχων, through the Coptic, which employs the word to denote the chief men or official class.

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ways?' Many things took place with regard to him, the end of which was that he was ordered to go under guard with deputies of the patriarch to the monastery of Anba Antûnah[1] near Iṭfîḥ; this was in the month of Amshîr in the year 890 of the Blameless Martyrs; moreover [it was ordered] that he and his brethren should shave the hair of their heads. Ibn al-Ḳanbar soon began to suffer from the circumstances in which he was placed; and so he addressed the patriarch, and entered into communication with him by means of his mother and his brethren and his uncle, who did not cease to kiss the patriarch's hands and feet, and by means of the prayers of the chief men; and at last the patriarch granted their prayers and wrote to the superior of the monastery bidding him lead that Mark to the place in which the body of Saint Anthony lay, and require him to swear upon it and upon the Gospel of John that he would not again do any of the things that he had done, and then allow him to go free. So the superior did this and released Mark, who returned to his own country[2] on those conditions.

§ The said Mark [ibn al-Ḳanbar] went from the monastery of
Fol. 10 b Saint Anthony to the Rîf[3], after having been made to swear upon the holy Gospel and upon the said body of our Father Anthony, and after having been made to promise that he would not return to his former

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[1] This is the well-known monastery of Saint Anthony near the Red Sea; see below, fol. 54 ff. It is called 'near Iṭfîḥ,' because the road thither from the Nile started from that town, in respect to which the monastery lies a little to the south-east, at a distance of sixty miles.

[2] I. e. Damsîs or its neighbourhood; see fol. 14.

[3] There has been some dispute as to the meaning of the Arabic word ريف, which generally means the country lying upon the banks of a river, or upon the sea-shore; see Dozy, *ad verb.* In Egypt the word was used to denote the Delta or Lower Egypt; see below, fol. 21 a. M. Amélineau, in his somewhat curious article upon the name الريف, speaks as if it were known from two sources only: the Arabic Synaxarium, the authority of which he rejects, and the Ethiopic Chronicle of John of Niciu, upon the authority of which he peremptorily decides that the Rîf is synonymous with Upper Egypt! see *Géogr.* p. 403 f.

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ways or transgress the canons of the church and the rules of the law; yet this said Mark, when he arrived in his own country, returned to his former ways and did even worse than before. For there gathered together to him a very large body of the ignorant from the river-banks and the villages and the towns, nearly five thousand men; and reports of him arrived as far as Ḳalyûb[1]. Among these men were some who obeyed him and attached themselves to him, and bound themselves to do what he appointed and ordered for each of them; so that some of them bound themselves to bring him part of their money and of the fruit of their gardens and vineyards, and a tithe of their income; and they brought it to him, so that he increased in wealth beyond his former state.

Then the patriarch wrote to him to make known to him what would happen to him if he did not repent, and to terrify him and warn him of that which would befall him if he went on in his pride, and in his breaking of his oath and departure from that which he had sworn; and the patriarch exhorted him and warned him of the end of his perjury and his heresy and his excommunication, namely, that the end of these things is perdition. Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar would not, however, listen to the patriarch's letters, but behaved insolently and increased in pride and perversity, and would not be converted. So the patriarch wrote letters to the bishops of Northern Egypt containing an account of the case from the beginning to the end, and a summary of the canons Fol. 11 a by which such a man is condemned to excommunication on the severest terms if he persists in his pride and cleaves to the error of his impiety; and bidding each of the bishops, after giving an account of whatever he had ascertained of the man, write in his own handwriting to the effect that it was not lawful for Mark to do as he had dared to do. So each of the bishops wrote his own account of Mark's opposition to

[1] About ten miles to the north of Cairo. It is the Coptic ⲕⲁⲗⲓⲱⲡⲉ, and is now the capital of the district of Ḳalyûb, and of the province of Ḳalyûbîyah. It had in 1885 a population of 8,644. The neighbourhood was famous for its fertility, and for the numerous gardens which adorned it; it was one of the richest spots in Egypt. Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *op. cit.* v. p. ٣٧ f.; Amél., *Géogr.* p. 390.

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the law of his own church, and added that it was not right for him to do what he had dared to do, and that he could not be allowed to follow the fancies of his own mind as he had done in transgression of the law; and each bishop confirmed the sentence of excommunication upon him.

After this, Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar was not satisfied with what he had done, and with having broken the oath which he had sworn upon the Gospel and upon the body of the great Saint Anthony in the church of God, or with having resisted the law, and refused to accept that which was binding upon him according to the law of the Christians of whom he was one; but he even wrote an address and submitted it to the sultan. The purport of his address was that he desired that an assembly should be called to meet him in the presence of the patriarch; but he embellished his account of what had passed, and said whatever it pleased him to say, and asked for protection.

The Ḳâḍî 'l-Fâḍil ibn 'Alî al-Baisânî[1] wrote an answer to his letter, of which the following is a copy:

'Thou art a man of great distinction. But the patriarch of the Christians has made up a story of a man who is innocent of having departed from the truth of his religion and says that he has departed from it, and has brought in a strange doctrine, by which the word of his people is cut short, and the traditions generally held by his co-religionists are broken.

'Thou hast been banished once, and hast ventured to return from
Fol. 11 b banishment without permission. Go forth, therefore, as a private person without rank or jurisdiction, and do not assume any pre-eminence over the Christians or jurisdiction among them, until a lawful assembly be

[1] Abû 'Alî 'Abd ar-Raḥîm al-Lakhmî al-'Askalânî, generally known as Al-Ḳâḍî 'l-Fâḍil, was vizier to Saladin, with whom he stood high in favour. He was famous for his literary style, especially in his letters, of which we here have a specimen. He was born at Ascalon in A. H. 529=A. D. 1135, and died A. H. 596=A. D. 1200. His father was for a time cadi at Baisân on the Jordan near Tiberias, and for this reason the family all received the surname of Baisânî. Ibn Khallikân, *op. cit.* ii. p. 111.

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called to meet thee which shall decide whether thou shalt be of them, in which case thou shalt not oppose them, or whether thou shalt depart from them, in which case thou wilt wander away from the faithful and followers of the book, and it will be necessary for thee to become a Muslim, for thou wilt be neither Jew nor Christian.' This is the end.

§ After Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar had remained in his own district persisting in his former ways, then he appeared at the Cell at the church of Al-Mu'allaḳah in Miṣr, and waited upon the patriarch, and confessed his sin, and asked for pardon, which was granted to him. Prayers were offered, and the liturgy was said: and when Mark went forward to communicate of the holy mysteries, the patriarch made him swear, in the presence of a body of bishops and priests, that he would not again do what he had been forbidden to do. So he swore a binding oath, and made firm promises, before receiving the holy mysteries. Then he returned to his own district, and had not spent a single day there before he returned to his former ways; nor did he keep his second oath, taken before the altar of God in the presence of the bishops and priests and chief men and deacons and a congregation of the orthodox laity. Thus it became evident that he did not fear God or respect men, since he had been allowed to receive the eucharist in the sanctuary of God. He now gave permission to those who followed his opinions to communicate early[1] on the festival of the Forty Martyrs[2], which is on the 13th of Barmahât, and takes place during the fast of the Holy Forty Days; and on this day he forbad communion of the wine[3]. He forbad also

Fol. 12 a

[1] As it is well known, the Copts celebrate the liturgy, of course fasting, at three o'clock in the afternoon during the fast of the forty days of Lent, except on Saturday and Sunday. It is not stated here that Ibn al-Ḳanbar allowed the liturgy to be celebrated early on one of these days, but that he allowed an early communion, doubtless with the reserved sacrament, see fol. 15 b. See Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 73.

[2] The 13th of Barmahât would be equivalent to the 9th of March, whereas the Roman calendar keeps the festival of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste on the 10th of March.

[3] Because the wine was not reserved, see fol. 15 b.

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the giving of extreme unction by relations to one another[1]. These things were in addition to the other matters which were known of him before. Then he began to ride about, accompanied by a body of his followers; and he travelled through the Rîf in state like a wâlî, and banquets were prepared for him and his companions. The end of this was that he went over to the sect of the Melkites, and confessed the Two Natures and the Two Wills[2]; and the Melkites received him. Thus he threw off the faith of Severus and Dioscorus[3], our fathers the

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[1] This is an abuse of which I do not find mention elsewhere; the Coptic ritual requires that seven priests shall take part in the administration of the sacrament of extreme unction, and that each of them shall recite a passage of scripture and say certain prayers over the sick man.

[2] Our author, though an Armenian, if the title of the MS. be correct, here speaks as if he fully accepted the creed of the Coptic monophysites. To explain this we must remember that many of the Armenians were monophysites and monothelites as well as the Copts, and that when the Armenian catholicus, Gregory II, in the course of his travels, arrived in Egypt about A.D. 1080, the representatives of these two religious communities made a confession of common faith in the One Nature of Christ. 'On that day,' says Michael, bishop of Tinnîs, 'it was made known to all that Copts, Armenians, Syrians, Ethiopians, and Nubians are at one in the orthodox faith which the holy fathers of old once unanimously confessed, and which Nestorius, Leo, and the Council of Chalcedon had changed.' See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 461; Ter-Mikelian, *Die armen. Kirche*, &c. p. 84.

On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Armenians, and of their writers and teachers, preserved the catholic belief which Ibn al-Ḳanbar and his followers also maintained; and, in the lifetime of our author himself, the Synod of Tarsus, summoned by king Leo and the patriarch Gregory in A.D. 1196, acknowledged the Council of Chalcedon. For the acceptance of the catholic doctrine by Armenian doctors, see Clemens Galanus, *Conciliat. Eccles. Arm. cum Romana ex ipsis Armenorum Patrum et doctorum testimoniis*, &c., Rome, 1690.

[3] It is, of course, well known that the Copts look upon Dioscorus, the twenty-fifth patriarch of Alexandria, who was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, and upon Severus, the fifty-seventh patriarch of Antioch, who was condemned by the Synods of Constantinople of A.D. 518 and A.D. 536 and the second General Council of Constantinople in A.D. 553, as the two great champions

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patriarchs, who withstood emperors and great men in matters of religion, and exposed the following of the emperor[1] in his creed, and would not give up the faith of the 318 ancient fathers[2], who had withstood Diocletian[3] the Infidel, and endured torments of different kinds, the limbs of some being cut off, in defence of the true faith established by patriarchs and bishops through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and condemned and excommunicated any who should depart from it and believe differently. Now this wretch Mark ibn al-Ḳanbar, blind both in eyes and heart, as one of the fathers said, separated himself from the ranks of the brethren, as Judas Iscariot did, and therefore God removed him from the ranks of the orthodox, as he removed Satan from the ranks of the angels on high on account of his pride and his thinking Fol. 12 b within himself that he was the greatest, for which cause he fell; and so this wretch Mark thought within himself that he was wise, and therefore he fell and became one of the disputatious heretics who imagine that the Will of the Manhood was opposed to the Will of the Godhead; and

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of the monophysite doctrine, or orthodox faith as they call it. These two monophysite saints are commemorated or invoked more than once in the course of the Coptic liturgy. The Prayer of Absolution addressed to the Son (تحليل الابن) prays that all present may be absolved 'out of the mouth of' the Trinity, of the twelve apostles, of Saint Mark, and of 'the holy patriarch Severus and our teacher Dioscorus.' The visit of Severus to Egypt is commemorated in the Coptic calendar on Bâbah 2=September 29, his death on Amshîr 14=February 8; and the translation of his body to the monastery of *To Ennaton* at Alexandria on Kîhak 10=December 6. Severus was the author of many works in Greek, which were translated into Syriac, and are still in great part extant; see British Museum Catalogue of Syriac MSS. The fragments of Severus' works in the original Greek still existing are to be found in Mai, *Script. vet. nova collectio.* The death of Dioscorus is commemorated on Tût 7=September 4.

[1] This is an allusion to the origin of the name Melkite, in Arabic ملكى, from مَلِك, 'king' or 'emperor.'

[2] Of Nicaea.

[3] It is true that some of the bishops who took part in the first Council of Nicaea had suffered in the persecution.

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he was excommunicated by three patriarchs: namely, by Anba Jonas[1] the seventy-second, who died while this wretch was still bound by his anathemas, and had not been loosed from them; by the patriarch of Antioch, Anba Michael[2]; and by Anba Mark the seventy-third [patriarch of Alexandria]; and also by sixty bishops in the two provinces of Northern and Southern Egypt.

§ Now this Ibn al-Ḳanbar had gathered together a body from among the Melkites, the opponents of our orthodox faith, together with those who came to him of the ignorant and simple among the Copts, and he went down to Ḳalyûb with the desire to pervert some of the inhabitants of that town; but the scribe of the town, and the ḍâmin[3]

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[1] Or John, see fol. 9 a. In Arabic the names يُوحَنَّا or يُحَنَّس and يُوْنَاس are frequently confused. Al-Maḳrîzî calls both the seventy-second and the seventy-fourth patriarch Jonas, whereas the patriarchal biographies name them John.

[2] This patriarch does not seem to be named in the lists. He was the author of a treatise on Preparation for the Eucharist (Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 550). There are five of the name in the rolls of the see, namely, Michael I, the 88th patriarch, consecrated A.D. 879; Michael II, the 126th, A.D. 1370; Michael III, the 129th, A.D. 1401; Michael IV, the 134th, A.D. 1454; Michael V, the 140th, A.D. 1555. The published lists are full of discrepancies. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. col. 713 ff.; Neale, *Patriarchate of Antioch*, p. 173 ff. If Michael of Antioch excommunicated Ibn al-Ḳanbar, it must have been on account of his rejection of the monophysite doctrine, not on account of his teaching on the sacrament of penance, which agrees with that of the patriarch of Antioch, contained in his treatise; see Renaudot, *op. cit.* p. 552.

[3] The ḍâmin was the farmer of the taxes. The fact that he and the scribe were both Copts is an illustration of the rule followed by the Mahometan governors of employing Copts as officials in those branches of the government service which required facility in writing and accuracy in calculation; see below, fol. 28 b. There is a well-known passage of Al-Maḳrîzî which contains the following words, in which he speaks of the unsuccessful rebellion of the Copts in A.H. 216=A.D. 831:

ولم يقدر احد منهم بعد ذلك على الخروج على السلطان وغلبهم المسلمون على عامة القرى فرجعوا من المحاربة الى المكايدة واستعمال المكر والحيلة ومكايدة للمسلمين وعملوا كتاب الخراج فكانت لهم وللمسلمين اخبار كثيرة

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of the town, and others of the orthodox party heard of him, and went to him and watched him, and took him and his party and bound them to pay the poll-tax[1], and gave them orders, and informed the wâlî[2] of the town that this body of men were acting in opposition to their own laws, and lay under the ban of the patriarch, and that the people of every district in which they settled would suffer from them. 'Visit them therefore' [added the scribe and the ḍâmin] 'and do not let them go until thou hast obtained money from them, lest they secretly enter the town and harm come to the inhabitants.' So the wâlî visited them and made prisoners of them, and would not let them go until they had paid seventeen dinars as a contribution towards the poll-tax; and when they had paid the poll-tax, certificates were written for them in which they bound themselves not to visit Ḳalyûb, except as travellers on their way to the capital or some other city, and never to settle in the town. Thus they departed from Ḳalyûb in the worst of plights. Fol. 13 a

Then Ibn al-Ḳanbar heard that the patriarch[3] of the Melkites was arrived from Alexandria, and was spending his time in a hall of reception[4]; so he made his way thither to salute him and to congratulate

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'None of the Copts after this was able to rebel against the government; and the Muslims subdued them throughout the country villages. So they betook themselves to cheating instead of fighting, and to the employment of cunning and guile, and to cheating the Muslims; and they were appointed scribes of the land-tax, and there were many affairs between them and the Muslims.' (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٣٩٢.)

[1] Laid upon all who refused to adopt the Mahometan religion, by the conditions of conquest. The Ḳanbarites would, of course, already have paid it in their own district, and were forced to pay it a second time as a punishment for having come to Ḳalyûb.

[2] The *wâlî l'beled* or governor of the town was the chief local official, and head of the police.

[3] Sophronius II was patriarch in A.D. 1166. His successor was Elias (?). In 1195 Mark was patriarch. Le Quien, ii. col. 487 ff.

[4] الإيوان, corrupted into Lîwân, is the name given by the modern Egyptians to the raised part of the reception-room (منظرة) in which the host and his guests

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him upon his good health, in the company of a body of followers who might justify their leader's words if he were attacked. Now this patriarch was accompanied by several metropolitans, that is, the metropolitans of the country, who informed the patriarch of the harm that Ibn al-Ḳanbar had done to them by breaking the canons of their religion, and they inquired into the matter, and they said, 'This man is a Copt, and does what is not customary.' Then Ibn al-Ḳanbar answered, 'God curse the hour when I became one of you.' And the patriarch said to him, 'Virtue and peace alone are to be found in our company.'

Subsequently to this, Ibn al-Ḳanbar requested that a church might be allotted to him at Sanbâṭ [1], after what had happened to him there. But the metropolitan of that place said to the patriarch, 'Relieve me of my office of metropolitan, and call him to take a church for himself, if thou hast appointed one for him.' So the patriarch was silent, and said
Fol. 13 b not a word. A disgraceful encounter took place between Ibn al-Ḳanbar and this metropolitan of Sanbâṭ, the end of which was that the metropolitan rushed upon him and dealt him a painful blow, and knocked off his head-covering before a full assembly. This happened in the month of Abîb in the year of the Church 901 (=A. D. 1186).

In the same month this wretch Ibn al-Ḳanbar dared to return and pay a visit to the father and patriarch Anba Mark, accompanied by Ibn ʿAbdûn and one of the most distinguished friends of the patriarch, to whose Cell at the *Muʿallaḳah* they conducted him. The patriarch was

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sit. The lower part of the room, much narrower than the Lîwân, is called دُرْقَعَة, and here the guests leave their shoes before stepping on the Lîwân. Upon the Lîwân, mats or carpets are spread, and against the walls are mattresses and cushions composing the dîwân or divan. See Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 15 f.

[1] Also called Sunbûṭîyah (Yâḳût); situated in the Jazîrah Ḳûsanîya, as the district was then called. It was the Coptic ⲧⲁⲥⲉⲗⲗⲁⲡⲟϯ, and is now included in the district of Ziftah, in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, having a population in 1885 of 3,223. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 101; Al-Idrîsî, *op. cit.* (ed. Rome) [p. 116]; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 415.

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surrounded by a company, and said to him, 'Why has thy reverence[1] returned to me, thou excommunicate, in this guise so different from our fashion?' and he put forth his hand to Ibn al-Ḳanbar's head and struck off his cap, so that he remained bareheaded. But one of the disciples of the patriarch restored the cap to his head; and this vexed the patriarch, and he was wroth with that disciple for what he had done without permission. So Ibn al-Ḳanbar departed from his presence, and went forth ashamed, not knowing how to walk. Then the news of this occurrence reached the patriarch of the Melkites, who sent for Ibn al-Ḳanbar, and reproved him, saying, 'Dost thou visit a patriarch whose faith thou dost oppose? How will he arrange thy affairs?' Then the patriarch of the Melkites sent Ibn al-Ḳanbar to the monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair[2], and there he dwelt with his companions, administering the affairs of the monastery; nor Fol. 14 a
was he converted to anything except to disputing with all communities, thinking in himself that he was wise; yet while he thought thus he was overcome by ignorance. He lived only a short time after this, and then he died[3], having destroyed his own soul and the souls of those whom he seduced by his deceit.

§ After the death of Ibn al-Ḳanbar, I found a report on sheets of paper in the handwriting of Anba Michael[4], metropolitan[5] of Damietta, who therein makes the following statements to the author of this book, perhaps in answer to his letter to him on the subject of Ibn al-Ḳanbar and the evil which he wrought in the world. Within it were the words:

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[1] The respectful mode of address here ironically used by the patriarch is not appropriate to the clergy, but common to all men above the lowest ranks. جنابك is now frequently found, especially in letters.

[2] See below, fol. 49 ff.

[3] For the date of his death see below, fol. 51 a and b.

[4] The author of a treatise on Confession (Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 552) and of other works (Vansleb, *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie*, p. 333).

[5] There were three metropolitans under the Coptic patriarch, namely those of Damietta, Jerusalem, and Abyssinia; but the date at which the see of Damietta was raised to the metropolitical dignity, and the exact nature of that dignity in this case, are uncertain.

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'The poor miserable Michael at Damietta, hereby makes known to his friend the brother that which has reached me with regard to Fakhîr ibn al-Ḳanbar, who became a priest although unworthy of that dignity in many ways, and was called Mark, and with regard to his corrupt doctrines contained in the treatises which he composed, in books contradicting the truth, and by which he seduced simple men, devoid of understanding, into the paths of the heretics. Now this insolent heretic had married a wife, who lived with him for a time; but afterwards he desired to become a monk, and to separate himself from her. She, however, would not consent to his wishes; and so he conceived the plan of marrying her in secret to another. Then he went to Anba Jonas, bishop of Damsîs[1], and made him believe that his wife had become a nun, and was living in the convent with the nuns; and thus the bishop admitted him to the monastic vows, and ordained him priest. But his affairs did not long remain secret, and information was laid against him
Fol. 14 b before the patriarch Jonas, the seventy-second in the succession of the fathers and patriarchs; [and this occasioned][2] his excommunication and cutting off, and the excommunication of the bishop who had ordained him priest, because he had not inquired into the truth of the matter in such a way as to establish the veracity of Ibn al-Ḳanbar before he admitted him as a monk and ordained him priest; for thus he had become a partner with him in his sin and his contempt of the apostolic canons. For Paul the Apostle says that if a woman chooses to separate herself from her husband, and he consents to her desire, she shall not

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[1] The Coptic ⲧⲉⲙⲥⲓⲱⲧ. Yâḳût sets this town four parasangs from Samannûd and two from Bara, of which places the former is still existing, see note on fol. 57 b, and the latter was in the diocese of Sakha, now in the district of Kafr ash-Shaikh in the province of Al-Gharbîyah. The Copto-Arabic lists of places give Damsîs between Sandalât and Sahrajt or Naṭû, but the order of the names in such lists cannot always be depended upon as strictly corresponding to the position of the localities. Damsîs is no longer existing, although it was still a town at the beginning of this century. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٥٨٨; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *op. cit.* p. ٩٠; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 117]; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 119 f.

[2] Some words seem to be omitted here.

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marry another; and if she prefers to be married, she shall return to her former husband; but the man shall not put away his wife at all. Yet this man put away his wife, and forced her to separate herself from him, and married her to another.

'After this he made a parade of his learning and his exposition of the holy books, and he translated them from Coptic[1] into Arabic; and he wrote that *Tafsîr at-Tafsîr* according to the imaginations of his own mind. While he was living at the church of Damsîs, he concealed the Guide[2] which indicates what portions of the Gospels and of the ecclesias-

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[1] Coptic had become a dead language long before this time in Lower Egypt, although Al-Maḳrîzî informs us that near Usyût, at Mûshah and Udrunkah, and in other parts of Upper Egypt, it was still spoken at the beginning of the fifteenth century; and Vansleb assures us that he was shown an old man who was said to be the last person who spoke Coptic. Al-Maḳrîzî's words with regard to Mûshah are:

والاغلب على نصارى هذه الاديرة معرفة القبطى الصعيدى وهو اصل اللغة القبطية وبعدها اللغة القبطية البحرية ونسا نصارى الصعيد واولادهم لا يكادون يتكلمون الا بالقبطية الصعيدية (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥٠٧).

Of Udrunkah he says:

ودرنكة اهلها من النصارى يعرفون اللغة القبطية فيتحدث صغيرهم وكبيرهم بها ويفسرونها بالعربية (*Ibid.* p. ٥١٨).

For a translation of these passages see Appendix.

[2] Generally called *ḳutmârus*, a corruption of the Coptic word ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ, borrowed from the Greek and meaning 'divided into sections.' See Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 62, and Butler, *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 260. Mr. Malan has published an almost complete translation of a Coptic *Ḳutmârus* (London, D. Nutt, 1874). (A. J. B.)

A *ḳutmârus*, in the Medicean Library at Florence, of A. D. 1396, exhibits the following title and list of contents of its first two parts:

ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ: ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲯⲁⲗⲗⲟⲥ: ⲛⲉⲗⲗ ⲡⲓⲗⲉⲝⲓⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲧⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ: ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲍ̅ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲏ: ⲛⲉⲗⲗ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ: ⲛⲉⲗⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲣⲁⲝⲓⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ: ⲛⲉⲗⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲁ̅ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲩⲕⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲧⲣⲟⲗⲗⲡ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲣⲟⲩⲉ

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tical books must be read every day, and he made himself the Guide: that is to say, when he was bidden to recite portions of the Gospels and the

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ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲧⲫⲁⲙⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ϩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲁⲝⲓⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲓⲱⲧⲏⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲧⲫⲁⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲉⲛ ϥ̄ ⲡⲓϫⲓⲛϥⲱⲙ

ⲡⲓϫⲓⲛϥⲱⲙ ⲁ̄ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲛⲓⲕⲧⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲛⲓⲡϣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ϥⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ

ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲛⲓ ⲕⲧⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲁⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲓϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲉ ϥⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲑⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲑⲱⲣ ϫⲟⲓⲁⲕ ⲧⲱⲃⲓ ⲙⲙⲉϫⲓⲣ

ϩⲉⲛ ⲡϣⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲑ̄ⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲧⲉⲱⲣⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲁ̄ ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁⲣⲭⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲕⲁ̄ ⲙ̀ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲣⲕⲟⲩ-ⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲓϫⲓⲛϩⲱⲙ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲓⲛⲙⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲟⲧⲱⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲁⲓⲟⲥⲕⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲁⲓⲥ-ⲕⲗⲉⲡⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲛⲟⲧⲱⲛⲣⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ⲧⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϣⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲱⲙⲙⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲡⲓⲉⲣϥⲙⲉⲧⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡϣⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲙⲙⲙⲁⲣ-ⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ

ⲡⲓϫⲓⲛϥⲱⲙ ⲃ̄ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲛⲓⲕⲧⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲛⲓⲡϣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ

ⲛⲓⲕⲧⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲧⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲙ̄ ⲙⲁⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ-ⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲛⲓⲕⲧⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲕⲧⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲧⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥⲧⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲡϣⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲓⲛⲙⲙⲉⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄

ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲛⲓⲕⲧⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲃⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϣⲱⲛⲥ ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲡⲏⲡ ⲙⲙⲉⲥⲱⲣⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲡⲓⲉ̄ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲉ̄ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲧⲉⲃⲁⲟⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲙ̀ⲧⲡⲓϣⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ

ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲧⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲧϣⲱ ⲡⲃ̄ ⲡⲅ̄ ⲡⲇ̄ ⲡⲉ̄

ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲧⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲡⲇ̄

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Epistles [of Saint Paul] and the Catholic Epistles and the Acts, he produced what he chose in his own mind, some passage expounded in

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ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲩⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲩⲥⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ̄ ⲛⲉⲗⲗ ⲡⲉ̄

ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲩⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲉⲝⲁⲛⲇⲣⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ̄

ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲩⲓⲟⲛ ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ

'Ḳutmârus: containing the Psalms and Lessons from the Holy Scriptures, and from the seven Catholic Epistles, and from the Epistles of Saint Paul, and from the Acts of the Apostles, and from the four Books of the Gospel; to be read throughout the course of the year, at Vespers, and at Midnight, and at the Liturgy; according to the rule of the Church of Alexandria of the Copts. Divided into three parts.

'The first part [contains the Lessons] for the following Sundays and Festivals:

'The Sundays of the first six months of the year, namely, Tût, Bâbah, Hatûr, Kîhak, Tûbah, Amshîr;

'The Festivals of Saint John Baptist; the Holy Cross; George the Martyr; the Four Living Creatures; Michael the Archangel; the Four and Twenty Elders; Mercurius the Martyr; the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin Mary; the Vigil of the Nativity of the Lord; Saint Stephen, Protomartyr; Dioscorus; Aesculapius and their sons at Panopolis in the Thebaid; the Vigil of the Baptism of the Lord; the Commemoration of the Holy Virgin Mary; the Forty Martyrs; Saint Macarius; the Apostles Peter and Paul.

'The second part [contains the Lessons] for the following Sundays and Festivals:

'The Sundays of the Fast up to the Resurrection; the Sundays of the Fifty Days up to the Sunday of Pentecost; the Festival of the Ascension of the Lord; the Sundays of the months of Bashans, Ba'ûnah, Abîb, Misrî; the fifth of the five intercalary days; and every day of the Great Week.

'Discourse of Saint Sinuthius, which is read on the Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday [of the Great Week]; Discourse of Bishop Severian for the Wednesday; Discourse of Saint John Chrysostom for the Thursday and Friday; Discourse of Saint Athanasius of Alexandria for the Friday; Discourse of Severus of Antioch for Holy Saturday.'

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Fol. 15 a the *Tafsîr at-Tafsîr*, to support his heresy and to strengthen his false creed, until he stole away the minds of some of the orthodox laity, whose fear of God and efforts for the salvation of their souls made them submit to be deceived by his embellishments, and to enter with him into his sect. First of all he allured them to confess their sins to him, and then he confirmed the belief in their minds that without such confession there can be no repentance or forgiveness. Next he commanded them not to shave the whole of their heads, but only the crown of the head, and to give up the practice of circumcision, because God created Adam perfect and free from defects[1]; saying, "As God created the form of Adam and perfected it, so it is very good," and that this tradition of circumcision is not accepted except by the Jews and Hanîfs. He also taught that frankincense alone should be burnt in the church, because it was offered to the Lord with the gold and the myrrh; and that a man must not wash his mouth with water after communion. All these things were taught by degrees, and the people listened to his teachings one by one during a space of more than fifteen years. At last he bade them make the sign of the cross with two fingers[2], and make their communion with the reserved[3] sacrament which had been consecrated on the Sunday, and which the priest took with him and gave to those who confessed and desired to receive the communion after confessing and doing penance, taking the centre of it and dipping it in new wine, over which they prayed apart and so communicated.

Fol. 15 b He also abrogated the three days of the Fast of Nineveh[4] and the first

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[1] This reminds us of the objection made by the Russians of the conservative party to the patriarch Nicon, when he inculcated the practice of shaving the beard, that he was teaching them 'to mutilate the image of God.'

[2] The practice of the Copts was and is to make the sign of the cross with one finger. See Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 68.

[3] Reservation of the sacrament is not sanctioned by the Coptic canons. See Butler, *Coptic Churches*, ii. pp. 54, 293. (A. J. B.)

[4] The Fast of Nineveh is so called in remembrance of the Ninevites, who fasted to turn away the wrath of God. It lasts three days, beginning on Monday, and falls two weeks before the Fast of Heraclius, which immediately precedes

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week[1] of the Fast, according to the rule of the Melkites, and he allowed meat and milk to be eaten during the Week of Nineveh on the two days of Wednesday and Friday.

'In consequence of all these things, those of the orthodox who were on their guard against him awoke, while his followers among the Christians were deceived by him. Moreover, his creed which he expounded, and which is contained in the books which he wrote, is such as no Christian community accepts, not even the Melkites whom he approached in the doctrines that have already been described. For he said in his books that the Holy Trinity is composed of three Gods, each of them absolutely perfect in word and spirit, but having one common nature; and that they resemble Adam, Eve, and Abel, who were three persons with one common nature, each of them being as perfect as the others. In the next place, Mark drew distinctions between the three Persons, and held that the Father has dominion and authority over his Son and his Holy Spirit, and commands or

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Lent. See Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 76; Danhauer, *Ecclesia Aethiopica* (Strasburg, 1672), cap. vi. (A. J. B.)

[1] I. e. the so-called Fast of Heraclius, which, immediately preceding Lent, forms the first week of the Great Fast. The origin of this fast is said to be as follows: that the emperor Heraclius, on his way to Jerusalem, promised his protection to the Jews of Palestine, but that on his arrival in the holy city, the schismatical patriarch and the Christians generally prayed him to put all the Jews to the sword, because they had joined the Persians shortly before in their sack of the city and cruelties towards the Christians; that the emperor hesitated to break his solemn oath in the manner thus suggested to him, but was eventually persuaded to sanction a general massacre of the Jews by the solemn promise made to him by the authorities of the monophysite community that all members of their body would henceforth until the end of the world observe the week before Lent as a strict fast for the benefit of his soul. This promise was, of course, binding on the Egyptian and Ethiopian monophysites, as well as on the Syrians, with whom alone they were in communion; but it did not affect the Melkites. See Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 74 f. The same account of the origin of the Fast of Heraclius is given by the Mahometan historian Al-Maḳrîzî (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٩١). (A. J. B.)

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forbids them to act; and that they obey him and follow his commands; and that each of the Three does a work in which the others do not participate: the Father, namely, commands; the Son creates what the Father commands him to create; and the Holy Spirit gives life to that to which the Father commands him to give life; and that every creature which exists was created by the Son, at the command of the Father; and everything that lives received life from the Holy Spirit at the command of the Father.

Fol. 16 a 'In the next place he held that there was a feminine quality in the Godhead, and he taught that this feminine quality is proper to the Holy Spirit[1]. He held that the eternal Word of God is born through

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[1] The words of St. Jerome are the best commentary on this passage:

'Hebraei asserunt, nec de hac re apud eos ulla dubitatio est, Spiritum Sanctum lingua sua appellari genere feminino, id est רוח קדשה . . . Sed et in evangelio quod, juxta Hebraeos scriptum, Nazaraei lectitant, Dominus loquitur: modo me tulit mater mea, Spiritus Sanctus. Nemo autem in hac parte scandalizari debet quod dicatur apud Hebraeos spiritus genere feminino, cum nostra lingua appelletur genere masculino, et Graeco sermone neutro. In divinitate enim nullus est sexus. Et ideo in tribus principalibus linguis, quibus titulus dominicae scriptus est passionis, tribus generibus appellatur, ut sciamus nullius esse generis quod diversum est.' (Jerome, *Comm. in Esaiam*, cap. xl. ver. 11.)

Origen quotes the same passage from the Ebionite or Nazarene 'Gospel according to the Hebrews':

"'Εὰν δὲ προσίεταί τις τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ φησιν· Ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ." (Origen, *Comm. in Johannem*, tom. II; vol. iv. col. 132, Migne; cf. *Homil. XV in Jerem.*)

Ibn al-Ḳanbar, whose opinions are here described for us by a hostile witness, anxious to detect as many errors as he can in the writings of a man condemned by the authorities of the Coptic community, perhaps knew a little Syriac, or even a little Hebrew, and so was aware that the word for 'spirit' in those languages, רוח, ܪܘܚ, is feminine in gender, and commented upon that fact, possibly to the same effect as Jerome. The Coptic metropolitan evidently presents us with a very crude statement of Ibn al-Ḳanbar's views.

In Arabic ريح may be masculine as well as feminine, and is used in the former

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all eternity from the Father and the Holy Spirit; and he explained that as the Father has no beginning, so the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from him[1], without beginning, and the Son also is begotten eternally from them both without beginning. He held that God never spoke to any of his creatures, but spoke to his Son and to his Holy Spirit; and he contradicted all the words of God that came to his people through the divine books, both old and new. He held that the patriarchs and the prophets were tormented in hell on account of their sins; and that they could not save their souls in spite of their piety towards God; but were punished in hell until the Lord Christ saved them, being himself without sin. He held that the patriarchs and prophets were without the gift of the Holy Spirit, and next that the Holy Spirit never spoke by their mouths; thus denying them the grace of the Holy Spirit. He said: "If the Holy Spirit had been in them, they would not have gone down into hell." Next he supported these false doctrines by the assertion that all the good actions done by the patriarchs and prophets were reckoned by God to Satan, which is as much as to say that Satan helped them to do good deeds without the Holy Spirit. This doctrine he supported by his belief that the good works done by the disciples and the rest of the people of Christ are reckoned to Christ, because they did these works by the Holy Spirit. Fol. 16 b

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gender when it denotes the Holy Spirit, الروح القُدُس or القُدّوس. The ancient form was رُوحُ ٱلقُدْسِ, from the Syriac ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ.

[1] Here the metropolitan of Damietta attributes to Ibn al-Ḳanbar the common doctrine of the Melkites and Copts. Vansleb says of the latter: 'Ils croient que le Saint Esprit procède du Père seulement, se fondant sur la parole de notre Seigneur, quand il dit dans son Évangile: Cum autem venerit Paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis, a patre meo,' &c. (*Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 122 f.) In the Catechism published in 1885 by Filtâ'ûs, the hegumen of the patriarchal church of St. Mark at Cairo, it is said (p. ٧):

الاقنوم الثالث يتميز بخاصة الانبثاق لانه الروح القدس المنبثق اى المنبعث من الاب ازليا

'The third Person [of the Trinity] is distinguished by the appropriate character of procession, for He is the Holy Spirit who proceeds, that is to say, issues from the Father eternally.'

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He held also that none has died from the time of Adam onwards except for committing some sin for which he deserved death; and that the body of Christ alone did not commit any sin, for which it deserved death; and that when he died he received from his Father all that were imprisoned in hell, through the merit of his death; and in one place he says, "he received from Satan all that were imprisoned in hell." Thus Mark implies that the Lady died on account of sin alone, and so others beside her who are justified in the Gospel and the Old Testament. He held also that after the death of men and their assembling in paradise, there happens to those who have not been chastised in this life[1] the same that happened to Adam; and he held that punishment and recompense in the next world belong to the

[1] Vansleb says that although the Copts do not employ a term corresponding to the Latin 'purgatory,' yet 'il est bien vrai qu'ils croyent que les âmes souffrent des peines & qu'elles reçoivent du soulagement par le Saint Sacrifice & par les œuvres de piété qu'on fait pour elles, & il est vrai aussi qu'à cette fin ils font des obsèques pour ces mêmes âmes & qu'ils disent la Messe le 3 & le 7 jour, à la fin du mois, au quarantième jour, au sixième mois & à la fin de l'année de leur trépas,' &c. (*Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 140). Perhaps the doctrine of Ibn al-Ḳanbar was more definite than that held by the majority of the Copts on a point on which, as Vansleb says, 'l'Église Copte ne s'est point encore expliquée.'

The following is an extract from page ٥٨ of the Catechism of Filtâ'ûs, which has already been quoted:

س هل تنتفع الانفس المومنة بالصلوات وفعل البر

ج نعم ان صلوات الكنيسة وتقدمة القربان الشريف وفعل الاحسان تنفع تلك الانفس المنتقلة ببعض نقائص وزلات بشرية (لا المستغرقة فى الرذائل وعدم الرحمة بدون توبة ولا استغفار) وهذه القضية تعتبرها كنيسة المسيح الجامعة من الاجيال الاولى وكنيسة اسرائيل تشهد فى سفر المكابيين الثانى ان يهودا المكابى كان يقدم ذبائح عن الجند المائتين ص ١٢ عدد ٤٣

'*Question:* Are the souls of the faithful profited by prayers and good works?

'*Answer:* Yes. The prayers of the church and the offering of the Holy Sacrifice and the performance of good works profit those souls which have died still tainted by some of the imperfections and weaknesses of human nature, but not those which are sunk in vice and are reprobate without hope of repentance or forgiveness. This truth has been taught by the universal Church of Christ from

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intelligent and reasonable soul apart from the body; but that chastisement in this world is for the body, in order that, to avoid the pains of penance, it may not again consent with the soul in the commission of sin; then it will be saved on the last day.

'All the expositions of his wicked doctrines are found in the books that he wrote, such as that called *The Ten Chapters*, and that entitled *The Teacher and the Disciple*, consisting of eight parts; and the work named *The Collection of Fundamental Principles*, and others.' Fol. 17 a

Certain Wonders of Egypt.

§ Section in which the fishing-place[1] is described. In the neighbourhood of the Nile, there is a place at which on a particular day much fish collects; and the people of that place go out and fish with their hands, and none of the fish escape from them; so that the people of that place catch enough to be eaten or salted by all of them. But when the sun has set on that day not one of them catches a single fish more; nor during that year are fish found at that place, until that particular day comes round again.

§ Account of the City of Stone[2]. Everything in this city is of hard black stone. There is the image of a teacher, sitting with his boys, who stand before him in large numbers both small and great; and there are the likenesses of lions and wild beasts and other things.

§ Account of the moving pillar[3] in the land of Egypt. This is

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the first ages, and the Church of Israel bears witness in the second Book of Maccabees that Judas Maccabaeus offered sacrifices for the departed warriors (2 Macc. xii. 43).'

[1] This fishing-place is not mentioned by Al-Maḳrîzî among the 'wonders of the Nile.'

[2] *Madînat al-Ḥajar*, or the City of Stone, is still existing in the south of the Fayyûm, close to the village of Al-Gharaḳ. There is an ancient sculptured gateway and some columns and other remains of an ancient city.

[3] Can this be a version of the story told of the minaret of Abwîṭ near Al-Bahnasa, reckoned by As-Suyûṭî among the twenty wonders of Egypt, which constitute two-thirds of the wonders of the world? He says it is

محكمة البناء اذا هزها الانسان مالت يميناً وشمالاً لا يرى ميلها ظاهراً وفى ظلها فى الشمس

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a marble pillar, rising to the height of about seventeen cubits above the ground, and its diameter is two cubits. It moves on one day of the year, making one motion.

§ Account of the tree[1], which only bears fruit when a man runs towards it with an axe, as if he wishes to cut it down; and another man meets him and forbids him to cut it down, and guarantees to him on behalf of it that it will bear fruit. And in truth in the ensuing year it bears a quantity of fruit equal to that of two years.

'skilfully constructed, so that if a man pushes it it inclines to the right and to the left; but the movement is not visible externally except in the shadow of the minaret in the sunshine.' (*Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٣٠.)

Cf. Ibn Duḳmâḳ, who says, in speaking of Abwîṭ:

وبهذه البلدة أعجوبة وهى منارتها يصعد عليها وتهز وتهتز وتميل ولا يعلم ما سبب ذلك

'In this town there is a wonder, namely, its minaret, which is ascended, and, if it is pushed, yields to the push, and leans to one side; and the cause of this is unknown.' (*Op. cit.*, v. p. ٣٠.)

Al-Maḳrîzî tells a similar tale of the minaret of Barzakh, a suburb of Damietta; see *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٣٠.

[1] This is no more than a grossly exaggerated report of the well-known sensitive properties of the *Mimosa Nilotica*, named سنط in Arabic.

Al-Maḳrîzî gives the following account in his description of the wonders of Egypt:

ومن عجائبها ان بصعيدها ضيعة تعرف بدشنى فيها سنطة اذا تهددت بالقطع تذبل وتجتمع وتضمر فيقال لها قد عفونا عنك وتركناك فتتراجع والمشهور وهو الموجود الان سنطة فى الصعيد اذا نزلت اليد عليها ذبلت واذا رفعت عنها تراجعت

'Among the wonders of Egypt is this: that in Upper Egypt there is a hamlet called Dashni, in which there grows a mimosa-tree; and if this mimosa is threatened with being cut down it withers away and shrinks up and grows smaller; but when they say to it, "We have forgiven thee, we will spare thee," then the tree recovers. It is a well-known thing and true at the present day that there is a mimosa in Upper Egypt which withers away if the hand is laid upon it, and recovers when the hand is removed.' (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٢٠.)

The fruit of the *sant* was used in medicine; see 'Abd al-Laṭîf, *Mukhtaṣar Akhbâr Miṣr*, ed. White, pp. 48, 50.

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§ Account of the stones[1] which are found at a place called Al-Barmak, between Khuraij and Yakhtâk. It is on the side of a mountain, and when a caravan or a troop of soldiers passes by, they bind much wool on the hoofs of their horses, and so make the ascent; for if these stones struck against one another, a dark mist would rise at once and would prevent their progress, and an exceedingly heavy rain would descend. It is said that the wise men of this country fixed these stones in this district; and, when rain was slow in coming to them, they moved these stones by their arts, so that rain came to them whenever a rainfall was needed. This is related in the biography of Al-Mu'taṣim[2]; and certain of the chronicles contain the account of it, which is a true one. Fol. 17 b

Churches of Bûṣîr Banâ and other places.

§ The southern provinces of the land of Egypt. Bûṣîr Wanâ[3] is named after a sorcerer[4] who lived there and was named Bûṣîr. The

[1] The stones which cause rain if they strike together are not described in the *Life of Al-Mu'taṣim*, published by Matthiessen, Leyden, 1849.

[2] The eighth of the Abbaside caliphs; son of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, and brother and successor of Al-Ma'mûn. Reigned at Bagdad from A.H. 218 to 227 = A.D. 833–842; see Abû 'l-Fidâ, *Annales*, ii. pp. 166–176.

[3] The following passage is repeated almost word for word below, fol. 68 b ff. It is also quoted by Quatremère, *Mém. Hist. et Géogr.* i. p. 110 ff. Our author, followed by Quatremère, evidently confuses Bûṣîr Wanâ or Banâ with Bûṣîr Ḳûrîdus, which lies to the south of Cairo, at the entrance to the Fayyûm. Bûṣîr Ḳûrîdus is, however, spoken of by name on fol. 92 b. Bûṣîr Wanâ or Banâ is situated in the district of Samannûd, in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, and is therefore wrongly placed, both here and on fol. 68 b, in Southern or Upper Egypt. The town has now 5,359 inhabitants. It is near the town of Banâ or Wanâ, here called (beginning of fol. 18 a) Wanâ Bûṣîr. The Coptic form of Bûṣîr is ⲃⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ, and of Banâ or Wanâ ⲡⲁⲛⲁϯ. Four Bûṣîrs are mentioned by Yâḳût: Bûṣîr Banâ in the district of Samannûd; Bûṣîr Ḳûrîdus; Bûṣîr Dafadnû in the Fayyûm; and Bûṣîr as-Sidr in the province of Al-Jîzah. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. vi.; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 117]; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 7–11.

[4] On fol. 92 b, Bûṣîr Ḳûrîdus is also said to be named after a sorcerer.

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town contains a large church, very spacious, built of stone, and situated within the city, near the fortress. It was constructed in ancient times; and as time went by, and the kings required the stone of which it is constructed, much of this material was taken away from it. The church is now a ruin, but its remains are still conspicuous; they stand near the prison[1] of Joseph the Truthful, that is to say the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the Friend of God, upon whom be peace.

§ The city of Wanâ[2] contains the church of George[3].

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[1] Here our author is making a fresh mistake. The 'prison of Joseph' was neither at Bûṣîr Banâ nor at Bûṣîr Ḳûrîdus, but at Bûṣîr as-Sidr in the province of Al-Jîzah. Al-Maḳrîzî says:

قال القضاعي سجن يوسف عليه السلام ببوصير من عمل الجيزة اجمع اهل المعرفة من اهل مصر على صحة ذلك المكان

'Al-Ḳuḍâ'i says: The prison of Joseph, upon whom be peace! is at Bûṣîr in the province of Al-Jîzah; all the learned men of Egypt are agreed upon the authenticity of this spot.' (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٠٧.) This passage of Al-Ḳuḍâ'i is also quoted by Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٣٧. Al-Maḳrîzî goes on to state that the flat roof of the 'prison' was called *Ijâbat ad-Du'â*,—the 'answer to prayer,'—and that it was much visited at particular times by those who had special petitions to make: notably by Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdî.

As-Suyûṭî speaks of the prison as standing to the north of the pyramids, which are still known as the Pyramids of Abûṣîr, and are a little to the north of Sakkarah, and about six miles to the south of Al-Jîzah.

Bûṣîr or Abûṣîr as-Sidr is now in the district of Badrashain, and had in 1885 a population of 1,848. In the fourteenth century, as it appears from the revenue-lists, the place was of great importance. Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 10.

The pyramids of Bûṣîr and the mummies found there are described by 'Abd al-Laṭîf, *Mukhtaṣar Akhbâr Miṣr*, ed. White, pp. 156, 158.

[2] Wanâ or Banâ is near Bûṣîr Wanâ, as it has already been remarked. It was the seat of a Coptic bishopric. It is also called, as it may be seen a few lines lower down, Wanâ or Banâ Bûṣîr. It was named in Greek Κυνόπολις, and in Coptic ⲡⲁⲙⲁϣ; it is now included in the district of Samannûd in the province of Al-Gharbîyah; and it had in 1885 a population of 3,021. See Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 117]; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 84 f.; *Recensement de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 69.

[3] This church is mentioned by Al-Maḳrîzî, see Appendix. We shall find, as

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§ At Munyat al-Ḳâ'id[1] there is a church. It was restored by Faḍl ibn Ṣâliḥ, who had been a page to the vizier Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Killis[2], in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim[3]; it is named after Our Lady the Virgin[4], and stands near the river. Fol. 18 a

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we proceed, that this was one of the most frequent dedications in Egypt. Our author mentions forty-two churches or monasteries named after St. George. He is, as it is well known, the famous Cappadocian martyr, probably the first who suffered under Diocletian, and with whose name the legend of the dragon is connected. At the time of the Crusades, St. George was proclaimed champion of Christendom, and in the reign of Edward III he was formally adopted by our countrymen as their patron saint, in addition to the former patrons of England, Our Lady and St. Peter. The martyrdom of St. George is commemorated by the Copts on Barmûdah 23 = April 18; whereas the western calendar gives his name to April 23. His Acts exist in Coptic and Ethiopic. See Zoega, *Cat. Codd. Copt.* cod. cliii; Budge, *Martyrdom and Miracles of St. George*, with Coptic text and translation. The extreme limit of scepticism with regard to this saint is reached by M. Amélineau, who regards his Acts, in all their versions, as pure romance (*Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne*, ii. p. 167 ff.)

[1] Two days' journey to the south of Fusṭâṭ (Old Cairo), according to Yâḳût, in the most northern part of Upper Egypt. The Ḳâ'id from whom it received its name was this very Faḍl who restored the church. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٦٧٥. There were thirty-nine *Munyahs* in Egypt at this period; see Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. ٣٠٧. The word *Munyah*, now popularly pronounced *Minyah*, or shortened into *Mît*, is an Arabicised form of the Coptic ⲙⲛⲓⲏ, which signifies 'port,' and is not derived from the Greek μόνη, 'mansion,' as it was formerly suggested. *Mît al-Ḳâ'id* is now included within the district of Bibâ in the province of Banî Suwaif, and in 1885 had a population of 455. See *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 222.

[2] كِلّس is written by a clerical error here and on fol. 69 a as كلمين. Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Killis was vizier to Al-'Azîz from A.D. 979 to A.D. 990, see Ibn Khallikân, iv. p. 359 ff.; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. ١٥٢.

[3] The sixth of the Fatimide caliphs; reigned from A.H. 386 to 411 = A.D. 996–1020. He was a persecutor of the Christians, and was the founder of the religion of the Druses. See Introduction.

[4] The dedication of churches to the Virgin was more frequent in Egypt,

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§ Wanâ Bûṣîr[1] contains a church named after the great and valiant martyr Mercurius[2], and two other churches—one dedicated to Our Lady the Pure Virgin, and the second to the holy martyr Saint George[3], besides a church to the martyr John[4], who is also named

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as might be expected, than any other dedication. More than fifty-five churches of the Virgin are mentioned by our author as existing in Egypt in his time.

[1] Our author here returns to Wanâ or Banâ, which he had left a few lines above.

[2] After Our Lady and St. George this is one of the most popular dedications in Egypt. Our author mentions about thirty churches of St. Mercurius. This saint is one of the very few commemorated in the Coptic Synaxarium or Calendar among those who suffered in the time of Decius. According to the Coptic authorities, Mercurius was born at Rome, and was originally called Philopator. He was a great 'hunter of wild beasts,' but eventually became a soldier, and an angel gave him a two-edged sword with which he slew his enemies. It is this two-edged sword which has become two swords in the popular legend, and has earned for the saint the Arabic cognomen of *Abû 's-Saifain*, 'father' or 'owner of the two swords;' and the Coptic artists accordingly represent him brandishing a sword in each hand. Mercurius was beheaded at Caesarea in Cappadocia during the persecution of Decius; and his martyrdom is commemorated by the Copts on Hatûr 25 = Nov. 21. There was also a bishop Mercurius, who was present at the Council of Nicaea, and whose festival is kept on Barmahât 1 = Feb. 25; and another Mercurius whose day is Bâbah 28 = Oct. 25. It is curious that the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* does not mention the name Mercurius. St. Mercurius the martyr of Caesarea is commemorated by the Greek church also, but on Nov. 25 instead of Nov. 21. See Butler, *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 76, and ii. pp. 357–9; Malan, *Calendar of Coptic Church*, p. 12 and p. 59, note 34; Wüstenfeld, *Synaxarium*, p. 135 f.; Amélineau, *Actes des Martyrs de l'Église Copte*, p. 16 ff.; *Menologium Graecorum* in *Op. et Stud.* Hannibalis Clementis, tom. i. p. 212. (A. J. B.)

[3] The prefix مارى, Mârî, so often used by the Copts in speaking of the saints, is, as it is well known, derived from the Syriac ܡܪܝ, 'my Lord.' Many of the Christian theological and ecclesiastical terms used in Arabic are Syriac in origin.

[4] There are more martyrs than one of this name in the Coptic calendar. See below, fol. 56.

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Abû Yuḥannûs, and whose pure body is preserved in this church. There is also a church to the glorious angel, Michael the Archangel.

§ At Idrîjah[1], one of the villages of Bûsh[2], there is a church to the great martyr Saint George.

§ Ṭansa[3] contains a church, named after Nahâdah[4], and churches named after the valiant[5] martyr Mercurius, the glorious angel Gabriel, and Our Lady the Pure Virgin.

The Fayyûm.

§ Madînat al-Fayyûm[6] and its province. Al-Fayyûm was the name of one of the sons of Ḳifṭ[7], the son of Mizraim, who built it for one

[1] Cf. below, fol. 69 b. Yâḳût speaks of Idrîjah as a village of Upper Egypt in the province of Al-Bahnasâ; see his *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ١٦٨. Cf. Ibn Duḳmâḳ, *op. cit.* v. p. ٣.

[2] Bûsh or Bûsh Ḳurâ was the Coptic ⲡⲟⲩϫⲓⲥ, and still exists a little to the north of Banî Suwaif, with a population in 1885 of 7,091 inhabitants. The district is still a Christian centre, and contains the second monastery, in point of size and wealth, in Egypt. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٧٥٨; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 366 ff. (A. J. B.)

[3] Now in the district of Bibâ, in the province of Banî Suwaif; and in 1885 had a population of 1,465. See Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٩; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 303.

[4] These churches at Ṭansa are mentioned again fol. 69 b. The name of Nahâdah occurs in the case of this one church only, among the Egyptian churches.

[5] الشجاع, 'the valiant,' is an epithet especially applied to St. Mercurius and St. Theodore.

[6] 'The capital of the Fayyûm,' still existing, and having in 1885 a population of 25,799. It was the Greek Arsinoe or Crocodilopolis. The name Fayyûm is, as it is well known, the Coptic ⲫⲓⲟⲙ = 'the sea' or 'lake:' a name given on account of Lake Moeris, identified by some with the modern *Birkat al-Ḳurûn*, but by Mr. Cope Whitehouse with the low ground, now dry land, in the Wâdî Rayân, to the south of the Fayyûm. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٤١; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 339 ff.

The following passage on the Fayyûm is repeated on fol. 70 f.

[7] As we shall see in several cases below, our author follows other Arab writers in deriving the names of places in Egypt from the names of real or

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of his daughters who had brought dishonour upon herself, so that he banished her thither. The city existed before the time of Joseph[1], the son of Jacob, the son of Abraham the Friend of God, upon whom be peace! and Joseph rebuilt it. He also made the Nilometer[2]. And he built [Madînat] al-Fayyûm and Ḥajar al-Lâḥûn[3], which was built with wisdom, founded with divine assistance, and constructed by the inspiration of God. Joseph also dug the canal of Al-Manhî[4]. He

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supposed personages in remote antiquity. Many towns were supposed to be named after sons of Ḳift, who was said to have divided the land of Egypt among them. Most of these legends or traditions may be traced to the Arabic historian Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who died in A. H. 257 (?), and from whom Al-Kindî, Al-Ḳuḍâ'î, Al-Maḳrîzî, and As-Suyûṭî borrowed so much of their work. See As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٢٠٠. The name Ḳift was in reality borrowed from the town of Ḳift or Coptos, and from its resemblance to the Arabic term denoting the Egyptians, namely *Ḳibṭ* (قبط, an apocopated form of Αἰγύπτιος, turned by us into 'Copt'), gave rise to the legend of an ancestor of the whole nation, of that name, the founder of that city.

[1] All the Mahometan historians of Egypt, following Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and Ibn Isḥâḳ, state that Joseph superintended the digging of the canals of the Fayyûm and the building of its towns. See below, fol. 69 b f.

[2] Al-Maḳrîzî quotes Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's own words, to which without doubt our author is referring:

قال ابن عبد الحكم اول من قاس النيل بمصر يوسف عليه سلام وضع مقياساً بمنف

'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam says: The first who measured the rise of the Nile in Egypt was Joseph, upon whom be peace! who set up a Nilometer at Memphis.' Cf. below, fol. 68 a, 69 b, 70 b; cf. also Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.* i. cap. 36, who speaks of the earliest Nilometer as being at Memphis; and Herodotus, ii. cap. 13, who implies the existence of a Nilometer at Memphis under king Moeris.

[3] I.e. the great dykes and sluices of brick and stone near the village of Al-Lâḥûn, which regulated the supply of water into the Fayyûm. This ancient structure, attributed by the Mahometan historians to Joseph (Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٣٧ f.; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٣٣٣; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٢٢), was destroyed by French engineers early in this century, and a new lock erected. (A. J. B.)

[4] Also called from its reputed author *Baḥr Yûsuf* or 'Joseph's River.' It is

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cultivated the land of Egypt. The Fayyûm contained three hundred and sixty-six districts, according to the number of days in the year[1], each district corresponding to a day; and the yearly revenue from each canton was a thousand dinars. The lands of this district are laid under Fol. 18 b water when the river rises twelve cubits; but are not entirely submerged with eighteen cubits. There are here tracts of common land[2], in which no one has the right of property; for men are allowed to make use of

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still in working order, and flows from a spot named *Râs al-Manhî* or 'Head of Al-Manhî,' near Darwah Sarabâm (fol. 77 b), to Ḥajar al-Lâḥûn, where it branches out into the many canals which irrigate the Fayyûm. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٩٣٣; *Marâṣid al-Iṭṭilâ'* ad voc.; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٧١.

[1] That is of the Coptic, not of the Mahometan year, which consists of 354 or, in the intercalated years, of 355 days. The Coptic year consists of twelve months of thirty days each, with five or six additional days called *Nissî*.

[2] Here our author quotes Al-Kindî's *Faḍâ'il Miṣr*. Al-Maḳrîzî says, quoting by name from the same book:

فيها من المباح مما ليس عليه ملك لاحد من مسلم ولا معاهد يستعين به القوى والضعيف فاذا هو فوق السبعين صنفاً

'In the Fayyûm there is common land in which none has the right of property whether Muslim or of the allied peoples; and all, both rich and poor, may demand a share of it; and it consists of more than seventy sorts of land.'

Al-Kindî, followed by our author, is speaking of the different sorts of crops grown on the land. Seventy different crops seems a high number, unless every variety is to be separately enumerated. Al-Maḳrîzî gives a list of the principal crops of Egypt, and names thirty-nine of them, without reckoning all the kinds of fruit-trees, and without counting all the different species and varieties of each genus. He names wheat, barley, beans, lentils, chick-peas, flat peas, flax, leeks, onions, garlic, lupins, water-melons, haricots, sesame, cotton, sugar-cane, colocasia, egg-plant, indigo, radish, turnip, lettuce, cabbage, vine, fig, apple, mulberry, almond, peach, apricot, date-palm, narcissus, jasmine, myrtle, beetroot, gillyflower, banana, cassia, lotus-tree. See the section entitled:

ذكر اصناف اراضى مصر واقسام زراعها

'Account of the different kinds of land in Egypt and of the various crops grown there,' in *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ١٠٠ ff.

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it as they please, and to demand a share of it according to their circumstances, and the land is of seventy kinds. The revenue of the Fayyûm was estimated by Ibn Tarkhân in the time of Kâfûr al-Ustâdh[1], Emir of Egypt, generally known by the appellation of Al-Ikhshîdî, under the Abbaside dynasty[2], in the year of the Arabs 355, when the revenue amounted to 620,000 dinars[3]; and this equals the amount calculated to come from Ar-Ramlah[4] and Tiberias and Damascus.

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[1] Abû 'l-Misk Kâfûr al-Ustâdh, or the eunuch, was the son of 'Abd Allâh. He was a negro slave, sold, it is said for eighteen dinars, in A.H. 312 = A.D. 924 to Abû Bakr Muḥammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshîd, governor of Egypt, who subsequently emancipated him and appointed him guardian over his two sons. When Al-Ikhshîd died in A.H. 334 = A.D. 946, his eldest son Abû 'l-Ḳâsim Anûjûr became ruler of Egypt, but the state was actually administered by Kâfûr, who is known as Al-Ikhshîdî on account of his having belonged to Al-Ikhshîd. When Anûjûr died in A.H. 349 = A.D. 960, his brother Abû 'l-Ḥasan 'Alî succeeded to the government of Egypt, and Kâfûr acted as his lieutenant, as he had acted for his brother. 'Alî died in A.H. 355 = A.D. 966, and then Kâfûr became uncontrolled ruler of Egypt, as the son of 'Alî was too young to reign; and this state of affairs continued until the death of the negro in A.H. 357 = A.D. 968. Kâfûr is celebrated as the most successful and powerful of all the black eunuchs who rose to eminence under Mahometan rule. The poet Al-Mutanabbî wrote in his praise. See Abû 'l-Maḥâsin, ed. Juynboll and Matthes, ii. pp. ٣٧٢–٣٩٣; Ibn al-Athîr, viii. pp. ٣٢٩–٣٣١; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٣٢٩; Ibn Khallikân, trans. De Slane, ii. p. 524; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. ١٣. (A. J. B.)

[2] The Abbaside caliph reigning at Bagdad in A.H. 355 = A.D. 966 was Al-Muṭî', who was proclaimed in A.H. 334 = A.D. 946, and abdicated in A.H. 363 = A.D. 974.

[3] This statement seems to be borrowed from Ibn Ẓûlâḳ:

وقال ابن زولاق فى كتاب الدلائل على امراء مصر للكندى وعقدت لكافور الاخشيدى الفيوم فى هذه السنة يعنى سنة ست وخمسين وثلثمائة ستمائة الف دينار ونيفًا وعشرين الف دينار

'Ibn Ẓûlâḳ says in Al-Kindi's book of information on the emirs of Egypt, that the Fayyûm was reckoned for Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdî in this year, namely the year 356, as yielding a revenue of more than 620,000 dinars.' (Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٣٢٩.)

[4] I.e. Ar-Ramlah on the coast of Syria, a little to the south of Yâfâ or Joppa.

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There were in this province thirty-three monasteries within its borders. In the patriarchate of Theodore[1], the forty-fifth in the order of succession, the name of the bishop of the Fayyûm was Anba Abraham[2], and the revenue received into the treasury of the govern-

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[1] Occupied the see from A.D. 727 to 737, Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 201 f.

[2] The form افراهام, Afrâhâm, is intended to reproduce the Coptic pronunciation of ⲁϥⲣⲁⲁⲙ, the ϥ being pronounced as *v* by the Copts. Our author is here referring to an incident which occurred in the life of Theodore but is recorded at the beginning of the biography of Michael his successor, by John the Deacon, which is to be found in the history of the Coptic patriarchs compiled by Severus, bishop of Ushmûnain, in the ninth century of our era. The following is the passage which our author must have had in his mind; the writer is describing, as an eyewitness, an interview between the patriarch Theodore, who was accompanied by certain bishops, and Al-Ḳâsim the wâlî of Egypt:

وكان هناك الاب الاسقف انبا ابراهيم اسقف الفيوم لاجل امرهم فلما حضرنا ايضاً دعا واحدة من السراري وكانت مغربية فقال لانبا ابراهيم هذه ابنتك وجعل يده في يدها وكان قلبه كالاطفال وقال له انت تعلم انني احبك جداً من زمان ابي وكلما كنت تطلبه من ابي افعله لك فقال له القديس ابراهيم نعم فقال له اريد منك ثلثمائة دينار فتقدم اليه ابي الارشي دياقن معه وكان اقنومة اسمه سمعان كان قد جاء معه وهو الذي استحق الاسقفية من بعده فقال له احضر الثلثمائة دينار فاحضرها وسلمها للقاسم وكان له مال كبير للبيع لان كان عنده في كرسيه خمسة وثلاثين دير بالفيوم وهو المتولي عليهم وكان عليه خراج خمس مائة دينار الذي لبيت مال السلطان لاجل ذلك وكانوا تجار مصر يباعوه ويشتروا منه

'And the bishop Anba Abraham, bishop of the Fayyûm, was present on matters of their business. And when we entered the presence of Al-Ḳâsim the next time, he called one of his odalisques who was from Western Africa, and he said to Anba Abraham: "This is thy daughter;" and he laid the bishop's hand upon her hand, for his heart was as the heart of children. And he said to the bishop: "Thou knowest that I have loved thee deeply since my father's time, and all that thou didst ask of my father I will do for thee." And the holy Abraham said to him: "It is good." So Al-Ḳâsim continued: "I desire of thee 300 dinars." Then the archdeacon who accompanied the bishop, and whose name was Simeon, and who was afterwards found worthy to succeed him as bishop, came to him and

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ment, from the crops grown on the lands of these monasteries, amounted to five hundred dinars yearly.

It is said in the *Book*[1] *of the Conquest of Egypt by the Muslims*

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he said to him: "Bring the 300 dinars." So he brought them and gave them to Al-Ḳâsim. Now Anba Abraham had much money derived from church property; for he had in his diocese thirty-five monasteries, in the Fayyûm; and he was the administrator of their goods; and he was bound to pay a land-tax of 500 dinars into the public treasury of the government on their account. He was the head of all of them, and the merchants of Egypt sold to him and bought from him.' MS. in Bib. Nat. Paris, numbered *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 142, lines 5–13.

[1] By Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who probably wrote at the beginning of the third century of the Hegira, and who is the source from which subsequent historians drew. It is unfortunate that this work, which is still extant, has not been published. See article in *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. iii. p. 329 ff., 1840, on *Geschichte der muhammedanischen Eroberung Aegyptens*. Yaḳût quotes the passage of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam as follows:

ذكر عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم قال حدثنا هشام بن اسحاق ان يوسف لما ولى مصر عظمت منزلته من فرعون وجازت سنّه مائة سنة قالت وزراء الملك ان يوسف ذهب علمه وتغير عقله ونفدت حكمته فعنفهم فرعون ورد عليهم مقالتهم واسا اللفظ لهم فكلّموا ثم عاودوه بذلك القول بعد سنين فقال لهم هلمّوا ما شئتم من شى نختبره به وكانت الفيّوم يومئذ تدعى الجوبة وانما كانت لمصالة ماء الصعيد وفضوله فاجتمع رايهم على ان تكون المحنة التى يمتحن بها يوسف فقالوا لفرعون سل يوسف ان يصرف ماء الجوبة فيزداد بلد الى بلدك وخراج الى خراجك فدعا يوسف وقال قد تعلم مكان ابنتى فلانة منى فقد رأيتُ اذا بلغت ان اطلب لها بلداً واني لم أُصِبْ لها الا الجوبة وذلك انه بليد قريب لا يوتى من ناحية من نواحى مصر الا من مفازة او صحراء الى الان قال والفيوم وسط مصر كمثل مصر فى وسط البلاد لان مصر لا توتى من ناحية من نواح الا من صحراء او مفازة وقد اقطعتها اياها فلا تتركنّ وجهاً ولا نظراً الا وبلغته فقال يوسف نعم ايها الملك متى اردت ذلك عملتُه قال ان احبه الى اعجله فاوحى الى يوسف ان يحفر ثلاثة خلج خليجاً من اعلى الصعيد من موضع كذا الى موضع كذا وخليجا شرقيا من موضع كذا الى موضع كذا وخليجاً غربياً من موضع كذا الى موضع كذا فوضع يوسف العمّال فحفر خليج المنهى من اعلى اشمون الى اللاهون &c.

'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam says: I learnt from Hishâm

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that the Fayyûm was known as the Waste Ground; it was an outlet for the waters of Upper Egypt. Joseph the Truthful dug the canal here, and brought the water through it, and the Nile began to flow into it. Joseph was of the age of thirty years, in the reign of Ar-Rayyân[1], the

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ibn Isḥâḳ that when Joseph governed Egypt his dignity was increased by Pharaoh. And, when Joseph's age had passed a hundred years, the viziers of the kingdom said, "Joseph's understanding has decayed, and his reason is disturbed, and his wisdom is departed." But Pharaoh reprimanded them and denied their statements and softened down their words, and they refrained from repeating them. Then after some years they repeated their charge, so Pharaoh said to them, "Come, suggest something by which we may try him!" Now in those days the Fayyûm was called the Waste Land, and moreover it was an outlet for the superfluous waters of Upper Egypt; so they all agreed that this should be the test by which to try Joseph. So they said to Pharaoh, "Desire Joseph to spread abroad the waters of the Waste Land, so that fresh territory may be added to your dominions and fresh revenues to your revenues." So he called Joseph, and said, "Thou knowest the place of my daughter such an one; I have determined when she grows up to seek for her a city, and I have not found any for her except the Waste Land, which is a small town, near to us, but which cannot be reached from any part of Egypt except by passing through deserts and wildernesses up to this time. For the Fayyûm is in the midst of Egypt as Egypt is in the midst of the countries, for Egypt cannot be reached from any part except by passing through deserts. I have settled this district upon my daughter. Do not therefore leave any means untried by which thou mayest gain thy object." So Joseph answered, "Yea, O king, if this be thy desire I will perform it." Pharaoh said, "The sooner it is done the better it will please me." Then an inspiration from God came to Joseph that he should dig three canals; one from the further part of Upper Egypt, from such a place to such a place, and one in the east from such a place to such a place, and one in the west from such a place to such a place. And Joseph disposed the workmen and dug the canal of Al-Manhî, from a point above Ushmûnain to Al-Lâḥûn.' Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ۱۲۲ f. Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭáṭ*, i. p. ۲۴۰, where the same passage is quoted; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥáḍarah*, i. p. ۲۱.

[1] Ar-Rayyân ibn Walîd ibn Dauma' is the name given by most of the Arabian historians to the Pharaoh of Joseph; although Al-Maḳrîzî says that the Copts

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son of Dauma', surnamed Pharaoh, after the interpretation of the dream and the explanation of it. Pharaoh clothed Joseph with a robe of honour, and entrusted him with his signet-ring and with the administration of his kingdom.

Certain matters concerning Egypt.

Fol. 19 a § The seventeenth section[1] of the history of the church, and the biography of Anba Khâ'îl[2], the forty-sixth patriarch, contains an estimate of the yearly revenues of Egypt, at the end of the caliphate of Marwân[3], the 'Ass of War,' the last caliph of the dynasty of the Omeyyads, and at the beginning of the caliphate of As-Saffâḥ[4] 'Abd Allâh, the Abbaside, which sets the amount carried into the public treasury at 200,000 dinars, apart from the expenses[5].

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called him Nahrâ'ûsh. It is impossible at the present day to say whence the names of the ancient Pharaohs found in Arab writers were derived; none of them seems to be known to Muḥammad in the Koran. The names seem to have been borrowed by later writers from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who was himself indebted to Ibn Isḥâḳ.

[1] The seventeenth section of the patriarchal biographies compiled by Severus of Ushmûnain begins with the life of Khâ'îl, the forty-sixth patriarch. *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, pp. 140 and 141, line 17.

[2] Occupied the see from A.D. 743 to 766 according to Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 203–236. The name خائيل, Khâ'îl, is an abbreviated form of ميخائيل, Mîkhâ'îl or Michael. Another form of the name is خايال, Khâyâl. The biography of Michael, included in the history of the patriarchs compiled by Severus of Ushmûnain, is one of the most important parts of that work, and is the contemporary composition of John the Deacon, who was an eyewitness of many of the events which he relates. See MS. *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, pp. 140–191.

[3] This caliph, the second of his name, is referred to several times in the present work. He reigned from A.H. 126–133 = A.D. 744–751. See Introduction.

[4] The first of the Abbaside caliphs, who overthrew the Omeyyad dynasty. Reigned A.H. 133–137 = A.D. 751–755.

[5] Our author is referring to the following passage in the biography of Michael, which narrates events that occurred shortly after the death of Marwân:

وكان ارتفاع مصر بعد اقطاعات الاجناد ونفقات دار السلطان وما يحتاج اليه لتدبير المملكة

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§ The first worshippers of idols were the people of Egypt and Babylon, and the Franks and the people of the sea-coast. In the days of Ḳuḥtân, the son of Fâliḳ, the father of the Arabs, men made likenesses of all that were renowned for virtue, and of good repute, and famous for valour and beauty of form, and worshipped their images.

§ Abû Naiṭur[1], the fourth son of Noah, learnt, through the inspiration of God, the science of the sphere[2], and the art of reckoning it by years, months, days, and hours, and the like. Afterwards Nimrod[3] the giant learnt from him, and composed books on the science of the sphere, and on reckoning it; and men wondered at the wisdom which he showed in his books, and copied them after him, so that Ardashîr envied him; and Nimrod also served Satan, and fasted for him, and offered sacrifice to him, and burnt incense to him, and humbled himself before him. Therefore Satan appeared to him, and taught him magic[4], and how to raise false phantoms; and

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ما يفضل بعد ذلك ويحمل الى بيت المال مالاً حملاً فى كل سنة مائتا الف الف دينار سوى النفقات

'The revenues of Egypt, after deducting the pay of the troops and the expenses of the governor's house and what was needed for the administration of the country, amounted to 200,000,000 dinars carried yearly to the public treasury.' MS. *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 180, line 25, p. 181, lines 1, 2. The figures have been altered.

[1] Abû Naiṭur is not elsewhere mentioned.

[2] I.e. astronomy. As it is well known, the Arabs derived their first knowledge of astronomy from the Arabic translation, made by order of the caliph Ma'mûn, of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, and it is from that work that the term فَلَك = *σφαῖρα* is borrowed.

[3] The attribution of a knowledge of astronomy to Nimrod is based on a genuine tradition of the devotion of the ancient Babylonians to that science. Ḥâjî Khalfah remarks upon the use made by Ptolemy in the *Almagest* of the work of Chaldaean astronomers; *Lex. bibliogr.* (ed. Fluegel) i. p. 71. Many legends are related of Nimrod, the 'Enemy of God,' by the Arab historians, and he is alluded to in the Koran, following Jewish tradition, as the persecutor of Abraham. See Ibn al-Athîr, *Al-Kâmil*, i. p. ٨١ ff.

[4] The Mahometans consider Babylon to have been the original home of

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revealed to him the worship of the stars; and Nimrod the giant learnt from Satan the doctrine of Ṭâghût[1]. Nimrod was the first who wore
Fol. 19 b a crown[2] of gold, set with jewels, and put on purple robes, and showed himself in such guise.

Section referring to the distinguished men of Egypt, and to the wonders which are to be found there. Among the former were Moses and Aaron his brother, and Miriam their sister, who were born at Askar[3], in the region of Egypt. On Mount Sinai God spoke with Moses; and Moses struck with his rod.

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magic, which was taught to men there by the two evil angels Hârût and Mârût (see *Sûrat al-Baḳarah*, 96), who still hang head downwards among the ruins of the great city.

[1] An idol of the ancient Arabs of Mecca; see Koran, *Sûrat al-Baḳarah*, 257, 259, where the religion of Ṭâghût is placed in antithesis to the true religion of Islam. Cf. *Sûrat al-Mâ'idah*, 65.

[2] Eutychius reports this legend, in speaking of the time of Abraham:

فى عصره كان نمرود الجبار ملك بابل ويقال انه اول ملك ملك ببابل وابصر شبه الاكليل فى السما من سحاب فدعى صائغا فصاغ له اكليل ووضعه على راسه ومن اجل هذا كانوا الناس يقولون نزل له تاج من السما

'In his time lived Nimrod the giant, king of Babylon. It is said that he was the first king who reigned in Babylon; and he saw in the sky the likeness of a crown formed of clouds; so he called a goldsmith, who fashioned a crown for him, and he put it upon his head. For this reason men said that a diadem descended upon him from heaven.' Eutychius, *Annales* (ed. Pococke), i. p. 62. Cf. MS. Bodl. Or. 294, p. 60.

The epithet جبّار, 'giant,' corresponds to גִּבּוֹר in Genesis x. 8, 9.

Some of these legends of Nimrod may be looked upon as genuine traditions of the ancient culture of Babylonia.

[3] This was a well-known town, two days to the south of Al-Fusṭâṭ, in the province of Al-Iṭfîḥîyah. Many of the Muslims, as well as the Christians, accepted the tradition that Moses was born there; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٢٥٣; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥١٧; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. ١٢٣. The MSS. of Al-Maḳrîzî write the name as اشكر.

Askar still exists in the district of Iṭfîḥ in the province of Al-Jîzah; see *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 51.

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In Egypt Moses divided the sea, and performed the ten miracles. Joseph the Truthful[1] ruled over Egypt.

In Egypt also is the palm-tree. Here is the Holy Valley[2], and the fissure of the *Abû Ḳîr*[3], to which the birds of that species go on pilgrimage every year. One bird is caught in this fissure, and remains hanging there until the winds blow it to pieces. In this country also is the *Ḥâ'iṭ al-'Ajûz*[4], from Al-'Arîsh to Aswân; which is sometimes called *Ḥâ'iṭ al-Ḥujûz*.

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[1] This is a constant epithet of Joseph among the Mahometans, and originated in the Koran, *Sûrah Yûsuf*, ver. 51:

قَالَتِ امْرَأَةُ الْعَزِيزِ الْآنَ حَصْحَصَ الْحَقُّ أَنَا رَاوَدْتُهُ عَنْ نَفْسِهِ وَإِنَّهُ لَمِنَ الصَّادِقِينَ

'The wife of Al-'Azîz said: Now the truth is made manifest. It was I who tempted him to sin. Surely he is one of the truthful.'

Compare ver. 46:

يُوسُفُ أَيُّهَا الصِّدِّيقُ أَفْتِنَا فِي سَبْعِ بَقَرَاتٍ سِمَانٍ

'O Joseph the Truthful! teach us with regard to the seven fat kine,' &c.

[2] I can only conjecture that this may mean the Wâdî Naṭrûn or Wâdî Ḥabîb, the ancient Nitrian valley, so famous in the annals of monasticism.

[3] This legend of the Abûḳîr birds is found in most of the Arab historians who have written on Egypt; see Quatremère, *Mém. Hist. et Géogr.* i. p. 32, where our author is quoted among others. The fissure is said by our author (fol. 86 b) to be on the Jabal al-Kahf. Other writers say the Jabal aṭ-Ṭair, the well-known hill which still bears the name, on the Nile, opposite Samallûṭ and Ṭaha. As-Suyûṭî, who reckons the Jabal aṭ-Ṭair as one of the twenty wonders of Egypt, on account of these birds, describes them thus:

بلق سود الاعناق مطوقات الحواصل سود اطراف الاجنحة

'They are piebald, with black necks, striped on the breast, with black tips to their wings.' *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٣٩.

Al-Maḳrîzî says that the prodigy had ceased in his time. *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥٠٣ f.; cf. i. p. ٣١.

[4] 'Wall of the old woman,' also called *Jisr al-'Ajûz*, 'dyke of the old woman.' It still exists in portions near Jabal aṭ-Ṭair, near Ḳûṣîyah, and at other places.

The 'old woman' is said by some writers to be Dalûkah (see fol. 70 b), who

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In the river Nile there is a fish, which is called the 'thunder-fish[1].' Even if a strong man places his hand upon it, his strength will not prevent him from receiving a shock through his body, and his arm will remain thunderstruck and will be paralysed during the space of an hour.

In this country is the meeting-place of the two seas, which is called the Isthmus[2]; here the two seas approach one another. Between them are two dykes[3]. The two seas are the sea of the Romans and the sea of the Chinese[4]; and the dyke is a journey of one night[5] from both of

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reigned over Egypt in remote antiquity. The purpose of the wall is said to have been to defend Egypt from her enemies. Another story makes the old woman build the wall to prevent the lions from coming down to the Nile to drink, in revenge for the death of her son, who had been devoured by a lion. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ١٩٠; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭáṭ*, i. p. ٣١; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥáḍarah*, i. p. ٣٩.

Our author, on fol. 57 b, makes Cleopatra the builder of the *Ḥá'iṭ al-'Ajûz*, which extended not only from Al-'Arîsh or Al-Faramâ to Aswân on the eastern bank of the Nile, but also from Nubia to Alexandria on the western bank. In these statements he follows Eutychius, *Annales* (ed. Pococke), i. p. 301.

The statement of Diodorus that Sesostris built a wall 1,500 stades in length, to protect Egypt on the east from the Syrians and the Arabs, is well known; see Diod. Sic., *Bibl. Hist.* bk. i. cap. 57.

[1] I.e. the electric eel, *gymnotus electricus*, the properties of which are well known. They were much celebrated by Arabic writers on Egypt. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٨١١; Abû 'l-Maḥâsin, *op. cit.* i. p. ٣٩; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١١; Al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-Dhahab*, ii. pp. 392–3; 'Abd al-Laṭîf, *Mukhtaṣar* (ed. White), p. 82.

[2] I.e. Isthmus of Suez. This passage is partly repeated on fol. 58 a.

[3] The high ground to the north of Lake Timsâḥ is still called *Al-Jisr*, 'the dyke.'

[4] Our author here treats the Red Sea as part of the Indian Ocean, and the latter as part of the China Sea.

[5] On fol. 58 a the distance between the two seas, which is about eighty miles, is given as a day and a night's journey, and Al-Maḳrîzî makes it the same. Yâḳût and the *Marâṣid al-Iṭṭilâ'* make it four days.

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them, between Al-Ḳulzum[1] and Al-Faramâ[2]. In no other country do the seas approach nearer to one another than at this place; for in the east there is a journey of several months between them. There is no country in the world in which the people eat fresh fish from both seas, except Egypt.

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[1] The Greek and Coptic Κλύσμα, ⲕⲗⲩⲥⲙⲁ, formerly situated a short distance to the north of Suez, which must be regarded as its successor; see Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 227–9. Al-Muḳaddasî, who wrote in A. H. 375=A. D. 986, says, speaking of the inhabitants of Al-Ḳulzum:

يحمل اليهم الماء فى المراكب ومن موضع على بريد سمّى سويس على الجمال ماء آجن ردى ومن امثالهم ميرة اهل القلزم من بلبيس وشربهم من سويس ياكلون لحم التيس

'Water is conveyed to them in boats; and from a place called Suwais (Suez), at a distance of one post, bad, discoloured water is carried to them upon camels; so that one of their proverbs says: The people of Al-Ḳulzum receive their provisions from Bilbais, and their drink from Suwais, and they eat the flesh of the *Tais* (wild goat)' (ed. De Goeje), p. 196. This passage was not made use of by Quatremère in his discussion of the position of Al-Ḳulzum, *Mém. Hist. et Géogr.* i. pp. 151–189. The distance of one post or about twelve miles is too great, as the ruins of Al-Ḳulzum are placed by Niebuhr about one mile to the north of Suez. See also Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ١٥٨; *Marâṣid al-Iṭṭilâ'* (ed. Juynboll), ad voc.; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, p. ٢١٣.

The last of these writers says that in his day Al-Ḳulzum was ruined and its site was known as Suez. This is inaccurate, as it has just been shown.

[2] The classical Pelusium, and the Coptic ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲙⲟⲩⲛ, near the north-eastern frontier of Egypt; cf. fol. 56 b. It has now disappeared, with the exception of some mounds and broken columns. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٨٨٣; Al-Muḳaddasî (ed. De Goeje), p. ١٩٥; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢١١; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 317 f.

Al-Maḳrîzî reckons the ancient remains at Al-Faramâ among the wonders of Egypt; see *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٦١.

It was at Al-Faramâ that the first engagement took place between the Arabs and Egyptians when 'Amr invaded Egypt in A. H. 18; see As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٢١٥.

M. Amélineau does not explain why he adopts the form El-Ferma.

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In this country brocaded stuffs are made: gauze of Tinnîs[1], and *sharb*[2], a stuff used for tents, and coloured *Dabîḳî*[3]; and there is no

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[1] The fine tissues of Tinnîs are much celebrated by Arab historians and geographers. Ibn Ḥaukal, who wrote in A.H. 367 = A.D. 978, says of Tinnîs and Damietta:

وبهما يتخذ رفيع الدبيقى والشرب والمصبغات من الحلل السنية التى ليس فى جميع الأرض ما يدانيها فى الحسن والقيمة

'In these two cities are manufactured fine *Dabîḳî* and *sharb* and splendid dyed garments, the equals of which in beauty and price do not exist in the whole world' (ed. De Goeje, p. 101).

Al-Maḳrîzî (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. 181) says that the veils for the Ka'bah were made at Tinnîs from the early times of Islam, and he describes some of the designs upon them. These manufactures ceased when the people of Tinnîs were removed to Damietta in A.H. 588=A.D. 1192, and only the citadel remained inhabited.

The foundation of the stuffs of Tinnîs is said to have been linen (Ibn Ḥaukal, *loc. cit.*), with which silk was interwoven. Cf. Quatremère, *Mém. Hist. et Géogr.* i. pp. 308, 309, 327 ff.; Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 320.

[2] A precious tissue; see Glossary to De Goeje's *Bibliotheca Geog. Arab.* p. 272.

[3] Al-Maḳrîzî says:

دبيق قرية من قرى دمياط ينسب اليها الثياب المثقلة والعمائم الشرب الملونة والدبيقى العلم المذهب وكانت العمائم الشرب المذهبة تعمل بها ويكون طول كل عمامة منها مائة ذراع وفيها رقمات منسوجة بالذهب فتبلغ العمامة من الذهب خمسمائة دينار سوى الحرير والغزل وحدثت هذه العمائم وغيرها فى ايام العزيز بالله بن المعز سنة خمس وستين وثلثمائة الى ان مات فى شعبان سنة ست وثمانين وثلثمائة

'Dabîḳ is a town in the neighbourhood of Damietta, which gives its name to the sumptuous robes and the dyed turbans of *sharb*, and the trimmings of *Dabîḳî* interwoven with gold. Turbans of *sharb*, interwoven with gold, were made there; each turban being 100 cubits in length, and bearing designs woven with gold of the value of 500 dinars, without reckoning the price of the silk and the linen thread. These turbans and the rest were brought into fashion in the time of Al-'Azîz bi 'llâh, son of Al-Mu'izz, who reigned from the year 365 (A.D. 975) until he died in the month of Sha'bân, in the year 386 (A.D. 996).' *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. 226.

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stuff, not interwoven with gold, of which garments are made, of the value of 100 dinars, except the stuffs of Tinnîs[1] and Damietta, and Al-Manhab (?) and *Ṣiḳillî*[2]. The Egyptians make woollen garments, and robes of goats' hair of Samâlûs, which are not to be found anywhere in the world except in Egypt. The natives of this country can boast of the wonderfully prolific nature of their horses, mules, and asses. They Fol. 20 a

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Cf. Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 340, where this passage is translated in Quatremère's usual loose manner.

Barjawân, a black eunuch and vizier to the Fatimide caliph Al-'Azîz bi'llâh, left at his death in A. H. 390 = A. D. 1000, one thousand pairs of trousers of the stuff called *Dabîḳî*; see Ibn Khallikân.

The name *Dabîḳî* was extended to other brocades or damasks besides those actually made at Dabîḳ, and was applied to the fabrics of Usyûṭ and even of places beyond the borders of Egypt; see Glossary to De Goeje's *Bib. Geogr. Arab.* p. 232.

See also Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٥٣٨; *Marâṣid al-Iṭṭilâ'* ad voc.; Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 320.

The town of Dabîḳ no longer exists.

[1] Al-Maḳrîzî likewise says:

وليس فى الدنيا طراز ثوب كتان يبلغ الثوب منه وهو سادج بغير ذهب مائة دينار عينا غير طراز تنيس ودمياط

'There is no brocade in the world with a foundation of linen, of which a single garment, not interwoven with gold, fetches a price of 100 dinars in cash, except the brocade of Tinnîs and Damietta.' *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١٧٧.

Cf. Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 308, who makes the mistake of translating كتان by 'cotton.' Al-Maḳrîzî says that the robes made at Tinnîs for the caliph, in which a large quantity of gold was employed, were worth 1,000 dinars a piece; and that the sale of these fabrics at one time brought in a yearly receipt of 20,000 or 30,000 dinars from Al-'Irâḳ alone. Cf. Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 320.

[2] I.e. Sicilian tissue. As in many other cases, a name derived from the place where the material was originally manufactured is retained, even when the manufacture is no longer confined to that place *Ṣiḳillî* was also made in Spain. See Al-Muḳaddasî (ed. De Goeje), pp. ١٣٥ and ٢٣٩.

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have the gold-mines[1] and the emerald-mines[2], and red and yellow ochre;

[1] In the Wâdî 'l-'Alâḳî, which lies to the south-east of Aswân, in the country of the Bajjah or Bishârîs. The mines have not been worked for many centuries, but were known in the time of Rameses II. See Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. pp. 36, 41; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. pp. ١٩٥, ١٩٧, ١٩٨; Abû 'l-Fidâ, *Tab. Aeg.* p. 35 f.

[2] Quatremère gives an interesting chapter on the emerald-mines of Egypt (*Mém.* ii. p. 73 ff.) He first quotes an extract from Al-Maḳrîzî (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٢٢), who copies however from Al-Mas'ûdî, and Al-Mas'ûdî's informant was 'Abd ar-Raḥîm, sometime government clerk at the mines. The mines are said to lie in the midst of a waterless desert at Kharbah, a place seven days' journey to the south-east from Ḳûs or Ḳift, the nearest town on the Nile. They are in a mountain range in the territory of the Bajjah, north of the great peak called Karkashandah. Various names are given of the different species of gems obtained, and the estimation in which the several sorts of emerald are held in different countries is stated. Al-Maḳrîzî adds that the mines were regularly worked till about 1358 A.D., when the vizier 'Abd Allâh ibn Zanbûr put a stop to the mining. But it is related that Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, who governed Egypt about the end of the tenth century of the Hegira, in travelling through Upper Egypt, came to a place called 'the well of emeralds,' whence he took a vast number of gems. Prosper Alpinus mentions a well of emeralds, which produced a famous stone belonging to the Grand Seigneur. Maillet states that the situation of the mine is lost: while Bruce (*Voyage to the Sources of the Nile*, vol. i. p. 229) speaks of a Jebel ez-Zumurrud or Emerald Mountain, which he visited, and where he saw several sinkings or shafts. But as this mountain lay in an island, it cannot be (concludes Quatremère) the emerald-mine which Oriental writers agree in placing on the continent.

So far Quatremère. But the mistake of Bruce, whose island was probably that of Zabargad, led to the rediscovery of the lost mines in 1819 by a French explorer named Cailliaud. The results of his visit were published in a large work by the French Academy; and the ruler of Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alî, was so convinced of the value of the mines that he sent a number of miners to work them under Cailliaud's supervision. Cailliaud, however, seems to have spent but a short time at the work, before he was called away to join Ibrâhîm Pâshâ's expedition to the Soudan. From that time provisions ceased to arrive for the colony of miners, who gradually melted away, and the place was once more abandoned. So it remained till 1891, when Mr. Floyer, an Englishman in

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and marcasite[1] of gold, silver, and copper; and the Lake of Nitre, and

command of an expedition sent by the Khedive Taufîḳ, once more set foot on Jebel Zabara. For an account of this visit and for many topics of surpassing interest in relation to the desert between the Nile of Upper Egypt and the Red Sea, I refer the reader to M. Floyer's learned and ingenious work, *Étude sur le Nord-Etbaï* (Le Caire, Imprimerie Nationale, 1893).

See also Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ۴۱۷; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ۱۹۴, and Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 22]. (A. J. B.)

[1] Mr. Fisher, of Oxford, has kindly supplied me with the following note on this mineral:

'The term marcasite is now used by mineralogists for one species of pyrites, but was at one time of wider signification, and synonymous with pyrites in general. It is a compound essentially of iron with sulphur (FeS_2), containing 46·7 per cent. of iron and 53·3 per cent. of sulphur, but the forms found in nature contain other metals such as copper, gold, silver, tin, &c.; arsenic also is commonly present. In colour it varies from a brass-like or golden appearance to a silvery white, and is usually glistening and metallic-looking. "Marcasite of gold" may have reference to its appearance, or to the fact that gold could be extracted from the specimens so named. The synonyms are numerous, e. g. *σπινος*, *πυρίτης* (*λίθος*), marchasita (Arab.), kis (Germ.) or kies, mundic (English miners), schwefelkies (Germ.), besides xanthopyrites, chalcopyrites. The name marcasite or marchasite is of Spanish or Arabic origin. When weathered by exposure to air and water it produces sulphate of iron (and copper), termed at one time kupferwasser, which is perhaps corrupted into copperas in the vulgar tongue.

'On account of the large amount of sulphur the mineral is combustible (whence the name pyrites from *πῦρ*), and gives sparks when struck.'

The word مَرْقَشِيثَا seems to have come into the Arabic from the Syriac ܡܪܩܫܝܬܐ, which translates the Greek *πυρίτης* (Bar Bahlûl). The medicinal use of marcasite was borrowed by the Arabs from the Greeks (Dioscorides, ed. Spengel, i. p. 810=v. 142; Galen, opp. t. 13, p. 740; t. 12, p. 199; Pliny, 36, 19, 30, &c.) The Arab Gebr (Jâbir al-Kûfî) gives a chemical analysis of marcasite; see Mangeti, *Bib. Chem.* i; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der arab. Aerzte*, p. 12 f. Ibn al-Baiṭar says: 'Marcasite is sometimes gold, sometimes silver, sometimes copper, sometimes iron: each kind resembles in colour that metal after which it is named; and each kind is mixed with sulphur and gives out sparks when struck

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the salt lakes[1]. In Egypt is found the clay of Aswân, which is called the 'clay of art,' and of this the jars intended to contain the drink called *fuḳḳâ*'[2] are made. The manufacture[3] of white paper exists here; factories for boiling sugar[4] are found here; and presses for sugar-canes; and fields of rice[5]; and oil of turnip[6] and radish; and oil of balsam[7]; and opium[8] and the *abramîs*[9] and honey-wine.

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against iron.' This paragraph is based upon the article by Sadebek and Hoffmann, 'Ueber den Namen Markasit,' in the *Neues Jahrbuch für Mineralogie*, Stuttgart, 1878, p. 289 ff.

The word 'marcasite' must have come into the other European languages through Latin translations of Arabic medical works, or through the Spanish *marcaxita*, modern *marquesita;* see Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, p. 301. (A. J. B.)

[1] The salt lakes in the Wâdî Naṭrûn or Nitrian Valley, which lie about three days' journey through the desert to the north-west of Cairo, are still a source of revenue to the Egyptian government. There are other salt lakes in the Delta and Upper Egypt. (A. J. B.)

[2] A kind of beer made of fruit.

[3] The Arabs first learnt the manufacture of paper about A.D. 750, probably from the Chinese, and the first place at which it was made by Muslims was Samarcand. The manufacture soon spread to other parts of the Mahometan world. See *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vol. ii. pp. 87–255, where there is a full discussion of the history and composition of Arab paper. There was a street and a khan of the paper-makers at Cairo, and a mill in the latter of these places; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. pp. ١., ٢٢. Bûrî near Damietta was famous for paper, which was also made in the Fayyûm. The chief constituent was linen.

[4] Al-Maḳrîzî gives an account of the method of cultivating the sugar-cane in Egypt in his time; see *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١.٢. The use of sugar in Egyptian cookery is described by 'Abd al-Laṭîf, *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, ed. White, pp. 178–182. The sugar-factories of Egypt were very numerous; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, at the end of the fourteenth century, names sixty-five of them in Cairo alone, from many of which the government derived a large revenue; see *op. cit.* iv. p. ٣١.

[5] 'Abd al-Laṭîf says that rice was much used in cookery with meat and fish; *op. cit.* p. 184. It was introduced into Egypt under the Mahometans.

[6 7 8 9] For these notes see next page.

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The Nile.

§ Moreover, the Nile of Egypt is one of the miracles[10], at which the people of the earth marvel when they hear of them; for it rises at the

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[6] 'Abd al-Laṭîf, who was a contemporary of our author, says of the Egyptians: ويختصون ايضاً باستخراج دهن بزر الفجل والسلجم والخس ويستصبحون به ويعملون منه الصابون وصابونهم رطب احمر واصفر واخضر

'They have a peculiar custom also of extracting oil from the seed of the radish and the turnip and the lettuce, and this oil they burn for light; and they make soap of it also: and their soap is moist, and red, yellow, or green in colour.' ('Abd al-Laṭîf, *op. cit.*, ed. White, p. 176.)

[7] 'Abd al-Laṭîf also mentions oil of balsam among the products of Egypt, and says that it was only made at 'Ain Shams (Heliopolis) in that country; remarking that no balsam was to be found in his day in Syria, where Galen and Nicolaus say that it grew in the greatest perfection; *op. cit.* pp. 22–26. See also Butler, *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 331. (A. J. B.)

[8] 'Abd al-Laṭîf says that opium was made from the black poppy (الخشخاش الاسود) in Upper Egypt, and was often adulterated; *op. cit.* p. 48.

[9] The *abramîs* was a fish found in the Nile. It is curious that our author should place it here among the vegetable products. Al-Idrîsî says that the *abramîs* has a red tail, is called the king of fish, is very good to eat, and is a hand's breadth in length, and half that measure in thickness; see Jaubert's trans., p. 29. The name of this fish is derived from the Greek ἀβραμίς, which occurs in Oppian's *Halieutica*, i. 244–7:

χαλκίδες αὖ θρίσσαι τε καὶ ἀβραμίδες φορέονται
ἀθρόαι, ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον ἁλὸς πόρον, ἢ περὶ πέτρας
ἢ πελάγη, δολιχοῖσί τ' ἐπέδραμον αἰγιαλοῖσιν,
αἰὲν ἀμειβόμεναι ξείνην ὁδόν, ἠΰτ' ἀλῆται.

[10] The Nile was naturally reckoned to be one of the twenty wonders of Egypt; see As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٩٠; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٣١. The following passage is a commonplace found in slightly different words in most ancient writers who have written on Egypt; see Herodotus, ii. 25, 26; Diodorus Siculus, i. 36; Strabo, xvii. 1; Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, cap. 28; 'Abd al-Laṭîf, p. 4 ff.; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٥٠ ff. See below, fol. 26 b.

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time of the great decrease of water, when other rivers and springs fall or dry up; and its rise comes at the very time when it is needed, and so likewise its fall comes when it is needed, by the special care of God for the inhabitants of Egypt. After the decrease of the Nile the wells rise, and the time of sowing depends upon it, and not upon the rains. The Nile flows continually down to the salt sea, and cleaves its way through it visibly.

God has spoken of the Nile of Egypt by the tongues of his prophets; for Isaiah the prophet says: 'God shall bless the people of Egypt, and those whom his hands created in Al-Mauṣil [1].'

§ The Gospel also says: 'The angel of the Lord appeared in
Fol. 20 b a dream, and said: "Rise, take the child and his mother, and flee into the land of Egypt, and be there until I bring thee word [2]."' And the Lord Christ and his mother, the Pure Virgin, and the blameless old man, Joseph, dwelt two years in Egypt.

§ And in the prophecy of Hosea, as the pure Gospel bears witness, it is said: 'From Egypt have I called my Son [3].'

Sojourners in Egypt.

§ That which causes Egypt to excel other countries is the sojourn in this land of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the flesh, with the Pure Lady Mary [4], and the truthful old man, Joseph the carpenter, by the command of God; and also the sojourn at Alexandria of Mark the Evangelist [5],

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[1] Isaiah xix. 25. Al-Mauṣil, Mosul or Moussol, being opposite the ruins of Nineveh, was often confused with the latter city, and spoken of as 'Nineveh.' Moreover the territory of Al-Mauṣil (ارض الموصل) forms part of what was once the kingdom of Assyria, and so the name was used as synonymous with 'Assyria.' Cf. e.g. Al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-Dhahab* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), ii. 77 :—

ملوك الموصل ومدينة نينوى

'The kings of Al-Mauṣil and of the city of Nineveh.'

[2] Matt. ii. 13. [3] Hosea xi. 1, and Matt. ii. 15.

[4] مُرْتَمَرْيَم or مارتمريم is the Syriac ܡܪܬܡܪܝܡ, 'my Lady Mary;' it occurs constantly in this work as the appellation of the Blessed Virgin.

[5] The Copts have, as it is well known, unanimously preserved the tradition,

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who was the nephew of Stephen, the chief of the deacons, and first of the martyrs in Jerusalem.

Some of the pure patriarchs[1] also came into Egypt; namely, Abraham, the Friend of God; and Jacob, the son of Isaac, who lived here seventeen years and died here, and whose body was taken back to Syria; and the fathers of the twelve tribes, who were his sons. The posterity of the latter in Egypt increased to the number of six hundred thousand five hundred and fifty souls[2], including the descendants of Joseph the Truthful and his sons Manasseh and Ephraim, without[3] reckoning the sons of Levi, whose number amounted to twenty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-three souls. Joseph died in Egypt, and his body was carried into Syria; and Moses prayed and worshipped at his prison[4].

Among those who dwelt in Egypt were Moses, and Aaron his brother, and their sister Miriam. Lot also, the son of Abraham's brother, entered this country; and Joshua the son of Nun; and the Fol. 21 a

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also found in Greek and Latin ecclesiastical writers, that St. Mark was the founder of the church of Egypt, and the first bishop of Alexandria. The Arabic Lives of the Patriarchs, by Severus of Al-Ushmûnain, begins with an account of the episcopate of St. Mark; see British Museum MS. *Or.* 26,100, pp. 16–23. Cf. the old Greek diptychs preserved in MSS. of the Coptic Liturgy of St. Cyril, which give a list of the bishops of Alexandria beginning with St. Mark (ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲩ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ).

[1] This passage is based, like that above, upon the *Faḍâ'il Miṣr* of Al-Kindî. As-Suyûṭî, borrowing from the same source, mentions, among the prophets who sojourned in Egypt, Abraham, Ishmael, Jacob, Joseph, the fathers of the twelve tribes, Lot, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Daniel, Jeremiah, Jesus; see *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٣١.

[2] Cf. Numbers i. 46, 47.

[3] I have here dislocated the translation in order to avoid an awkward parenthesis.

[4] See above, fol. 17 b. The tradition among both Christians and Muslims was that Moses visited the prison of Joseph at Bûṣîr, and consequently there was here a mosque erected in the name of Moses, and called *Masjid Mûsâ*; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٣٧; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٢٠٧.

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prophet Daniel[1] and the prophet Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; besides others, kings, great men, wise men and philosophers, captains and rulers, in all ages and all times[2].

Boundaries of Egypt.

§ The furthest point of the land of Egypt on the east is 'Abbâsah[3], and on the west Alexandria. Its greatest length is from Al-'Arîsh[4] to 'Aidhâb[5],

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[1] It is not clear when Daniel and Ezekiel are thought to have visited Egypt, unless they came in the train of Nebuchadnezzar, of whose invasion of Egypt the Mahometan and Christian historians of the East preserve very clear records; see below, fol. 23 b, 76 b, 80 a. As-Suyûṭî says:

واما دانيال فلم اقف فيه على اثر الى الان وعده ابن زولاق فيمن ولد بمصر

'With regard to Daniel I have not, up to the present time, met with any record [of his sojourn in Egypt]; but Ibn Zûlâḳ counts him among those that were born in Egypt.' (*Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٢٢.)

[2] The lists of distinguished visitors to Egypt given by the Mahometan historians remind us of the similar lists in Diodorus (i. 96). As-Suyûṭî gives the names of many Greek philosophers and writers who sojourned in Egypt, among whom are Plato, Hippocrates, Ptolemy, Aratus, Euclid, and Aristotle; see *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٢١ f.

[3] A small town on the Syrian frontier of Egypt, fifteen parasangs from Cairo. It is said, among other accounts, to have been named after a daughter of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn. It is now included in the district of Sawalah, in the province of Ash-Sharḳîyah. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٥٩٩; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٢٢٢; Quatremère, *Mém.* i. pp. 62, 189; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 3. (A. J. B.)

[4] The classical Rhinocolura; a very ancient town on the sea, near the Syrian frontier of Egypt. It is now the seat of a governor, and in 1885 contained with its dependencies 3,923 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٧٧٠; Al-Ḳazwînî, ii. p. ١٣٧; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٢١. f.; Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 53; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. pp. x, xi, 20. (A. J. B.)

[5] On the Red Sea, opposite Jiddah, and near the frontier of the Bishârîn tribes. There was a road to it from Ḳift (see fol. 103 a) and Ḳûs; and from A. H. 450 = A. D. 1058 to A. H. 665 = A. D. 1267 this was the route taken by the pilgrims on their way to Mecca. 'Aidhâb was also a port much frequented by merchants from India and Yemen, until the middle of the fourteenth century

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and its greatest breadth from Barḳah[1] to Ailah[2]. It is said that Barḳah is also called 'the Five Cities.'

The City of Fusṭâṭ Miṣr.

§ Account of the city of Miṣr[3]. It is related, in the history of the church and the lives of the patriarchs[4], that 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî, and the Arabs who invaded Egypt with him, took the road from the mountains

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of our era. M. Amélineau, who speaks as if the Synaxarium and the revenue-list alone preserved the name of this important town, seems to have overlooked Quatremère's account of it, as well as Al-Maḳrîzî's, which proves that 'Aidhâb was existing not only at the end of the fourteenth century, as the revenue-list published by De Sacy shows, but as late as the middle of the fifteenth century, although it was then in a state of decadence, and no more than a village of huts. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ad voc.; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٢٠٢; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Quatremère, *Mém.* ii. pp. 162–172, where Ibn Ḥaukal and Abû 'l-Fidâ are also cited. M. Amélineau (*Géogr.* p. 160) would identify 'Aidhâb with Berenice or Myoshormos, the former of which is probably correct, the latter being absolutely out of the question.

[1] The name of a town and district to the west of Alexandria, corresponding to the classical Barca or Pentapolis, which latter appellation is translated by the Arabic خمس مدن, 'the Five Cities.' The province was not, strictly speaking, part of Egypt. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٥٧٣; Al-Makîn, *Ta'rîkh al-Muslimîn*, ad ann. 27.

[2] A small town on the shore of the Gulf of Suez, and on the borders of Syria and the Hedjaz. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٣٢٢; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 123 f.]; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ١٨٣.

[3] 'Miṣr' here denotes the city of Al-Fusṭâṭ or Fusṭâṭ Miṣr, the remains of which are now called Maṣr al-'Atîḳah, and incorrectly named by foreigners 'Old Cairo.' The city was founded by 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî, the Arab conqueror of Egypt, in A. H. 20 = A. D. 641, and remained the capital of the country until it was superseded by the suburb of Al-'Askar, which was founded to the north of it.

[4] Our author is quoting loosely from the biography of the patriarch Benjamin, in Severus' history of the patriarchs:

فاخذوا الجبل حتى وصلوا الى قصر مبنى بالحجارة بين الصعيد والريف يسمى بابلون فضربوا

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until they reached a fortress, built of stone[1], between Upper Egypt and the Delta[2], which was called Bâblûn[3]. Here they pitched their tent, and all of them prepared to meet the Romans and to fight with them. And they called that place 'Al-Fusṭâṭ' in their language; and the meaning of this word is 'The Tent.' In this way the Arabs called the Fort of Ash-Shama'[4] at Miṣr 'Fusṭâṭ Bâblûn.'

خيامهم هناك حتى يرتبوا المقاتلة الروم ومحاربتهم ثم انهم سموا ذلك الموضع اعنى القصر بلغتهم بابلون الفسطاط وهو اسمه الان

'Then [the Arabs] crossed the hills until they arrived at a fort built of stone, between Upper Egypt and the Delta, which was called Bâblûn, and there they pitched their tents, that they might prepare to fight with the Romans. Then they named that place, that is to say the fort, Bâblûn Fusṭâṭ in their language; and that is its name at the present time.' (Brit. Mus. MS. *Or.* 26,100, p. 105, lines 12–14.)

[1] The Roman fortress referred to is built with alternate courses of stone and brick, and has stone pediments over the gateways; so that the use of stone predominates sufficiently to justify the expression in the text. I have given a plan of this fortress in *Coptic Churches* (vol. i. chap. 4). (A. J. B.)

[2] I translate الريف by 'the Delta' because that is its obvious meaning here. See note on fol. 12 a.

[3] The Arabic form of Babylon (Βαβυλών, ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ), the name given by the Greeks and Graecizing Copts to this town and fortress on the Nile; see Diodorus, i. 56; Strabo, xvii. 1, § 35; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* ii. 15. Other Arabic forms are Bâblûnîyah (بابلونية), Bâbliyûn (بابليون), Bâb al-yûn (باب اليون), but the Arabs only knew the Greek form of the name, and never called the place Babil (بابل) like the city on the Euphrates.

[4] In my *Coptic Churches* (vol. i. chap. 4) I was unable to give any satisfactory account of the name *Ḳaṣr ash-Shama'* or 'Castle of the Candle,' which is the familiar designation of the place to-day. Now, however, I am inclined to think that *Shama'* is a corruption of the old Coptic name ϫⲏⲙⲓ, 'Egypt.' The town and fortress of Babylon were called by the Copts ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϫⲏⲙⲓ or 'Babylon of Egypt.' Thus, in the Acts of the Coptic martyr John of Phanijoit or Zaitûn, we read that the saint resolved to go to ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϫⲏⲙⲓ, to appear before the Sultan Al-Kâmil (ed. Amélineau, p. 37). ϫⲏⲙⲓ is also used by itself to denote Cairo (*op. cit.* pp. 44, 45, 47, 48). See Quatremère,

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§ I found an account of the conquest of Egypt in the Book of Al-Janâḥ. It says that 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî conquered Egypt in the year 19[1] of the Hegira. He encamped outside a place called Janân ar-Rîḥân, whither the Arabs came down to besiege the city of Miṣr. The bishop of the Romans at Miṣr and Alexandria was named Cyrus[2]. The Fol. 21 b

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Mém. i. pp. 49, 50; Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, i. p. 184 f., ii. p. 110 f. It is further noticeable that the Arabic name, Miṣr, 'Egypt,' is applied both to the capital and to the country. (A. J. B.)

[1] See Introduction.

[2] Cyrus was the Greek patriarch of Alexandria at the time of the Arab invasion of Egypt. He is mentioned in the following passage of Eutychius (*Annales*, ed. Pococke, ii. p. 266):

وفى اول خلافته صير جيرجيوس بطريركًا على الاسكندرية اقام اربع سنين فلما سمع ان المسلمين غلبوا الروم وفتحوا فلسطين وانهم جائين الى مصر ركب البحر وهرب من الاسكندرية الى القسطنطينية وبقى كرسى الاسكندرية بعده بلا بطرك ملكى سبعة وتسعين سنة ولما هرب صير بعده كورس بطريركًا على الاسكندرية وكان مارونيا على دين هرقل وكان بالاسكندرية رجل راهب يقال له صفرونيس فانكر صفرونيس مقالة كورس البطرك وكان كورس يقول ان سيدنا المسيح طبيعتين بمشئة واحدة وفعل واحد وقنوم واحد وهذه هى مقالة مارون

'At the beginning of the caliphate [of 'Umar] George was appointed patriarch of Alexandria. He remained four years in possession of the see. Then when he heard that the Muslims had conquered the Romans, and had vanquished Palestine, and were advancing upon Egypt, he took ship and fled from Alexandria to Constantinople; and after his time the see of Alexandria remained without a Melkite patriarch for ninety-seven years.

'When George took flight, Cyrus was appointed patriarch of Alexandria in succession to him; Cyrus was a Maronite, and followed the religious faith of [the Emperor] Heraclius. Now there was a monk at Alexandria named Sophronius, who condemned the doctrines of the patriarch Cyrus; for Cyrus taught that Our Lord Christ consisted of Two Natures with One Will and One Energy and One Personality; and this was the doctrine of Maro.'

Cf. Le Quien (*Oriens Christ.* ii. col. 447 ff.), according to whom Cyrus was elected patriarch in A. D. 632, deposed in 639, restored in 641, and died in 642; and Zotenberg, *Chron. de Jean de Nikiou*, p. 439.

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people of Al-Fusṭâṭ dug a moat against the Arabs. Al-Fusṭâṭ was then called Al-Lûnîyah[1]; but the Arabs called it Al-Fusṭâṭ, because they said: 'This is the tent (fusṭâṭ) of the people, and their place of meeting.' 'Amr, then, came thither with three thousand and five men; but afterwards he was joined by Az-Zubair ibn al-'Awwâm, with twelve thousand. 'Amr took possession of the fortress[2], and captured it by force[3]; and thereupon he gave up to plunder all the treasures that it contained. He spared the lives of the natives on condition of their becoming a 'protected people'; but he laid tribute upon them throughout their country. The governor of Al-Lûnîyah, or Al-Fusṭâṭ, demanded a tax of two dinars from every adult: that is to say twenty-seven dirhems, all but one-third; unless the man was poor. Every rich man was obliged to pay every year two dinars and three ardebs of corn. In this way 'Amr raised a revenue of two millions of dinars from the poll-tax of Egypt; and 'Abd Allâh ibn Sa'îd ibn Mufarraj[4] raised four millions of dinars. The government of 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî lasted ten years and four months, and that of 'Abd Allâh[5] his son for two years.

§ It is also said that, when the Muslims came into Egypt, they made an enclosure of canes, extending from the road called Al-Farr to the place named Daurah Khalf; and hither they assembled themselves; and it was called Al-Fusṭâṭ, or the meeting-place of the people; and the Arabs did not put up a tent, not being acquainted with the use of tents.

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[1] This is simply part of the word *Bâblûnîyah* (بابلونية) or Babylon, which the Arabs supposed to be two words, meaning Gate of Lûnîyah.

[2] M. Amélineau, who has published a translation of the greater part of fol. 21 b (*Géogr.* p. 542), translates حصن by 'fossé'! He also reads, a line or two further down, 'Louiiah' instead of 'Lûnîyah,' not being aware that the latter is simply part of the form بابلونية (Bâblûnîyah), used by Al-Maḳrîzî for 'Babylon.'

[3] For remarks on the conquest of Egypt, see Introduction.

[4] Al-Maḳrîzî (i. p. ٩٨) says that 'Amr raised a revenue of twelve millions, and 'Abd Allâh ibn Sa'd ibn Abî Sarḥ fourteen millions. The latter succeeded 'Amr as emir of Egypt (*op. cit.* p. ٢٩٩). Our scribe has evidently altered the figures.

[5] Some say that it was not 'Abd Allâh the son of 'Amr who governed Egypt after the latter, but 'Abd Allâh ibn Sa'd.

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§ 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî conquered Egypt on a Friday, on the first day of the month of Al-Muḥarram, in the year 20 of the Hegira, and in the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, in a battle which took place near the fortress known as the Fort of Al-Ḥammâm[1]. The number of the Copts who inhabited the land of Egypt, without counting the decrepit old men and the children below the age of understanding, amounted to six millions of souls. 'Amr imposed upon all of them a yearly tax[2] of twenty-six dirhems and two-thirds; but from the rich men, all alike, he exacted two dinars and three ardebs of wheat a head, in every place that he occupied. In this way the country produced twelve millions of dinars, without reckoning the tribute of the Jews in Egypt and its provinces. All this money was carried to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb; and it was the first money that was taken to him from Egypt. 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî had visited Egypt during the days of ignorance, and knew the roads leading thither, through trading there together with one of the tribe of the Ḳuraish[3]. Fol. 22 a

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[1] See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٩.

[2] See Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٩١.

[3] These words are borrowed from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who relates that 'Amr went from Arabia to Jerusalem on a trading expedition with some members of the tribe of Ḳuraish. In Syria, 'Amr was able to render certain services to a Greek deacon of Alexandria, who was visiting Jerusalem on a pilgrimage, and who, in gratitude to 'Amr, invited him, with one of the members of the tribe of Ḳuraish, to visit Alexandria, where the two Arabs were much struck by the wealth and magnificence of the capital of Roman Egypt. See As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٥٦; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١٥٨; Ibn al-Athîr, iii. p. ٧٧; Abû 'l-Maḥâsin, i. p. ٦.

The words of Al-Maḳrîzî, quoting from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, are:

وكان عمرو قد دخل فى الجاهلية مصر وعرف طرقها ورأى كثرة ما فيها وكان سبب دخوله اياها انه قدم الى بيت المقدس لتجارة فى نفر من قريش

"'Amr had visited Egypt during the days of ignorance, and knew the roads leading thither, and had seen the wealth of the country; and the cause of his visit to Egypt was that he travelled to Jerusalem for purposes of trade, with some members of the tribe of Ḳuraish,' &c.

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§ I found it stated in the History of the Church that the Muslims entered Egypt and took possession of it in the month of Ba'ûnah, in the year 321 of the Righteous Martyrs[1].

§ The number of those that were slain in the conquest of Egypt, without reckoning those that were killed during the siege, was twelve thousand three hundred[2].

§ The places named after the Arab tribes, who laid them out at the time of the conquest of Egypt in Muḥarram of the year 20 of the Hegira, were [the streets or quarters named after[3]] Muharrah ibn Ḥaidân ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḥâf ibn Ḳuḍâ'ah; Tajîb Umm 'Adî; Lakhm

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[1] Our author does not seem to have copied his authority very accurately here as regards the date. The passage in the life of the patriarch Benjamin runs as follows:

انفذ ملك المسلمين سرية مع امين من اصحابه يسمى عمر بن العاص فى سنة ثلثمائة وسبعة وخمسين لديقلاديانوس قاتل الشهداء فنزل عسكر الاسلام الى مصر بقوة عظيمة فى اليوم الثانى عشر من برونة دنكطسر من شهور الروم

'The king [i. e. caliph] of the Muslims sent an expedition, under one of his trusted friends named 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî, in the year 357 of Diocletian the slayer of the martyrs; and the army of Islam invaded Egypt in great force on the 12th day of Ba'ûnah, [that is to say] in the Roman month of December.' (Brit. Mus. MS. *Or.* 26,100, p. 105, lines 7–10.)

Cf. Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 162.

Ba'ûnah does not correspond to December, but to May 26–June 24.

It is well known that the so-called Era of the Martyrs really begins with the accession of Diocletian, A. D. 284 (Aug. 29), and was originally employed by heathens as well as Christians.

[2] Al-Kindî makes the number of slain only 3,500; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٩٣.

[3] This passage seems to be somewhat corrupt. Perhaps the copyist did not understand it. It is doubtless borrowed from Al-Kindî's *Khiṭaṭ Miṣr*. Al-Maḳrîzî says:

ولما رجع عمرو من الاسكندرية ونزل موضع فسطاطه انضمت القبائل بعضها الى بعض وتنافسوا فى المواضع فولى عمرو على الخطط معاوية بن خديج التجيبى وشريك بن سمّى الغطيفى

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and Judhâm, the two sons of 'Adî ibn Murrah; Râshidah ibn Jazîlah ibn Lakhm; the Banû 'l-Maghâfir ibn Ya'far; the Banû Wâ'il; (names were given to the Khalîj and Al-Ḳanṭarah and the Quarter[1]); Habîb ibn Mughaffal, who dwelt in the Wâdî Habîb[2]; the Ḳarâfah[3]; the Banû Ḥajaṣ ibn Yûsuf ibn Wâ'il; Al-Malik Abû 'l-Khair ibn Sharâḥîl; Fol. 22 b

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وعمرو بن قحزم الخولانى وحيويل بن ناشرة المغافرى وكانوا هم الذين انزلوا الناس وفصلوا بين القبائل وذلك فى سنة احدى وعشرين

'When 'Amr returned from Alexandria and settled at the place where his tent (fusṭâṭ) had been pitched, the tribes assembled together and divided the place between them. Then 'Amr appointed as stewards of the quarters Mu'âwiyah ibn Khadîj of the tribe of Tajîb, and Sharîk ibn Simî of the tribe of Ghaṭîf, and 'Amr ibn Ḳaḥzam of the tribe of Khûlân, and Ḥaiwîl ibn Nâshirah of the tribe of Maghâfir; and it was these men who appointed settlements for the Arabs and divided the place among the tribes; and this was in the year 21.' (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٩v.)

The names of the Arab tribes here furnished by our author as those which laid out the different quarters of Al-Fusṭâṭ, and gave their names to them, are also found in Al-Maḳrîzî (*ibid.*) and Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. ٦ f., with the addition of others.

[1] This passage seems to be corrupt.

[2] Habîb was one of the companions of Mahomet, shared in his flight, and took part in the conquest of Mecca. Under the caliph 'Uthmân, he retired into the Nitrian valley, which was therefore named after him. Wâdî Habîb is the most usual of the names given by the Arabs to the Nitrian valley (see fol. 20 a), which they also called Wâdî Naṭrûn, Wâdî 'l-Mulûk, Desert of Asḳît (Σκύαθις, Scaetis), Desert of Shihât and Mîzân al-Ḳulûb (Balance of Hearts). Of the last two names the former is simply the Coptic Shihît (ϣⲓϩⲏⲧ), from which Σκύαθις and Asḳît are derived, and the latter is an Arabic translation of the two elements of which the Coptic name appeared to be composed, namely ϣⲓ, 'measure,' 'weigh,' and ϩⲏⲧ, 'heart.' See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١٨٦; As-Suyûṭî, i. p. ١٣٦.

[3] This is said to be the name of the tribe which settled on the plot of ground to the north-west of Al-Fusṭâṭ which afterwards became the great cemetery of Al-Ḳarâfah; but another account of the origin of the name 'Ḳarâfah' is given on fol. 42 a. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٤٨.

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Wardân the Roman[1], the friend of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿÂṣî; Shajâʿah ibn Mandaghân ibn Malik ibn Kaʿb ibn al-Ḥârith ibn Kaʿb. The market-place of Barbar[2] was named after Barbar ibn Abî Ḥabîb. The street of Al-Khadîjî was the settlement of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân ibn Muʿâwiyah ibn Khadîj ibn Ḥajar, emir of Egypt[3] in the caliphate of ʿAbd Allâh ibn az-Zubair[4] at Mecca and of Marwân[5] in Syria.

§ ʿAmr ibn al-ʿÂṣî ibn ʿAdî is described as being dark and short, with a large head and prominent brows, wide-mouthed, with a long beard, broad-shouldered and broad-chested[6]. He died in the year 43; and he was buried in the Muḳaṭṭam[7] hills, in the neighbourhood of the Ravine, on the road towards the Hedjaz.

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[1] Wardân is said to have been an Armenian. Under the caliph Muʿâwiyah, he was the director of the tribute of Egypt; and he was killed at Alexandria in A. H. 53. The market-place of Wardân at Al-Fusṭâṭ was named after him. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ۱۹۳.

[2] In Al-Fusṭâṭ; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ۱۹۳.

[3] From Shaʿbân A. H. 64 = A. D. 684 to Rajab A. H. 65; he succeeded Saʿîd ibn Yazîḍ. Al-Maḳrîzî calls him ʿAbd ar-Raḥman ibn ʿUtbah ibn Jaḥdam. See *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ۲۰۱ f.

[4] ʿAbd Allâh was the eighth caliph, but was not recognized in Syria and only by a party in Egypt. He reigned 128 days, during the latter part of A. H. 64 and the earlier part of A. H. 65. In the month of Jumâdâ 'l-Ûlâ, A. H. 65, the Omeyyad caliph Marwân invaded Egypt, and fought with ʿAbd Allâh and his emir ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân, whom he defeated and slew, so that the Omeyyad dynasty was established throughout the Mahometan world. See Al-Makîn, *Ta'rîkh al-Muslimîn*, ad ann. 64 and 65; Abû 'l-Faraj (ed. Pococke), pp. 194–8; Abû 'l-Fidâ, *Annales*, i. p. 402 ff.; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ۲۰۱ f.; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. ۸.

[5] Son of Al-Ḥakam, and fourth of the Omeyyad caliphs; reigned from A. H. 64 = A. D. 684 to A. H. 66 = A. D. 686. See Abû 'l-Faraj, p. 197 f.; Abû 'l-Fidâ, *Annales*, i. p. 404 ff.; Al-Makîn, ad ann. 64–66; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ۲۰۱ f.; As-Suyûṭî, ii. p. ۸.

[6] This description is taken from Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. See An-Nawawî, *Kitâb Tahdhîb al-Asmâ* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. ۴۷۸ ff.

[7] The well-known hills to the east of Al-Fusṭâṭ and Cairo, about which many legends were told by the Arabs; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ۱۲۳.

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King Afṭûṭîs.

§ I found it written in the history of Maḥbûb[1] ibn Ḳusṭanṭîn Al-Manbajî (now the city of Manbaj[2] is also called the ancient City of the Priests, and is on the banks of the Euphrates), in the first part, that a king named Afṭûṭîs[3], in the time of Isaac son of Abraham, was the

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[1] Otherwise called Agapius (اغابيوس); see Introduction.

[2] The Syriac Mâbûg (ܡܒܘܓ, see Assemani, *Bib. Or.* ii. p. 22; cf. 'Mabog,' Pliny, *H. N.* v. 19), and the Greek Hierapolis, in northern Syria, to the east of Antioch and not far from the right or western bank of the Euphrates. It is now called Menbij or Benbij, and by the Turks Kara Bambûj or Bugûk Manbej, but is in a ruined state. In the time of our author it was a flourishing city and renowned for its salubrious climate (Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ad voc.) Eutychius incorrectly identifies it with Megiddo (*Annales*, i. p. 242). 'The City of the Priests' (مدينة الكُهّان) is a translation of the Syriac name of the place, ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ or ܡܗܓ̈ܢܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ, which the Greeks converted into Hierapolis. This parenthetical passage of our author is based upon the words of Maḥbûb, son of Constantine, himself:

فى ذلك الزمان بنت سمرين الملكة بيتاً عظيماً لقيوس الصنم فى مدينة على شاطى الفرات واقامت لقيوس من الكهان سبعين رجلاً وسميت تلك المدينة ابرولويس [sic] الذى تفسيره مدينة الكهان وهى مدينة منبج العتيقة

'At that time [i.e. the period of Jacob] the queen Semiramis built a great temple to Ḳuyûs the idol in a city on the bank of the Euphrates; and she appointed seventy men priests to Ḳuyûs. The name of this city was Hierapolis, the interpretation of which is "City of the Priests," and it is the ancient city of Manbaj.' (Bodleian MS. Hunt 4,178, fol. 70 a.)

If it may be conjectured that Ḳubbûs (قبّوس) is the correct reading instead of Ḳuyûs, the statue referred to may be that of Kombabos, of which we hear in the treatise *De Dea Syra* ascribed to Lucian, that it stood in the temple of the great goddess in whose honour the temple of Hierapolis was actually erected. Agapius accepts the tradition mentioned in the same treatise that Semiramis was the founder of the temple.

[3] This name appears as Ûṭîs on fol. 57 a and b, but is more often found in

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first who discovered books and sciences and astronomy and arithmetic. He studied the latter in the books of the Chaldaeans and people of the East, and introduced them into Egypt, besides magic and the art of
Fol. 23 a conjuring. At the same time, Sodom and Gomorrah were built; and Babylon[1] also was built upon the river Nile. This king, mentioned above, reigned for thirty-two years.

Revenues of Egypt.

§ Under the administration of Joseph, son of Jacob, the land-tax of Egypt, after the country began to flourish through his enterprise, reached the sum of twenty-four million six hundred thousand dinars[2]. The Pharaoh of the time of Moses drew a revenue of ninety millions of dinars; his name was Al-Walîd ibn Muṣ'ab[3]; and he dug, by the

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the shortened form Ṭûṭîs (طوطيس), the name of a king whom Al-Maḳrîzî calls the son of Mâliyâ, son of Kharâbâ; see *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١٣٠; As-Suyûṭî (*Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٢١) calls Ṭûṭîs the son of Mâliyâ, son of Kalkan, son of Khartaba.

[1] For a different account of the foundation of the Egyptian Babylon, see fol. 60 b. The generally accepted story of its origin is given by Strabo, *Geogr.* xvii. cap. 1, § 30, and Diodorus, i. cap. 56, § 3; cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* ii. 15. The recently-discovered tablets from Tall al-Amarna show that intimate relations existed between Egypt and Babylon on the Euphrates, at least 1,500 years before our era. (A. J. B.)

[2] Al-Maḳrîzî says 97,000,000 dinars, and adds that according to the computation of Ibn Daḥyah 90,000,000 Pharaonic dinars were equivalent to 270,000,000 dinars of his own time. Ash-Sharîf al-Ḥarrânî says that from a Sahidic list translated into Arabic he found that the revenues of Egypt in the time of Joseph amounted to 24,400,000 dinars, thus nearly agreeing with our author. The same figures are given by Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alî al-Asadî. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٧٥.

[3] This is the name commonly given by Arab writers to the Pharaoh of the time of Moses; see Al-Mas'ûdî, ii. p. 397 f.; An-Nawawî, *Tahdhîb al-Asmâ*, p. ٥٠٠; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١٣٢; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٢٥. Other names, however, are mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.

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agency of his officers Ḳârûn and Hâmân[1], the canal of Sardûs[2], which has more windings than any other.

The Romans derived a revenue of twenty millions of dinars[3] from Egypt. The country was placed by Heraclius under the government of George, son of Mennas, the *Muḳauḳis*[4], on condition of receiving

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[1] Hâmân, the minister of Pharaoh, is mentioned in the Koran, *Sûrat al-Ḳiṣaṣ*, v. 5 and 7; *al-'Aṇkabût*, v. 38; *al-Mu'min*, v. 25 and 38; and (Ḳârûn) Korah in *al-Ḳiṣaṣ*, v. 76; *al-'Aṇkabût*, v. 38; and *al-Mu'min*, v. 25. Korah is represented in the Koran, following the Talmud, as a man of immense wealth, and insolent towards his fellow-countrymen.

[2] Our author is doubtless borrowing from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who says that Haman was commanded by Pharaoh to dig this canal, and that the people of the villages in whose neighbourhood it was to run offered him money if he would allow the canal to be brought close to them, which could only be effected by its making many turnings; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. v. f.; As-Suyûṭî, i. p. ro. Quatremère identified the so-called canal of Sardûs with the ancient Tanitic branch of the Nile, now named the Baḥr Mu'izz (*Mém.* i. 301).

[3] It is impossible to conjecture on what these figures are based. Very probably the population was about eight millions, and there is nothing improbable in the statement of Abû Ṣâliḥ, which would give 2½ dinars per head, or £1 5*s.* o*d.* of our money. But the Roman revenues were in kind as well as in money. Herodotus (iii. 91) makes the revenue from Egypt and parts adjoining, including Barca and Cyrene, 700 talents of silver, without counting the income from the fishery of Lake Moeris, and 700 talents in coined money. St. Jerome, on Daniel xi. 5, says that Ptolemy Philadelphus derived from the countries under his sway 14,800 Egyptian talents, besides 7,000,000 bushels of corn. Towards the end of the Lagide dynasty, the revenue of Auletes was 6,000 talents, though Cicero puts the amount at 12,500; but even this would be only about £2,250,000 as against Abû Ṣâliḥ's £10,000,000. In the time of Augustus, the amount of corn sent by Egypt to Rome was nearly 3,000,000 quarters per annum, and if the value of this were included, a near approach would be made to Abû Ṣâliḥ's figures. See 'Abd Allâh Simaika's *Province Romaine d'Égypte*, p. 129 seq. (A. J. B.)

[4] The position, name, and title of this official, which have so long been a problem to Arabists, seem to have been settled as far as possible by Prof. De Goeje in his memoir *De Mokaukis van Egypte*, and by Prof. Karabacek.

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a sum of eighteen millions of dinars yearly. 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî drew, in the year 20 of the Hegira, one million of dinars; but in the year 22, twelve millions. Under the Abbasides, when Egypt was administered by Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, it produced five millions; and, when administered by Ya'ḳûb ibn Yûsuf, four millions; and it finally went down to three millions[1].

§ A survey of the provinces of Egypt, so far as the Nile waters them, was made in the days of Hishâm[2] ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and their extent found to be thirty millions of feddâns[3]. The annual revenue also of Egypt and its dependencies, during the government of Kâfûr

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in his article *Der Mokaukis von Aegypten* in the *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vol. i. pp. 1–11. The latter authority concludes that the full designation of the Muḳauḳis was probably Georgios son of Menas (Mennas) Parkabios, according to the Coptic custom of double names, thus explaining the name Farḳab (فرقب for فرقب) given to his father by Yâḳût, Al-Maḳrîzî, and As-Suyûṭî; and that his office was probably that of Pagarch, which corresponded to the more ancient office of Nomarch, with, perhaps, the post of Strategos held in addition. *Strategos* is found in the papyri translated into Arabic by عامل المعونة or صاحب المعونة, and *Pagarchos* by عامل الخراج or simply عامل; and Eutychius calls the Muḳauḳis عامل على الخراج, while As-Suyûṭî says that he was chief military officer as well as superintendent of the taxes. The term *Muḳauḳis* itself is believed by Prof. Karabacek to be the Greek μεγαυχής (v. Aeschylus, Persae, 641), an honorary epithet which would be analogous to μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, ἐνδοξότατος and εὐκλεέστατος, found in papyri of the time of the Mahometan conquest and later as applied to the Pagarchs. (A. J. B.)

[1] Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٩٩.

[2] The tenth of the Omeyyad caliphs; reigned from A. H. 105=A. D. 724 to A. H. 125=A. D. 744.

[3] Taking the feddân as equivalent to an English acre, which it slightly exceeds, it is difficult to understand this estimate. 'The area of the cultivable tract of Egypt, which has remained unaltered since the remotest antiquity, is about 11,342 square miles' (Baedeker). At 632 acres to the square mile this gives 7,168,144 acres or considerably less than one-third of our author's estimate. The statistics of revenue in the remainder of this paragraph are credible enough. (A. J. B.)

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al-Ustâdh al-Ikhshîdî, was added up, so far as it could be estimated, together with all the expenses, and it amounted to three million two hundred thousand and more than seventy thousand dinars; but the expenditure exceeded the revenue by two hundred thousand dinars. Fol. 23 b
In the year 162 (A.D. 779), in the caliphate of Al-Mahdî ibn al-Manṣûr[1], the Abbaside, the revenue of Egypt was estimated at one million eight hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred dinars.

Nebuchadnezzar.

§ Nebuchadnezzar[2], the satrap of the east, invaded Egypt, and ruthlessly pillaged the country for booty. Belteshazzar[3] however, his son, restored Egypt after its devastation, which lasted forty years[4]; and the first district which he restored in the country was that of Al-Ushmûnain[5].

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[1] The third of the Abbaside caliphs; reigned at Bagdad from A.H. 158=A.D. 775 to A.H. 169=A.D. 786.

[2] A very distinct tradition has been preserved in Egypt of its invasion by Nebuchadnezzar, spoken of by Jeremiah (xliii. 16 ff. and xlvi. 13 ff.) and by Ezekiel (xxix. 19). See As-Suyûṭî, i. p. ٢٩ f.; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٢٨٩, &c.; Eutychius, i. p. 253. It is well known that there exist fragments of a cuneiform inscription of the date of Nebuchadnezzar, which contained an account of his invasion of Egypt; see Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii. pt. 2, p. 140 f.

[3] Belshazzar. Eutychius writes the name بلتاسر; Aṭ-Ṭabarî بلتشصر, and Ibn Khaldûn بلتنصر.

[4] This number seems to arise from a confusion with the true number of years in Nebuchadnezzar's reign, viz. forty-three years according to Berosus, the Canon of Ptolemy, and the Babylonian contracts; see Strassmaier, *Babylonische Texte: Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor.*

[5] The classical Hermopolis or Mercurii Oppidum, and the Coptic ⲥⲙⲟⲩⲛ, on the west bank of the Nile between Munyah and Manfalût. It is now in the district of Raudah in the province of Usyût, and in 1885 had 2,312 inhabitants; but it has much declined from its ancient importance. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٢٨٣; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 47]; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٢٣٨; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 167 ff.

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The Patriarch Demetrius.

§ The first who appointed bishops for the land of Egypt and its provinces was Demetrius[1], the twelfth patriarch.

Restoration of Churches of Al-Fusṭâṭ.

§ The history of the church, in the biography of Anbâ[2] Mark the Younger, the forty-ninth patriarch, testifies that the churches of

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[1] This statement is borrowed by our author from Eutychius:

فان منذ حنانيا الذى اصلحه مرقص البشير بطريرك الاسكندرية الى وقت ديميتريوس بطريرك الاسكندرية وهو الحادى عشر بطريرك كان على الاسكندرية لم يكن فى عمل مصر اسقف ولا تكن البطاركة الذين قبله اصلحوا اسقفاً فلما صار ديميتريوس بطريركاً اصلح ثلثة اساقفة وهو اول بطريرك بالاسكندرية عمل الاساقفة فلما مات صير بعده هرقل بطريرك على الاسكندرية فاصلح عشرين اسقفاً

'From the time of Ananias (Annianus), who was appointed patriarch of Alexandria by Mark the Evangelist, until Demetrius the eleventh patriarch of Alexandria, there were no bishops in Egypt, and the predecessors of the last-named patriarch appointed none. But when Demetrius became patriarch, he appointed three bishops, and he was the first patriarch of Alexandria who made bishops. When he died, Heraclius was constituted patriarch of Alexandria after him, and appointed twenty bishops.' (*Annales*, ii. p. 330.)

The assertion of Eutychius is contradicted by the patriarchal history of Severus of Al-Ushmûnain, which not only states that St. Mark himself consecrated Annianus (انبا يونس) bishop of Alexandria, and left him there in that capacity during his sojourn in Pentapolis, but also mentions bishops in Egypt, other than the patriarch, in the lives of Avilius (مليانوس) the third patriarch, of Celadion (كلاديانوس) the ninth, and of Julian (يوليانوس) the eleventh; see Brit. Mus. MS. *Or.* 26,100, p. 21, line 18; p. 24, line 5; p. 25, lines 9 and 19. I use the word 'patriarch' here as being that employed by Severus.

[2] Occupied the see from A.D. 799 to 819 (?). See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 246–266. This date of the restoration of the churches corresponds closely enough with my estimate of the date of, e.g. the church of Abû Sirjah in the Roman fortress at Al-Fusṭâṭ; see *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 181. (A. J. B.)

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Fusṭâṭ Miṣr were rebuilt, and that their restoration was commanded, under the superintendence of that patriarch[1], after they had been

[1] Our author is referring to the following passage in the life of the patriarch Mark in Severus' collection:

فلما راوا مخاطبة الوالى له واهتمامه بامر البيع قال انبا خايال اسقف مصر الواجب ان نهتم بعمارة البيع فى هذا الوقت لما ظهر من محبة الوالى للنصارى ولما كان بالغداة عاد البطرك الى الوالى فسلم عليه فبجله واكرمه ورفعه واجلسه وخاطبه قائلًا قد قلت لك بالامس انى اقضى جميع حوائجك ولم تطلب منى حاجة والان فمهما كان لك من حاجة فاذكرها فانها مقضية عندى لمحبتى لك فقال له البطرك بكلام لين الرب يحفظ ايامك ويزيد فى رفعتك وسلطانك تعلم ان لم يولوا عبدك على مال ولا خراج بل على الانفس والبيع وارغب الى جلالتك ان لنا هاهنا بيع قد هدم الظالم بعضها قبل وصولك الى مصر فهدم الرب ديارة وقطع حياته من على الارض فان راى رايك فيها ان يتقدم لنا بعمارتها لنصلى فيها وندعى لجلالتك فالامر لك فجعل الله فى قلبه عاجلًا ان يامر بعمارتها فبنيت جميع بيع فسطاط مصر

'When they understood the discourse of the wâlî, and his care for the affairs of the churches, Anbâ Michael, bishop of Miṣr, said: Now is the time for us to take measures for the restoration of the churches, since it is evident that the wâlî bears an affection towards the Christians. Next day, therefore, the patriarch returned to the wâlî, who saluted him, and showed respect to him, and honoured him, and raised him from the ground, and made him sit beside him, and discoursed with him, saying: I told thee yesterday that I would perform whatever thou requirest, but thou hast asked nothing of me; now, therefore, mention to me whatever thou needest, and it shall be done because of my love for thee. So the patriarch answered with soft words: May the Lord preserve thy days and increase thy dignity and authority! Thou knowest that thy servant has not been set as ruler over revenues and taxes, but over souls and churches; and I beseech thy greatness —for we have here churches, some of which have been destroyed by the unrighteous one before thy coming to Egypt, therefore the Lord destroyed his houses and cut off his life from the face of the earth—but if it seems good to thee to command us to rebuild these churches, so that we may pray in them and intercede for thy greatness, the matter rests with thee. Then God quickly put it into the heart of the wâlî that he should order the restoration of those churches; and all the churches in Fusṭâṭ Miṣr were rebuilt.' (Bib. Nat. Paris MS. *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 211, l. 17–p. 212, l. 1.)

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destroyed in the patriarchate of Anbâ John[1], the forty-eighth in the succession.

§ The city of Miṣr, outside which is Madînat ash-Shams[2], was founded by Mizraim, the son of Canaan, the son of Ham, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech the Blind, and it was called after the name of the king of the Egyptians, Mizraim. Beyond Egypt is the district between the two rocks, beyond Al-ʿArîsh.

Churches of Al-Fusṭâṭ.

The first church built in Fusṭâṭ Miṣr was that which is beyond Al-Ḳanṭarah[3]; it was built in the time of Maslamah ibn Mukhallad al-Anṣârî[4]. The name of Miṣr in Greek is *Ǧibṭ*[5]; and in Frankish Roman[6] it is *Babylon the Fortress*. The church above mentioned was in the

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[1] Occupied the see A. D. 775–799; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 241–246. The destruction of some of the churches of Al-Fusṭâṭ in his time is mentioned in Bib. Nat. MS. *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 207, l. 20.

[2] Or 'Ain Shams: the Coptic ⲱⲛ or ⲡⲉⲧϥⲣⲏ, the Hebrew On (אוֹן) or Beth Shemesh (בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ Jer. xliii. 13), the classical Heliopolis, a few miles to the north of modern Cairo. The only remaining vestige of the famous city is the obelisk which stands near the village of Maṭarîyah. See Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٣١; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ١١١; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 287.

[3] Literally, 'The Bridge' or 'Arch:' a suburb of Al-Fusṭâṭ, also called Al-Ḥamrâ al-Wusṭâ (fol. 29 b); see Al-Maḳrîzî.

[4] The well-known 'Companion' of the Prophet; he governed Egypt, under the caliphs Mu'âwiyah and Yazîd, from A. H. 47=A. D. 668 to A. H. 62=A. D. 682; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٣٠١; As-Suyûṭî (ii. p. ٧) names this first church.

[5] Evidently an apocopated form of Αἴγυπτος, and therefore a formation analogous to *Ḳibṭ* (Copts). As the Egyptians give the hard pronunciation to the ج, they would sound the word *Ghibṭ*. The Greek γ becomes ج in Arabic in the words *Jirjis* for Γεώργιος, *Sirjah* for Σέργιος, *jaghrâfîyâ* for γεωγραφία, and many others.

[6] I. e. the *lingua Franca*. Babylon, as the name of Fusṭâṭ, or Fusṭâṭ and Cairo together, was widely employed in Europe at the time of our author and later; see Mandeville's travels, edition of London, 1568, fol. ciiii verso: 'And who so wyll go through the land of Babylon wher the Soudan dwelleth . . . hee

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quarter, between Cairo and Miṣr[1], running from the church of Saint George, called Al-Ḥamrâ. The church was in the middle of this quarter, which is also called Ḥârat ar-Rûm[2], and was inhabited by Christians and Abyssinian monks and others. When the quarter was demolished, as the others also were demolished outside Miṣr, and the houses which it contained were destroyed, the bricks and timber were carried off for other buildings in Cairo. A few ruined houses, however, remained, and were inhabited by the men of Maimûn[3]. Fol. 24 a

The church of Saint George, called Al-Ḥamrâ, had fallen into ruin and disorder; but Al-Mu'allim Sarûr Al-Jullâl undertook to improve and renew it in the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir. The said Al-Jullâl was full of wealth and honours. Thus when our lord Al-Mustanṣir went up to the *manẓarah* called As-Sukkarah[4] for the breaking of the dam of the

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shall goe from Gaza . . . and from thence men come to Babylone and to Kayre; and in Babylone is a fayre churche of our lady wher she dwelled vii yere whan she was oute of the lande of Jewes, for dreade of kynge Herode. And there lyeth the body of Saynte Barbare vyrgyn, and there dwelled Joseph whan he was solde of his brethrene . . . There dwelleth the Soudan, for there is a faire citie and stronge castell.' Mandeville is said to have travelled early in the fourteenth century.

The *Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babyloyne*, published by the Roxburghe Club in 1854, is well known. Cf. 'Saladino, Soldano di Babilonia' in Boccaccio, *Dec.*, Giorn. x, Nov. 9, &c.

[1] Here we have Miṣr used as synonymous with Al-Fusṭâṭ or Fusṭâṭ Miṣr, and in antithesis to Cairo, which was nevertheless sometimes called Miṣr al-Kâhirah, and is now called Maṣr; the remains of Al-Fusṭâṭ being called Old Maṣr.

[2] 'Quarter of the Romans;' see above, fol. 6 a.

[3] Maimûn al-Ḳaṣrî was an officer in Saladin's army; see Ibn al-Athîr, xii. pp. ١٣, ١٠٦, ١٥٨.

[4] This was a pavilion erected by the caliph Al-'Azîz (A. D. 975–996), on the western bank of the canal of Cairo near the Nile. It was surrounded by a garden. It was here that the Fatimide caliphs witnessed the breaking of the dam of the canal at the time of the high Nile, an operation which was conducted then as now with much ceremony. See Al-Maḳrîzî's long description of it in *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٣٧٠ ff. The pavilion seems to have been destroyed in the twelfth century (*ibid.*). See also Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. ١٢٠.

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canal[1] dug by 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî, emir of Egypt, in the caliphate of the Prince of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, the Mu'allim Sarûr al-Jullâl offered to the caliph handsome gifts, consisting of different kinds of food and drinks and sweetmeats, and prepared for him many kinds of fresh fish and sugar in varied forms; and the caliph accepted them from him, and gave him a robe of honour, and granted his requests, and sent him to Al-Ḳulzum[2], which is a fortress built to protect the country on the side of the Hedjaz; and the name of the place is derived from the weaver's cord, with which a garment is held fast, and which is called *ḳulzum*[3]. Jauhar al-Mu'izzî[4] built a bridge[5] over that canal, leading to
Fol. 24 b the bank of Al-Maḳsam. Here is the watercourse called Al-Majnûnah[6]. Before this bridge, there was a bridge which was destroyed; but traces of it are left on the east side, and part of it on the west side, below the garden, near the road constructed from thence to Az-Zuhrî, for carrying provisions to the canal which runs from Cairo to Al-Ḳulzum, that they may be taken thence to Mecca and Medina, and also to the region

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[1] The famous *Khalîj* or canal of Cairo, sometimes called *Khalîj Amîr al-Mu'minîn*, or 'Canal of the Prince of the Faithful,' after 'Umar, the first who assumed that title. It runs from the Nile at Al-Fusṭâṭ northwards to Basṭah (Zagâzig), whence it turned eastwards and terminated in the Red Sea, near Al-Ḳulzum. Its original purpose was to furnish Mecca and Medina with provisions from Egypt. The Khalîj now only serves to convey water to the city of Cairo, and terminates at Matarîyah, near the site of 'Ain Shams or Heliopolis. In constructing this canal, 'Amr had only to avail himself of and render navigable the very ancient *Amnis Trajanus*. For an account of the *Khalîj* in Mahometan times, see Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٧١; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. ١٢..

[2] See above, fol. 19 b.

[3] Intended, as Prof. Margoliouth suggests, for a transcription of the Greek κλῶσμα.

[4] The general of the Fatimide caliph Al-Mu'izz, who conquered Egypt and founded Cairo in A. D. 969; see Introduction.

[5] A complete list of the bridges over the canal, with a plan, is given in C. Niebuhr's *Voyage en Arabie*, 4to, Amsterdam, 1776, tom. i. p. 89. See also Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ١٣٦ ff. (A. J. B.)

[6] Al-Maḳrîzî gives this name to a canal in the Fayyûm; see *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٣٦.

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of Al-ʿAbbâsah. Our lord Al-Mustanṣir was crowned with the jewelled turban and the canopy was spread over him, and he was * * *[1] sitting on the daïs of state, and the aforesaid Sarûr came out to wait upon him, and the caliph saluted him; and Sarûr wore a garment of *Naṣâfî*, and a turban of *Ṣiḳillî*, bound round the middle with a band of *Dabîḳî*, interwoven with gold; and he was summoned by name on both occasions, when he went up [to Al-Ḳulzum], and when he returned to Cairo—I mean this Muʿallim Sarûr al-Jullâl.

§ Sarûr was full of benevolence and virtue and usefulness to other men: to each according to his needs. For himself he provided a tomb, roofed with a cupola, and consisting of a vault under ground, contiguous to the apse[2] of the church. His son, Najâḥ, built over it a church, named after Saint John the Baptist, which was entirely of solid timber, decorated with carving.

§ The church of John the Baptist was restored by the Shaikh As-Saʿîd Abû 'l-Fakhr, father of An-Najîb Abû 'l-Barakât, known as Ibn Ṣâʿid; and it was consecrated in the month of Tût[3], in the year 897 of the Blameless Martyrs (A.D. 1180). The Shaikh al-Wajîh Abû 'l-Ḥasan ibn al-Amaḥḥ, the scribe, provided for the improvement of the churches attached to the Great Church, in the year 892 (A.D. 1176) of the Blameless Martyrs. Fol. 25 a

§ The building lasted until the time of Shâwar as-Saʿdî[4], vizier in the caliphate of Al-ʿÂḍid, and of [the invasion of] the Ghuzz and the Kurds[5], who came with Yûsuf Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn ibn Ayyûb, the Kurd, who became governor of Egypt, and was called, on the dirhems and dinars, 'Partner

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[1] Erasure in original.

[2] شاو is here correctly written; compare جاق on fol. 5 a.

[3] The Coptic Thôouth (ⲑⲱⲟⲩⲑ) = Aug. 29–Sept. 27.

[4] Vizier from A.H. 558 = A.D. 1162 to A.H. 564 = A.D. 1168 to the last of the Fatimide caliphs, Al-ʿÂḍid. See Introduction. As-Saʿîdî is incorrect.

[5] Here the copyist has correctly written الغز والاكراد instead of الغز الاكراد as on fol. 2 a and elsewhere.

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of the Prince of the Faithful[1],' upon the invasion of the king of the Franks, on account of the victory gained over them during the year 559[2] (A.D. 1164). The Ghuzz and the Kurds attacked this church, with the mob of Cairo, and it was burnt with fire[3], and rased to the ground like the other churches, in the month of Jumâdâ the First in the year 559

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[1] Gold dinars of A.H. 571 have the following inscription:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار بالقاهرة سنة احد وسبعين وخمسمائة لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو محمد المستضى بامر الله امير المومنين محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون صلى الله عليه وعلى اله وعلى الملك غاية الناصر يوسف بن ايوب

'In the name of God the compassionate and merciful. This dinar was struck at Cairo in the year 571. There is no deity but God alone; he has no partner. Abû Muḥammad Al-Mustaḍî bi-amri 'llâh is Prince of the Faithful. Mahomet is the Apostle of God, who sent him under his guidance with the true religion, that he might reveal it above all religion, even if the polytheists are indignant thereat; may God bless him and his family and the most Victorious Prince Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb.' (Poole, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Or. Coins*, iv. p. 63.)

Silver dirhems of Damascus, A.H. 573, have the following superscription:

الامام المستضى بامر الله امير المومنين لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله الملك الناصر صلاح الدنيا والدين يوسف بن ايوب &c.

'Al-Imâm Al-Mustaḍî bi-amri 'llâh, Prince of the Faithful. There is no deity but God alone. Mahomet is the Apostle of God. Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dunyâ wad-Dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, &c.' (*Ibid.*)

From these inscriptions it does not appear that Saladin (Al-Malik an-Nâṣir, &c.) was actually called 'Partner' of the caliph al-Mustaḍî, Prince of the Faithful, upon the coins; but that he was named upon them as if he were his partner.

The dirhem was a silver coin about forty-five grains in weight.

[2] Amaury, king of Jerusalem, invaded Egypt in A.H. 559, but his final and ignominious retreat on the approach of Saladin was not till A.H. 564.

[3] The burning of Al-Fusṭâṭ by order of Shâwar is several times mentioned in this work; see Introduction.

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(A.D. 1164). Afterwards it was restored, in the year 560, and the excellent Shaikh Abû 'l-Fakhr undertook its rebuilding. He had been scribe for religious matters in the caliphate of Al-Hâfiẓ; and he was assisted in this act of restoration by the distinguished Shaikh, Abû Ḥasan ibn al-Amaḥḥ, in the year 892 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1176). After this, all the churches that had been wrecked were restored by the following shaikhs and chief men: the Shaikh As-Ṣa'îd Shadîd al-Mulk ibn al-Fakhr ibn Busaiwah, and Abû 'l-Barakât his son, and Al-As'ad Abû 'l-Khair Jirjah ibn Wahab, known as Ibn Fol. 25 b al-Mîḳâṭ. The restored churches were consecrated, by the help of God; and prayers and liturgies have been offered in them up to this day.

§ When the restoration took place, and when this great church—I mean Al-Ḥamrâ—was put into order, then the envious and the contentious were indignant because it had been erected anew; and they incited the common people to assist them, and they pillaged the church, and it was destroyed a second time. Afterwards the property of the church that had been scattered was restored, and a fresh consecration took place, and the liturgy and prayers were offered according to the customary practice.

§ The tomb of Al-Mu'allim Sarûr al-Jullâl, which has been mentioned before, remains in this church to the present day[1]. In this church there is also a tank, and a well of running water.

§ The aforesaid Al-As'ad Abû 'l-Khair ibn al-Mîḳâṭ was sent for by Shâwar the vizier, who was indignant with him without just cause; and began to subject him to tortures. So he died a martyr. His body was carried to this church and buried here. May the Lord grant rest to his pure soul! He was laid in the northern porch. Outside this church and near it there is a Christian burying-ground.

§ Near the above-mentioned church of John the Baptist, there was

[1] I am quite unable to identify this church, and indeed doubt its existence at the present time. The Epiphany tank and the well of fresh water are common features in the churches of Egypt; see *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 22. (A. J. B.)

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a kitchen[1], which was pulled down by the Shaikh As-Sa'îd Abû 'l-Fakhr Ṣâ'id ibn Busaiwah, who rebuilt it as a church dedicated to Our Lady the Pure Virgin. When it was completed, it was consecrated by the
Fol. 26 a father and bishop, Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, in the presence of Anbâ Peter, bishop of the Fayyûm, on the fourth Sunday of the Holy Fast, being the fifth of Barmahât[2] in the year 903 of the Righteous Martyrs, which is equivalent to the 19th of Dhû 'l-hijjah, in the year 582 (A.D. 1187). From the roof of this church a view is obtained of the Pool of Ḳârûn[3]. The view from this church is agreeable, on account of the gardens and pleasure-grounds and handsome buildings which surround it. It is spacious and pleasant during both the high Nile and the seed time, and there are many people in the gardens and pavilions which surround it.

Among those who at any time have attacked this church there was a body of blacks, called the Juyûshîyah[4], who grew insolent and violent, and whose hands were stretched out until they stopped the roads and seized the money of travellers, or shed their blood. When the Ghuzz and the Kurds obtained possession of Egypt, in Rabî' the Second of the year A.H. 564 (A.D. 1169), a body of Armenian Christians overcame the blacks, and drove them away and killed many of them; and the quarter which they inhabited was left deserted: it was in the neighbourhood of Al-Ḥamrâ, as it has already been said. The quarter was bought by Ḥaṭalbâ the Ghuzzî, wâlî of Cairo, from the Divan; and he ploughed it, and made wells and waterwheels, and laid it out in gardens, and sowed seeds of many plants, and was the first to make the ground
Fol. 26 b green with vegetation. The entrance to the church was altered, since there was no door in this street, but it was at the side, in the road mentioned.

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[1] Probably one of the sugar manufactories, of which there were many in Al-Fusṭâṭ and Cairo at this time.

[2] The Coptic Pharmouthi (ⲫⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲑⲓ) = March 27–April 25.

[3] This was one of the pools between Al-Fusṭâṭ and Cairo, and its banks were thickly peopled when Al-'Askar and Al-Ḳaṭâ'i' were flourishing, but were desolated when Cairo superseded these suburbs. See Al-Maḳrizî, ii. p. 111.

[4] This was one of the troops of which the army was composed; see fol. 54 a.

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Population of Egypt.

§ The book of *Faḍâ'il Miṣr*[1] relates that Al-Walîd ibn Zuwâ'ah was set over the taxes of Egypt, in the caliphate of Hishâm ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Aḥwal, and went to number the population, and stayed six months in Upper Egypt, and in Lower Egypt three months. He counted more than ten thousand villages; and in the smallest of the villages there were five hundred male Copts; and the total number of the Copts was five millions of souls.

The Nile.

§ The learned are all agreed that there is not in the world a river of greater length than the Nile[2]. For its course through the land of the Muslims amounts to more than a month's journey; and its course through Nubia to two months' journey; and for a journey of four months it flows through uninhabited deserts, until the source is reached in the Mountains of the Moon, to the south of the Equator[3]. There

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[1] By Al-Kindî.

[2] This account of the course of the Nile is quoted in almost the same words by Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٨٦٢.

[3] See also fol. 101 a. This statement is borrowed by the Arab geographers and historians from the Geography of Claudius Ptolemy, which was translated into Arabic in the reign of the caliph Al-Ma'mûn, A.H. 198=A.D. 813 to A.H. 218 =A.D. 833, although this translation has long been lost; see Ḥâjî Khalfah, ed. Fluegel, i. pp. 602–3. Ptolemy says (*Geogr.* bk. iv. c. viii) that to the west of the Anthropophagous Aethiopians lie the Mountains of the Moon, from which the melted snows flow into the lakes which form the sources of the Nile, and these mountains extend from long. 57°, lat. 12° S. to long. 67°, lat. 12° S.

(*τὸ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρος ἀφ' οὗ ὑποδέχονται τὰς χιόνας αἱ τοῦ Νείλου λίμναι καὶ ἐπέχει μοίρας τὰ πέρατα τοῦ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρους* $\overline{\nu\zeta}$ *νότ.* $\overline{\kappa\beta}$ $\overline{\iota\beta}$ *καὶ* $\overline{\xi\zeta}$ *νότ.* $\overline{\iota\beta}$ $\overline{\iota\beta}$.)

Ibn al-Faḳîh al-Hamadânî says in the *Kitâb al-Buldân*, which he wrote about A.H. 290=A.D. 903, that the Nile comes from two lakes beyond the equator, called *Buḥairatâ 'n-Nîl* (ed. De Goeje, p. ٧٢).

Al-Muḳaddasî says that according to Al-Jîḥânî the Nile rises in the Mountains

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is no other river, again, which runs from south to north, except the Nile; and there is no river which flows both into the sea of the Romans and the sea of the Chinese[1], except the Nile of Egypt. There is no other river, too, which rises when the heat begins, at the time when other rivers fall, and some rivers and springs are entirely dried up; and as the heat increases so the height of the Nile increases; and
Fol. 27 a there is no other river which rises and falls regularly except the Nile; nor does any river in the world produce such a revenue as that which comes from the overflow of the Nile.

Churches of Al-Fusṭâṭ (continued).

§ In the aforesaid quarter[2] there is a church dedicated to the Angel Gabriel, which was restored by Ṣu'lûk al-Jullâl. Above it there is a church named after the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Flesh. The cupola over the sanctuary of the church is very lofty, and is conspicuous from a distance; it was erected by the brother 'Abd al-Masîḥ. The Ghuzz and the people of Cairo pillaged it, and broke the pillars of the apostles[3], and part of the roof was burnt. In conse-

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of the Moon, and flows first through two lakes beyond the equator (ed. De Goeje, p. ٦٠).

'Abd al-Laṭîf says that the sources of the Nile are springs which rise in the Mountains of the Moon, eleven degrees beyond the equator (ed. White, p. 4); and Al-Idrîsî says sixteen degrees (ed. Rome, p. 19). (A. J. B.)

[1] The Red Sea was looked upon as a branch of the Indian Ocean or China Sea; cf. fol. 19 b. The *Marâṣid al-Iṭṭilâ'* says:

بحر القلزم شعبة من بحر الهند

'The Sea of Al-Ḳulzum is a branch of the Indian Sea.'

Our author means, of course, that the Nile was connected with the Red Sea by means of the canal of Cairo (*Khalîj Amîr al-Mu'minîn*). (A. J. B.)

[2] I.e. Al-Ḥamrâ.

[3] The expression *Al-Bustulât* (البستلات) undoubtedly denotes the main columns of the nave, frescoed or painted with the figures of apostles. I may quote a surviving example from the church of Abû Sirjah in the Roman fortress of

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quence of this, the restoration of the church was undertaken by the Shaikh Ath-Thiḳah Gabriel, the scribe, in the caliphate of Al-'Âḍid; and it was consecrated afresh, and the liturgy was celebrated in it. Now at this church there was a lotus-tree[1] of large size and well proportioned, which grew as high as the roof of the church; this tree was cut down and sold for a considerable price, and the money was spent upon the rebuilding of the fabric.

Besides this, there is a fourth church, large, and contiguous to the others; surrounded by a wall of sun-dried bricks; with a separate door leading into it. It is among gardens and pleasure-grounds, and commands a view of the canal. When Miṣr was burnt, in the month of Ṣafar, in the year 564, this church was pillaged and part of the walls was thrown down, and not a single Christian was found at the time to undertake its restoration; so that it has remained to this day in Fol. 27 b suspense between hope of revival and the prospect of utter ruin. The wall of the aforesaid fourth church was destroyed and levelled with the ground; and the church was profaned through the destruction of its wall, and became contiguous to the road, and was united with a pavilion in the garden, known as *Duwairah Ṣandal*[2]. Part of the roof also disappeared, namely the timber above the sanctuary; therefore the Shaikh Al-Jullâl Ibrâhîm undertook to restore it, with the help of some

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Babylon: 'On each of these eleven ancient pillars is painted the life-size figure of a saint or apostle, now so begrimed and obscured that in the doubtful light all may easily escape notice, and it requires close attention to make them out when discovered.' *Coptic Churches*, i. pp. 187–8. (A. J. B.)

[1] 'Abd al-Laṭîf says:

والسدر بها كثير وثمره النبق حلو جداً

'The lotus-tree is plentiful in Egypt, and its fruit is the *Nabḳ*, and is very sweet' (ed. White, p. 58).

Al-Maḳrîzî mentions the lotus-tree among the principal objects of cultivation in Egypt; see *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١٠٣. (A. J. B.)

[2] This may be a proper name, or the correct translation may be 'Pavilion of Sandal-wood.'

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of the chief men. They put part of the church into order; and the liturgy was celebrated in it on one occasion. Part of it, however, remained neglected, but it continued to be visited twice or three times in the year. The partial restoration was carried out with much care and labour on the part of the tenants of the neighbouring garden; and it was completed on the 26th of Ba'ûnah[1]. It was arranged so that it no longer remained possible for men and women to enter the church from the garden, as they had been able to do on account of the union of the ground, which had formerly been within the enclosure of the church, with the garden. In the year 903 of the Martyrs (. . . . 910) the church was improved by the Shaikh Abû Sa'îd ibn Andûnah, the financial secretary of the Divan and chief notary, who rebuilt that which had been thrown down, and completed the dome, and whitewashed it. The consecration was performed by Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, in the presence of a body of bishops, priests, and deacons, of the chief
Fol. 28a men and of the orthodox laity of Miṣr and Cairo. The liturgy was established in the church for every festival and every Sunday and the night[2] of Sunday. The aforesaid Shaikh Abû Sa'îd was present at all times in this church with a body of priests and deacons of the sons of the chief men; at all the festivals, and at the night and day services of Sunday. He also bought the courtyard in front of the church, and opened a road to it from the canal. Now the church returned to its proper condition; and a body of monks took up their abode there. The shaikh provided for the church and for them. Now a congregation of priests and deacons and Christian laity again began to visit the church every Sunday. All this took place in the patriarchate of Anbâ John[3], the seventy-fourth in the order of succession.

In the same street there is also a church of the Melkites. There were five churches in this street, from one of which a procession issues

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[1] The Coptic Paôni (ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲓ)=May 26–June 24.

[2] I.e. the vigil services of Saturday night: the *παννυχίδες* or *διανυκτερεύσεις* of the early church (see e.g. Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. 17; vi. 9).

[3] Occupied the see from A.D. 1189–1216; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 554–67.

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on Palm Sunday, and goes up to Cairo. The Ghuzz and Kurds took possession of four of the churches [of the Melkites], robbed them of their timber, and threw down their walls, so that they were level with the ground, on account of the weakness and small numbers of the Melkites; but one church of theirs remained, near the church of Saint George of the Copts in this quarter[1].

Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn.

The biography of Al-Mu'tamid[2], the fifteenth of the Abbaside caliphs, relates that the number of the persons killed by Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn[3] or by his troops was two thousand. Fol. 28 b

Sayings of Mahomet with regard to the Copts.

§ The Book of *Faḍâ'il Miṣr*[4] states, among its narratives, that the Copts of Egypt are related by affinity to Abraham, the Friend of God[5], and to Joseph the Truthful[6]; and the chain of this tradition starts from

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[1] Al-Ḥamrâ. [2] Reigned from A.H. 256 to 279=A.D. 869–892.

[3] Wâlî of Egypt from A.H. 254=A.D. 868 to A.H. 270=A.D. 884, and builder of the famous mosque, still in existence, which bears his name. See Introduction.

[4] By Al-Kindî; see fol. 26 b, &c.

[5] Through Hagar. The Arabs preserved the tradition of their descent from Ishmael, and prided themselves upon it; see Ibn Hishâm, *Sîrah Sayyidinâ Muḥammad*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. p. ۴ f., where the author quotes Ibn Ishâḳ, who died A.H. 151=A.D. 768. Cf. Abû 'l-Maḥâsin, i. p. ۳۳.

[6] Through Asenath, daughter of Potipherah, priest of On. As-Suyûṭî says:

قال ابن عبد الحكم حدثنا عمر بن صالح اخبرنا مروانى القصاص قال صاهر الى القبط من الانبياء ثلاثة ابراهيم . . . تسرى هاجر ويوسف . . . تزوج بنت صاحب عين شمس ورسول الله . . . تسرى مارية

'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam says: 'Umar ibn Ṣâliḥ informed us that he had learnt from Marwânî al-Ḳaṣṣâṣ that three of the prophets were connected with the Copts by affinity; for Abraham had Hagar as his concubine; and Joseph married the daughter of the chief [priest] of 'Ain Shams [i. e. On or Heliopolis]; and the Apostle of God had Mary as his concubine.' (*Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٧.)

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the companions of Mahomet. Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz[1] said: 'When you conquer Egypt take charge [of the inhabitants], for truly they may claim your protection, and kinship with you!' Ismâ'îl[2] ibn 'Abbâs said, quoting from Ashhab: 'Take charge of the Copts of Egypt, for you will find among them useful auxiliaries against your enemy.' Abû Salimah[3] said: 'Mahomet at his death said, "I charge you to drive away the Jews from the Arabian peninsula[4]." Then he added:

[1] Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz is the authority quoted by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam in his *Futûḥ Miṣr*, from which our author borrows the whole of this passage. Ashhab is said to have derived the tradition from Mâlik ibn Anas, who quoted Ibn Shahâb, who quoted 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Ka'b, who quoted his father, who heard the words of the 'Apostle of God.' See As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٥. Cf. Ibn Hishâm, *Sîrah Muḥammad*, i. p. ٥, and Abû 'l-Maḥâsin, i. p. ٢٥.

[2] As-Suyûṭî's words are:

واخرج ابن عبد الحكم عن مسلم بن يسار ان رسول الله . . . قال استوصوا بالقبط خيراً فانكم ستجدونهم نعم الاعوان على قتال عدوكم

'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam quotes from Muslim ibn Yusâr to the effect that the Apostle of God said: Take charge of the Copts, for you will find them excellent auxiliaries in fighting your enemy.' (*Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٦٠)

[3] This is a mistake of the author or his copyist for Umm Salimah, the name of one of Mahomet's wives. As-Suyûṭî says:

واخرج الطبرانى فى الكبير وابو نعيم فى دلائل النبوّة بسند صحيح عن ام سلمة ان رسول الله . . . اوصى عند وفاته فقال الله الله فى قبط مصر فانكم ستظهرون عليهم ويكونون لكم عدة واعواناً فى سبيل الله

'Aṭ-Ṭabarânî in *Al-Kabîr* and Abû Na'îm in *Dalâ'il an-Nabû'ah* quote, according to a genuine chain of tradition, from Umm Salimah to the effect that the Apostle of God . . ., at the time of his death, charged them, saying: God! God is with the Copts of Egypt; for you shall conquer them, and they shall be for you an increase of numbers and a body of auxiliaries in the path of God.' (*Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٦٠)

[4] This command of the Arabian prophet is handed down among the 'genuine' traditions collected by Al-Bukhârî; see his *Kitâb al-Jâmi' as-Ṣaḥîḥ*, ed. Krehl, pt. i. p. ٢٩٣, under the title:

باب اخراج اليهود من جزيرة العرب

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"God! God commits the Copts of Egypt to your charge; for you shall rule over them, and they shall be to you an increase of numbers, and a body of auxiliaries in the path of God." He said also[1]: "Take charge of the men with curling hair, the Copts of Egypt, for truly they are your uncles and kinsmen, and your auxiliaries against your enemy, and your helpers in your religion." Then some one said to him: "But how shall they help us in our religion?" To which he replied: "They shall relieve you of the affairs of this world[2], so that you may be at leisure for religious worship."' According to the tradition handed down from 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî, Mahomet said[3]: 'The Copts

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[1] As-Suyûṭî says:

اخرج ابن عبد الحكم عن موسى بن ابى ايوب اليافعى عن رجل من المربد ان رسول الله ... مرض فاغمى عليه ثم افاق فقال استوصوا بالادم لجعد ثم اغمى عليه الثانية ثم افاق فقال مثل ذلك ثم اغمى عليه الثالثة فقال مثل ذلك فقال القوم اوصاء لنا رسول الله ... من الادم لجعد فافاق فسألوه فقال قبط مصر فانهم اخوال واصهار وهم اعوانكم على عدوكم واعوانكم على دينكم فقالوا كيف يكونون اعواناً على ديننا يا رسول الله فقال يكفونكم اعمال الدنيا وتتفرغون للعبادة

'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam quotes from Mûsa ibn Abî Ayyûb al-Yâfa'î, who reports the words of a man of the tribe of Al-Marbad to the effect that the Apostle of God ... fell sick and swooned, and when he recovered, he said: Take charge of the men with curling hair. Then he swooned a second time, and when he recovered said the same words. Again he swooned for the third time, and said the same words. So the bystanders said: The Apostle of God commits to our charge the men with curling hair; and when he recovered they asked him his meaning. So he said: The Copts of Egypt are our uncles and our brothers-in-law, and they shall be your auxiliaries against your enemy and on behalf of your religion. Then they said: How shall they help us in our religion, O Apostle of God? Then he answered: They shall relieve you of the affairs of this world, so that you shall be at leisure for religious worship,' &c. (*Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٧.)

[2] See note on fol. 16.

[3] Abû 'l-Maḥâsin quotes the following among the 'sayings of the Prophet with regard to Egypt:'

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are the noblest of foreigners; the gentlest of them in action; the most
Fol. 29 a excellent of them in character, and the nearest of them in kinship to the Arabs generally, and to the tribe of Ḳuraish in particular.' Mahomet also said emphatically[1]: 'God! God is among the protected people, the people of the desert, the blacks, the men with curling hair[2]. They are related [to the Arabs] and akin to them, in distinction from all the other protected peoples.'

Mission from Mahomet to the Muḳauḳis.

Mahomet sent Ḥâṭib[3] ibn Abî Balṭa'ah, of the tribe of Lakhm, to the Muḳauḳis, governor of Alexandria, to urge him to adopt the religion

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قال عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص ... اهل مصر آكرم الاعاجم كلها واسمحهم يداً وافضلهم عصراً واقربهم رحماً بالعرب عامة وبقريش خاصة

''Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr ibn al-Âṣi says: The people of Egypt are the noblest of all foreigners; the gentlest of them in action, the most excellent of them in character, and the nearest of them in race to the Arabs generally and to the Ḳuraish in particular,' i. p. ٢٣.

[1] Cf. Ibn Hishâm in his Life of Mahomet:

حدثنا عبد الله بن وهب عن عبد الله بن لهيعة عن عمر مولى غفرة ان رسول الله قال الله الله فى اهل الذمة اهل المدرة السوداء السمحم الجعاد فان لهم نسباً وصهراً

''Abd Allâh ibn Wahb informed us, quoting from 'Abd Allâh ibn Lahî'ah, who reported the words of 'Umar the freedman of Ghufrah, that the Apostle of God said: God! God is among the protected people, the natives of the black soil, the dark-coloured people, the people with curling hair,' i. p. ٣.

[2] It is said to have been the curling hair of Mary the Coptic maiden which attracted the admiration of Mahomet.

[3] The mission of Ḥâṭib took place in A.H. 6=A.D. 628, at the time when Mahomet also sent envoys with the same object to the king of Persia, Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, the prince of Ghassan, the governor of Yemen, and the Negus of Abyssinia. Ibn Hishâm compares this proceeding of the Arabian prophet with the sending out of the twelve apostles by Jesus Christ. See Aṭ-Ṭabarî (ed. De Goeje), ser. i. p. ١٥٥٩ f.; Ibn Hishâm, *Sîrah Muḥammad*, p. ٩٧١; An-Nawawî, *Tahdhîb al-Asmâ*, pp. ١٩٦ and ٧٥٣; As-Suyûṭî, i. p. ٥٨ ff.; Ibn al-Athîr, ii. p. ٢٣٧ ff.

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of Islam; but he did not do so. Ḥâtib, when he returned to Mahomet, brought him as a gift four maidens, among whom was Mary[1] the Copt, and Sîrîn, her sister, and his mule Duldul[2], and his ass Ya'fûr, and a purse of money, and a eunuch[3] whom the Muḳauḳis also sent with them. Mary became the mother of Ibrâhîm[4]. Her sister Sîrîn was given by Mahomet to Ḥassân[5], the poet, and she became the mother of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmân, his son.

The Three Ḥamrâs.

§ Section in which are mentioned the three great Ḥamrâs[6], which are Al-Ḳuswâ, Al-Wusṭâ, and Al-Ḥamrâ ad-Dunyâ. According to the *Khiṭaṭ* of Al-Kindî, in a copy of the *Futûḥ Miṣr*, the Ḥamrâ were a people of the Romans, among whom were the Banû Nabîh and the Banû 'l-Azraḳ and the Banû Rûbîl; or, perhaps, a people of the Persians; and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿÂṣî named them Al-Ḥamrâ, because they were not Arabs, and had become Christians.

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[1] Mary is described as being exceedingly beautiful, of fair complexion, with curling hair. She became a Mahometan, and the prophet took her as his concubine. She died in A.H. 15 or 16. See authorities referred to in last note. The *Sûrat at-Taḥrîm* refers to Mary the Copt.

[2] This is said to have been the first mule seen in Arabia; see Ibn al-Athîr, ii. p. ٢٢٨.

[3] The eunuch's name was Ma'bûr; see Ibn al-Athîr, ii. p. ٢٢٧.

[4] Ibrâhîm, the son of Mahomet and Mary the Copt, lived to the age of fifteen months, and died in A.H. 10=A.D. 631, so that Fâṭimah was the only child of Mahomet who survived him.

[5] Ḥassân ibn Thâbit died at Madînah A.H. 54=A.D. 674; see An-Nawawî, *Tahdhîb al-Asmâ*, p. ٢٠٢ f.

[6] The three quarters named *Ḥamrâ*, a word which is apparently the feminine of *aḥmar*, 'red,' lay between Al-Fusṭâṭ and Cairo. The quarters or suburbs of Al-ʿAskar and Al-Ḳaṭâ'iʿ were subsequently built upon their site. The Ḥamrâs were founded at the time of the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, but fell into decay about the time of the fall of the Omeyyad dynasty. Al-Maḳrîzî (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٩٨) and Ibn Duḳmâḳ (iv. p. ٣ f.) mention the foundation of the three Ḥamrâs in terms similar to those employed by our author here and below, fol. 32 a ff.

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Fol. 29 b The Ḥamrâ al-Wusṭâ, which is known as Al-Ḳanṭarah[1], is the place where the Red Standard stood at the time of the conquest of Miṣr by the Arabs; and around it were gathered those who asked protection [of the Muslims], and marched in their rear-guard. On this account the place was called Al-Ḥamrâ[2].

Monastery and Church of Saint Mennas.

§ The monastery[3] named after the martyr Mennas[4], the owner of the three crowns[5], which came down to him from heaven, who was a native

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[1] See above, fol. 23 b.

[2] In this passage we have a different account of the origin of the name Al-Ḥamrâ, deriving it not from the appellation of a tribe, but from the Red Standard (*Ar-Râyat al-Ḥamrâ*).

[3] Between Al-Fusṭâṭ and Cairo, in the Ḥamrâ, which was afterwards called Ḳanâṭir as-Sabâ'. A church and monastery of Abû Mînâ are still existing, but better known to-day as Mârî Mînâ. They are fully described in *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 47; and in ii. p. 362 a brief legend is given, identifying the saint with the church at Maryût. Under the Sultan An-Nâṣîr Muḥammad ibn Ḳalâ'ûn, the monastery and church of Abû Mînâ were wrecked; but they have since been restored; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. 011. (A. J. B.)

[4] The festival of St. Mennas is kept by the Copts on Hatûr 15=Nov. 11, and by the Roman Church on the same day. It is said that his father was a native of Naḳyûs, but was appointed governor of the province of Africa. Under Diocletian, Mennas, who was then serving in the army, was beheaded on account of his attachment to the Christian religion, and was buried near Lake Mareotis. See Bib. Nat. MS. *Arabe* 256 (*Synaxarium*), ff. 53 b–54 b. Amélineau, *Actes des MM. de l'Église copte*, p. 88 ff.; Eutychius, *Annales*, i. p. 402. St. Mennas is represented in Coptic paintings accompanied by camels, because some beasts from the sea like camels prevented his body from being carried away from the spot where it was destined to be buried, and when the body was laid on the back of three camels in succession, each refused to move in spite of blows; see *Synaxarium*.

[5] This is an allusion to the legend that St. Mennas saw heaven open, and the martyrs wearing beautiful crowns, such as were afterwards bestowed upon him.

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of Naḳyûs[1], and whose pure body is buried in the church[2] at Maryûṭ[3], was restored in the caliphate of Hishâm ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, when Al-Walîd ibn Rufâ'ah was wâlî, at the expense of all the Christians who lived in that quarter, in A.H. 106 (A.D. 725). This was after the conflict with the Arabs, when the Christians complained to the wâlî that their women and children were not secure from molestation while going to and returning from the churches in Miṣr, especially on the nights of the Forty Days' Fast. In consequence of these outrages a great number of the Arabs were killed. There were in this quarter many chief men among the Christians; so they were allowed to restore their churches, and they began to rebuild Al-Ḥamrâ, and to renew what had been destroyed there. They renewed the church [of Saint Mennas][4], and made for it beautiful

[1] The Arabic Naḳyûs was called Νικίους or Νικίου by Greek authors, and Niciu in the Itinerary of Antoninus. It is a town frequently mentioned by Coptic writers. It is also called Ibshâdî (ابشادى) in the Copto-Arabic lists of names, and is the Coptic ⲡⲥϣⲁϯ. The modern village of Ibshâdî, which in 1885 had 1,059 inhabitants, is probably on the site of the ancient Naḳyûs; it is in the district of Manûf, in the province of Al-Manûfîyah, and a little to the east of the Rosetta branch of the Nile. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٨١.; Quatremère, *Mém.* i. pp. 420–446; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 277–283.

[2] It is said that the grave of St. Mennas at Lake Mareotis remained for some time unknown, until a princess was cured of leprosy by mould from it. The emperor then erected a church over it, which was replaced by a larger church built by Arcadius and Honorius. See *Synaxarium*, *loc. cit.*, and Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 90.

[3] This town, the Coptic ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ, and the classical Marea (Μαρεία), on the shores of Lake Mareotis, was flourishing after the Arab conquest, but seems to have fallen into decay before A.D. 1376, as its name does not appear in the revenue-lists of that date. Some ruins on the borders of the lake, however, still bear the name. Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 241–3.

[4] Al-Maḳrîzî mentions as the chief act of Al-Walîd ibn Rufâ'ah, wâlî of Egypt, that in A.H. 117 he allowed the Copts to rebuild the church of St. Mennas in the Ḥamrâ. According to Al-Maḳrîzî, Al-Walîd died in A.H. 117=A.D. 735, after governing Egypt for nine years and five months. See *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٣٠٣.

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vessels of silver and other things. They also bought much property,
Fol 30 a besides a garden in which were two wells with waterwheels; and all this property was occupied by houses. In the church was a large tank. Several churches in the upper story [of Saint Mennas] were rebuilt, namely the church of Saint George[1], which is said to have been originally dedicated to Saint Theodore[2]; and a church named after the martyr Saint John[3]. There was in it, [I mean] in the Great Church of Saint Mennas, the body of the martyr Saint John, on a stand of solid wood[4]. The river was near to this church, but afterwards receded from that place, and changed its bed until it reached the church of Theodore at Damanhûr[5] upon the river, and did damage to that church, and afterwards removed to the church of the Lady at Shubrâ. The church of Saint John was restored, after the fire[6], by the most honourable Shaikh Ibn Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il ibn

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[1] For the arrangement of these satellite churches or chapels, see *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 137. (A. J. B.)

[2] Our author does not state whether this is St. Theodore the Greek or Western (Amshîr 28=Feb. 22), St. Theodore the Eastern (Ṭûbah 12=Jan. 4), or St. Theodore of Shuṭb (Abîb 20=July 14).

[3] There are four martyrs of the name of John in the Coptic calendar, commemorated respectively on Abîb 11=July 5, and 19=July 13, Ba'ûnah 14=June 8, and Tût 7=Sept..4.

[4] Similar reliquaries may still be seen in some of the churches: as a rule, however, relics are enclosed in small bolsters of silk and placed in an aumbry. One moveable reliquary such as that of the text, the only one at Cairo, is to be found at the church of Al-Mu'allaḳah in the Roman fortress. In the Naṭrûn desert, Dair as-Sûriyânî contains another, and a third belongs to the chapel of Al-'Adhrâ adjoining the church of Anbâ Bishâ'î; while several bodies are preserved at Dair Abû Maḳar. See *Coptic Churches*, i. pp. 219, 304, 320–1, 338, &c. (A. J. B.)

[5] Damanhûr Shubrâ, close to Cairo; not to be confounded with Damanhûr in the Delta. These alterations of the course of the river are partly but imperfectly indicated upon the plan in vol. i. of *Mém. de la Mission Archéol. Franç.*, showing the topography of Cairo. But the plan is incomplete. (A. J. B.)

[6] The burning of Al-Fusṭâṭ by order of Shâwar.

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Abû Ṣa'îd, in the caliphate of Al-Âḍid, and the vizierate of Shâwar. The church of the Holy Nativity looks upon the courtyard of the Great Church, and so does a very small church which was renewed by Abû Ghâlib ibn `Abî 'l-Makârim al-Bilbaisî, and named after Saint Mercurius.

In the Great Church[1] there is an ambon of coloured marble, the greater part of which is red and transparent; it is supported by marble pillars, of skilful workmanship. There is also an episcopal chair of wood. Near [the ambon], on the north side, there is an altar, dedicated to the martyr Mercurius, and provided by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Faḍl, son of the bishop, which has a wooden tablet[2] upon it. Above the altar in the sanctuary, there is a wooden cupola[3], supported by marble pillars; and upon this altar too there is a wooden tablet. Fol. 80 b

Near this church is the monastery, entered by a separate door; and here there are a number of nuns, in separate habitations. In the monastery there is a well of running water, which was dug and sounded and furnished at the expense of the Shaikh Abû Zakarî Aṣ-Ṣairafî, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiẓ.

§ Within the sanctuary was [the entrance to] the bakehouse[4], in which is an ancient tomb. This bakehouse was selected by the Shaikh Al-As'ad Ṣalîb ibn Mîkhâ'îl, the son of the hegumen[5], who separated

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[1] We are still occupied with the church of St. Mennas.

[2] The wooden tablet is a common feature of the Coptic altars to-day; see *Coptic Churches*, ii. pp. 3–5, and the woodcut there given. (A. J. B.)

[3] This is a reference to the baldakyn so often seen in the Coptic churches. (A. J. B.)

[4] The *Bait al-'Ajîn* or 'House of Dough' is the chamber in which the eucharistic breads are prepared. (A. J. B.)

[5] The Greek ἡγούμενος, borrowed through the Coptic. A commoner form of the word in Arabic is قُمُّص (*ḳummuṣ*). The hegumen is properly, of course, the abbot of a monastery; and the office of ordination of the hegumen refers entirely to the duties of an abbot; see e.g. the office in MS. Bodl. 111. The title of hegumen, however, is often given to priests of a superior rank, as, for instance, to the priest in charge of the patriarchal church of Cairo. Cf. Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 178.

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it off, and made it a church, dedicated to Saint George, with a separate door near the Great Church, and also a door from the sanctuary. When he had completed this church, it was consecrated by the bishop Anbâ Mark, bishop of Cairo, in the presence of Anbâ Jonas[1], the patriarch; and the liturgy was celebrated in it.

Much opposition was made by evil-minded Muslims during the furnishing of this church, and so the Christians explained that it rightfully belonged to this [Great] Church, and was not a new building; and God helped the right, and those among the Muslims who knew, testified that it had been a chamber within the church, according to the testimony of those who lived near the church.

Fol. 31 a This church stands among gardens, and is beautifully situated; and is much frequented by the monks and others.

§ In the month of Jumâdâ the First, in the year 559, when the Kurds and the Ghuzz came with Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, and the king of the Franks[2] was appealed to for help against them, then this monastery and this church were burnt to the ground, except the apse[3], and the northern and southern sides of the sanctuary, which were preserved intact. These were restored, and domes and arches were built, and piers [were set up] instead of the marble columns, in the caliphate of Al-ʿÂḍid, and in the vizierate of Shâwar. The expenses were paid by the most excellent Shaikh Ṣalîb, already mentioned, and by Karîm ad-Daulah ibn ʿUbaid ibn Ḳurrûṣ al-Jullâl, and by Manṣûr ibn Salîm al-Jullâl, of Cairo, and by others; and out of the money brought by Makârim ibn Abû 'l-Minnâ, the priest of the Church of the Lady, called Al-Muʿallaḳah, at Miṣr, to Anbâ Jonas, the patriarch, as a consecration fee[4], that he might make him bishop of

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[1] Otherwise called John, the seventy-second patriarch, A. D. 1147–1167; Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 517–530.

[2] See Introduction.

[3] See note on fol. 5 a.

[4] *Sharṭûnîyah* (شَرْطُونِيَّة) is the Greek χειροτονία, used as an ecclesiastical term for 'ordination' or 'consecration.' The fact that it had acquired the secondary meaning which it bears in the text points to the existence of simony to a considerable extent among the Copts.

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Ṭunbudhâ[1], although the acceptance of such fees is forbidden by the canons. So the patriarch accepted the money for this object, and [the priest] was consecrated bishop. [The expenses were also paid] out of the money raised by the sale of the silver vessels belonging to the church. By the restoration, the church was completely furnished, as it had been before; and it was consecrated, and the liturgy was said in it.

§ The church of Saint John, which has already been mentioned, built above the Great Church[2], was restored by the Shaikh Khâṣṣat ad-Daulah Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, known by the name of Ibn Dukhân, and was consecrated, and the liturgy was said in it. He also rebuilt, in front of it, a tower, close to it, which was old and had fallen to ruin; he built it in three stories in a place which belonged to the monastery. This and the furnishing were [partly] paid for by the most excellent Shaikh Ṣalîb, the above mentioned. The tower was not, however, completed; and the cause of the delay was Abû 'l-Barakât, son of the excellent Shaikh Abû 'l-Fakhr ibn Sîbuwaih. Fol. 81 b

While the aforesaid church was being restored, the greater part of the monastery was destroyed. [The Shaikh Ṣalîb] also dug a great well for a water-wheel. He also built the first story of the tower, and half of the second story; and he was making efforts to finish it, when he was addressed by the aforesaid Abû 'l-Barakât, who said: 'None shall finish this work but I, with my own money.' In the courtyards outside this church there are burying-grounds. The rest of the monastery and the pavilion have not been finished up to this time. Five wells have been dug in this monastery, and in the courtyards which surround it and are its property.

The greater part of the houses and the shops, bought for this monastery when it was restored, were ruined; and those which remained

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[1] Or *Ṭanbadhah* (طَنْبَذَة), see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٥٥., whereas in i. p. ٢٨٥ he gives طُنْبُذَى. It was the Coptic ⲧⲁⲙⲫⲱⲧ, and is now in the district of Banî Mazar in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 1,487. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 479. Ṭunbudhâ and Ishnîn were called the 'Two Brides' (العروسان) on account of their beauty; see Yâḳût, *op. cit.* i. p. ٢٨٥.

[2] Of St. Mennas.

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were left deserted, and were surrounded by ruins. Then they were sold
Fol. 32 a by Anbâ Mark, bishop of Miṣr, to a certain man, who demolished them, and carried away the bricks and the timber; so that this monastery remained in the midst of ruins, among the mounds of rubbish.

§ Among the dependencies of the church, within the wall which surrounds it, and on the northern side, there is a church, named after Saint Theodore, which is suspended[1] and supported on marble columns. This church was wrecked, and its columns were carried away, and it was turned into a mosque, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim; and a minaret was built for it. The architectural features and the wall of this church remain outside the fabric. There is also, in the Ḥamrâ al-Wusṭâ, a church named after Saint Coluthus[2], built in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, and under the government of Suwârr ibn Rufâ'ah, on ground bought by the Christians from the tribe of Banû Fahm; it stood near the baths of Ibn Najâḥ, and the alley named Zuḳaḳ ibn 'Aḳîl[3].

The Three Ḥamrâs.

According to the Book of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, by Al-Kindî, the three *Ḥamrâs*[4] were the Ḥamrâ al-Ḳuṣwâ, the Ḥamrâ al-Wusṭâ, and the

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[1] Any building resting upon columns is called 'suspended' (مُعَلَّق). (A. J. B.)

[2] This saint, whose festival is kept by the Copts on Bashans 25 = May 20, was a priest, and his sister was married to Arrianus, governor of the Thebaid under Diocletian. Coluthus suffered martyrdom by decapitation after terrible tortures. See Georgii, *De miraculis S. Coluthi*, &c., Rome, 1794; Zoega, *Catal. Codd. Copt.* p. 237, cod. xli; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 21.

The form of the name Ḳultah (قُلْتَة) is analogous to Jirjah (جرجة), Sirjah (سرجة), Tâdrah (تادرة), Ḳurrah (قرة), Andûnah (اندونة), &c., and to Syriac forms such as ⲕⲟⲗⲟⲑⲉ, derived from the Greek vocative; see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, p. 79. Cf. Coptic ⲕⲟⲗⲟⲑⲉ, &c.

[3] Ibn Duḳmâḳ calls it زقاق سهل بن عقيل بالحمراء 'The Alley of Sahl ibn 'Aḳîl in the Ḥamrâ;' see *Kitâb al-Intiṣâr li-wâsiṭah 'ikd al-amṣâr*, iv. p. ٢٣.

[4] Here follows an account of the laying out, at the time of the Arab conquest and of the first foundation of Al-Fusṭâṭ, of the three quarters called respectively the Further, Middle, and Nearer Ḥamrâs. A similar account of the first laying out

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Ḥâmrâ ad-Dunyâ, and the first part of them was that which was laid out by the tribe of Bilî ibn al-ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥâf ibn Kuḍâʿah, from the street called Darb Az-Zajjâjîn, by which the market-place called Sûḳ Wardân is entered, to the alley called Zuḳaḳ Abû Farwah, or its vicinity, and it ends at the passage called Khaukhat al-Istabl in the Ḥamrâ. That which was laid out by the tribe of Banû Baḥr ibn Suwâdah ibn Afṣâ extends from the Ḥamrâ ad-Dunyâ, opposite the mosque of Al-Ḳurûn, to the covered passage called Saḳîfat as-Sarî or its vicinity. That part of the Ḥamrâ al-Wusṭâ which was laid out by Hadhîl ibn Madrakah extends from the guard-house of Abû 'l-Mahâjir or its vicinity to the place called Bain al-Kûmain[1]. That

Fol. 32 b

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of these quarters is given by Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٩٨, and by Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. ٣ f. It is difficult at the present day to identify many of the points described.

[1] Bain al-Kûmain is south of the Roman fortress where Dair Bâblûn and Dair Tâdrûs are situated. Jabal al-Kabsh is a rocky elevation in the quarter of Ibn Ṭûlûn, and upon it stood the well-known Ḳalʿat al-Kabsh, of which a good illustration with an interesting note is given in R. Hay's *Illustrations of Cairo*, London, 1840, fol. The hill on which this castle stood was also called Jabal Yashkur. As far as I am aware there is no moat or canal at the foot of the hill now. But it is evident so far that Abû Ṣâliḥ is speaking of a quarter extending from the Bâb Ibn Ṭûlûn across the present rubbish-mounds in a south-westerly direction to Dair Bâblûn. The mention of St. Mennas below gives another fixed point, if it may be identified with the present Dair Mârî Mîna; and this would show that Al-Ḥamrâ extended also west of the line from Bâb Ibn Ṭûlûn to Dair Bâblûn, in the direction of the Khalîj. Finally Dair Abû 's-Saifain, lower in the text, is described as situated in the Ḥamrâ ad-Dunyâ. Al-Maḳrîzî states that under the Abbaside caliphs the Further Ḥamrâ was again built over, and called Al-ʿAskar, so that a plain which had grown bare save for the Christian monasteries dotted over it was once more covered with houses. See Hamaker's *Expugnatio Memphidis*, notes, p. 102. In the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, 1881–1884, there is an essay on the early topography of Cairo, illustrated with four plates, which are exceedingly interesting and, as far as they go, most valuable. But the author has strangely neglected this region of Old Cairo and Al-Ḥamrâ, devoting all his learning and talent to the Fatimide city. On p. 417 (tom. i) there is a brief note upon Al-Ḥamrâ, which certainly makes the boundaries

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part which was laid out by the tribe of Banû 'l-Azraḳ extended from the Ḥamrâ al-Ḳuṣwâ to the street of Yashkur ibn Jazîlah ibn Lakhm, and to Al-Ḳanṭarah and its road, down to the moat or canal, at the foot of the Jabal al-Kabsh, and to Al-Majâ'iz and the monastery of Mary or its vicinity; and the flat below the hill is all named after Yashkur, from the cemetery and the mosque of Al-Khalûḳ and the pool of Ḳârûn and the hill of Yashkur ibn 'Udwân ibn Lakhm.

The Book of *Al-Khiṭaṭ* also relates that the tribe of Banû Kinânah ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḳibr ibn Fahm laid out that part of the Ḥamrâ al-Wusṭâ which extends from the alley of Sahl ibn 'Aḳîl to the conduit where the wheat-sellers are, and the alley called Zuḳâḳ at-Turmus, opposite the church of Saint Mennas; and that the tribe of Banû Rûbîl, whose ancestor Rûbîl was a Jew, laid out part of Al-Ḥamrâ, as far as the monastery of Mary, north of the gardens of Ḥawî and the mosque of Al-Khalûḳ on the flat. The sons of Yashkur ibn Jazîlah ibn Lakhm laid out part of the Ḥamrâ al-Ḳuṣwâ, namely the open place of Ad-Dunyâ and that of Ar-Râyah, and the road of Khûlân from the Darb al-Ḳanṭarah to the market-place of Wardân, and from the road
Fol. 33 a of Al-Ḥamrâ and the part beyond it on the Nile, which is called the place of Al-Ḳabâ'il, to the stable and to the baths of 'Aṣ-Ṣalîb' or 'the Church[1].'

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of the district too narrow: and it is not even marked on the plan which professes to show Fusṭâṭ Miṣr in the year 969 A.D. The old bed of the river is well shown in contrast with the present line: but there again the plan seems to me erroneous, inasmuch as for the whole river frontage of Old Cairo the present line of the bank is given, and the divergence of the old channel from the present channel is made to begin at a point by the Fum al-Khalîj and to extend only northward of that point, whereas there can be little doubt that even in the tenth century the bed of the river southward from Fum al-Khalîj to Ḳaṣr ash-Shama' was still eastward of the present line. (A. J. B.)

[1] The baths of Al-Fusṭâṭ and Cairo often changed their names. The bath of 'the Church' (الكنيسة) was named after the church of St. Sinuthius, which stood near it. This bath was also called the 'Bath of the Vault' (حمام القبو). See Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. ١٠١.

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Church of Saint Onuphrius.

In the Ḥamrâ also is the church[1] of Saint Onuphrius[2], the holy man, the pilgrim, the contemplative, which was restored by a woman named Turfah, according to the testimony of an [inscribed] board which was put up at the door of it, near the well which is now filled up; and through this door the women entered. Near this church were the houses where lived Amîn al-Umanâ Abû 'l-Yaman Sûrus ibn Makrâwah, son of Zanbûr, who was nâẓir of the Delta, and his son the incomparable vizier, the lord of those that wield the sword and the pen, Abû Sa'd Manṣûr[3]. The latter was sent out to meet Nâṣir ad-Daulah ibn Ḥamdân and the tribes of Ḳais[4] and Lawâtah[5], the traitors, and a body of the chief officers of the army were with him; this was in the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir. Abû Sa'd remained vizier for a short time only, for the soldiers demanded their pay of him, and he promised it and then fled, and his career came to an end.

At the entrance of the sanctuary in this church [of Saint Onuphrius], there was a threshold of black granite, upon which were figures carved

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[1] Ibn Duḳmâḳ (i. p. ١٠٨) mentions this church as

كنيسة تعرف بابى نفر هذه الكنيسة بالحمرا الوسطى بخط الكبارة بجوار المسجد الذى هناك

'The church called after Abû Nafar: this church is in the Middle Ḥamrâ in the street of Kibârah, near the mosque which is there.'

[2] This saint, called in Arabic Abû Nafar, whose festival is kept on Ba'ûnah 16 = June 10, and by the Roman church on June 12, was a hermit in Upper Egypt. His life was written by St. Paphnutius (see below, fol. 65 b), of whom Onuphrius was an elder contemporary. See *Synaxarium*, Paris MS. *Arabe* 256, fol. 228; *Acta SS.* at June 12, where versions of the life by Paphnutius are given. Onuphrius would seem to have died about A. D. 400.

[3] Vizier for a few days only to Al-Mustanṣir. See As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. ١٥٢; Quatremère, *Mém.* ii. p. 353.

[4] The Ḳais were an Arab tribe who settled in Egypt soon after the Mahometan conquest. See Al-Maḳrîzî, translated by Quatremère, *Mém.* ii. p. 207 ff.

[5] The Lawâtah were a tribe of North Africa, of Berber origin, who settled in Egypt. According to Al-Maḳrîzî they pretended to be of Arab descent and connected with the great tribe of Ḳais. See Yâḳût, ii. p. ٣١٧; Al-Maḳrîzî, translated by Quatremère, *Mém.* ii. p. 207.

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and painted in the style of those in the ancient temples, and it was placed there to prevent the little birds from going into the sanctuary, or into the tank; and it is said that a man from Upper Egypt, who visited this church, passed the night here, and imagined that he could decipher certain letters upon the stone[1]. In this way the tank was freed from the little birds which went into it.

Fol. 33 b The church was burnt during the fire of Miṣr, in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 564 (A.D. 1169), in the caliphate of Al-'Âḍid, and the vizierate of Shâwar. It was afterwards restored, with its domes and arches, by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Makârim ibn Ḥannâ the scribe, and by other Christians. Among the churches attached to this church of Saint Onuphrius, there is, on the ground floor, a church dedicated to Saint Coluthus, restored by Abû 'l-Fakhr ibn Furaij ibn Khuwair, [who was priest] in the church of the Island of Miṣr[2]; and, in the upper story, is the church of Saint Mennas, built by the Shaikh Sa'îd ad-Daulah ibn Munjâ ibn Abû Zakarî ibn as-Sarîd. There is also a church of the Pure Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, restored by the Shaikh Abû Sa'îd Gabriel ibn Buḳṭur, known as Ibn al-A'raj, and afterwards by Abû 'l-Fakhr, the scribe of salaries[3], known as Sa'îdân. There is also the church of Saint Or[4], restored by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Fakhr, the scribe of salaries of

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[1] This may, of course, have been a mere exercise of fancy, or it may point to a traditional knowledge of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics as well as of the hieratic and demotic scripts, long preserved in Upper Egypt. The bishop Pisentius, in the seventh century, learnt in a monastery to decipher demotic papyri containing the names of mummies; see Amélineau, *Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrét.* i. p. xxxix.

[2] The Island of Miṣr is north of Rauḍah or Roda, the large island in the Nile nearly opposite to Old Cairo. There was a Coptic monastery upon this island called *Dair ash-Shama'*, doubtless from its proximity to the *Ḳaṣr ash-Shama'*. (A. J. B.)

[3] I. e. one of the secretaries who superintended the payment of the officials of the government.

[4] Hûr, whose festival is kept on Kîhak 2=Nov. 28, is a saint famous in the annals of Egyptian monasticism. His name appears as Ὧρ in Greek, and as ϩωρ in Coptic, and Or in Latin. He was an abbot in Upper Egypt. Sayings

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the Dîwân al-Majlis[1]. The Great Church[2] [of Saint Onuphrius] was restored by Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Zanbûr, in Barmahât of the year 899 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1183); and it became a patriarchal church in Ṭûbah of the year 900 (A.D. 1183–4), through the agency of the aforesaid.

It is stated, in the *Guide to the Festivals*[3], that, on the 7th of Kîhak, Ibn Kâtib al-Farghânî was beheaded. It was he who superintended

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of his are among the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. See his life in Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 714 f.; cf. Zoega, *Cat. Codd. Copt.* p. 299; *Synaxarium* (Paris MS. *Arabe* 256), ad diem; *Acta SS.* at Aug. 7. The prefix Abâ (ابا) is the Coptic ⲁⲡⲁ, and appears in Greek as *ἀπᾶ* (Greek inscriptions at Philae), or *ἄππα* (Callimachus, *Hymn. in Dianam* 6, and Greek papyrus quoted by Karabacek). Whether it is a form of Abbâ, the Syriac ܐܒܐ, generally written in Coptic as ⲁⲃⲃⲁ, is disputed. It was sometimes applied to secular officers.

[1] The preposition has been omitted by the scribe before ديوان. The Dîwân al-Majlis was the chief of the Divans or government boards in Egypt, and was subdivided into several smaller boards, employing many scribes or secretaries; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. pp. ٣٩٧–٤٠٠.

[2] The Great Church means, of course, the principal church, to which these smaller churches or chapels were added, whether above it, or contiguous to it on the same level.

[3] It appears that there were several 'Guides to the Festivals' among the Copts. The *Synaxarium* says at Hatûr 17:

اليوم السابع عشر من هتور الذى اتفقت عليه دلالات اسكندرية والدلال الذى كتبه انبا يونس اسقف قفط ودلال الملكية ان اليوم السابع عشر من هتور نياحة القديس يوحنا فم الذهب

'The 17th day of Hatûr, on which, as it is agreed by the Guides of Alexandria, and the Guide written by Anbâ Jonas, bishop of Ḳift, and the Guide of the Melkites, the death of Saint John Chrysostom is commemorated,' &c. (Paris MS. *Arabe* 256.)

The ordinary Synaxaria, however, do not mention the death of this Coptic martyr Ibn Kâtib.

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Fol. 34 a the construction of the Nilometer[1], in A. H. 247[2] (A. D. 864), and his body is in the church of Saint Coluthus, which was a separate church in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, and has already been mentioned, in connection with the church of Saint Mennas in the Middle Ḥamrâ.

At the time of the fire already mentioned, the threshold of black granite, which has been described, was removed and placed at the outer entrance, near a well of running water, where there is a burying-ground.

The garden which lies opposite to this church was its property, until it was sequestrated by the Dîwân of the government, in the caliphate of Al-Âmir. The material of all the houses in the neighbourhood, the property of Ibn Zanbûr, was sold, and the ground was turned into a single courtyard, in which was a well with a water-wheel, skilfully constructed. All this property was bought, and devoted to the use of the church, by the Shaikh Ṣanî'at al-Mulk Abû 'l-Faraj,

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[1] This was in the caliphate of Al-Mutawakkil, the Abbaside, and under Yazîd ibn 'Abd Allâh the Turk, governor of Egypt.

[2] The date here given corresponds with that generally recorded by Arab historians for the completion of the Nilometer. Some repairs were carried out by Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn twelve years later, but Al-Maḳrîzî, As-Suyûṭî, and Al-Isḥâḳî agree that the Nilometer had been very little altered up to their own time, and there is no doubt that it remains substantially the same now. The pointed arches used in the construction of this Nilometer are about sixteen years older than those in the mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn, and they are of course much older than any example of the pointed arch in Gothic architecture. Lane thinks it probable that both the mosque and the Nilometer were built by the same architect. It was known that the mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn was built by a Copt, and if Lane's theory is correct, we have his name in Ibn Kâtib al-Farghânî, the Coptic architect of the Nilometer. See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 341 (App. F); S. Lane Poole's *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, pp. 54–55; Murray's *Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 174, 232 (6th ed.). Pococke (vol. i. p. 29) gives a cut showing a plan and section of the Nilometer, and claims special credit for its accuracy; but he exhibits circular, not pointed arches. Norden's section is better; see his *Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie*, Copenhagen, 1755, fol., plate xxvi. (A. J. B.)

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son of the Shaikh 'Ilm as-Su'adâ Abû 'l-Yaman, son of the Shaikh Ṣanî'at al-Mulk Abû 'l-Faraj ibn al-Wazîr, who handed over the management to the Shaikh Abû 'l-Makârim ibn Ḥannâ, and to those whom he should choose after him. This church was included within the fortress built by Shâwar the vizier, who constructed a passage leading to the church, at which you arrive from the entrance of the mosque of Al-Ḳurûn[1], in the nearer Ḥamrâ. This mosque was built by As-Saḥrî ibn Al-Ḥakam. To this church belonged the hegumen Bashîr ibn an-Nashr, a native of Munyat al-Umarâ[2], who was wise and learned, a good priest, sweet-voiced, beautiful in countenance, perfect in stature, respected by men. The Shaikh Abû 'l-Faḍl ibn al-Usḳuf, scribe of Al-Afḍal Shâhanshâh, was assiduous in his prayers in this church, and communicated in it; and when he had received the eucharist, each day that he came, he threw into the plate[3] a dinar for this priest, on account of the pleasure which he took in his ministration and the sweetness of his voice. This priest was drowned in the Baḥr al-Jîzah; may God give rest to his soul! Fol. 34 b

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[1] According to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, whom our author is probably following, this mosque was rebuilt by As-Saḥrî (or As-Sirrî) ibn al-Ḥakam, after it had been burnt down, and was called Mosque of the Horns (قرون), because its pillars resembled horns! See Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. p. ٨٦.

[2] A small town in the neighbourhood of Cairo, on the road to Alexandria. Yâḳût places it one parasang from the capital. It was famous for its Sunday cattle-market, and for the wine which was made there in large quantities. Of the latter commodity no less than 80,000 jars are said to have been destroyed in the inundation of A. H. 718=A. D. 1318. As it may be inferred from this statement, most of the inhabitants were Christians. The place was also called Munyat al-Amîr and Munyat al-Shîraj. There seem to have been two other places called Munyat al-Amîr. Minâ 'l-Amîr is now included within the district of Badrashain in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, and had in 1885 a population of 2,935. See Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. ٤٠٩; Revenue-list of A. D. 1375 in De Sacy's *Abd-Allatif*, pp. 599 and 676; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ١٣٠; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٤٧; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 218. Cf. below, fol. 61 a.

[3] For the *ṭabaḳ* or 'plate' see *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 33. (A. J. B.)

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Church of Saint Mercurius or Abû 's-Saifain.

The Hamrâ ad-Dunyâ was formerly called Al-Bawâṣîr, and the river ran by it, and it was also called the Bank of As-Sa'îr. The book of *Al-Khiṭaṭ bi-Miṣr* testifies [that near] the Ḳaisârîyat al-Jamâl[1] stands the important church dedicated to the martyr Mercurius[2]; and this church was upon the bank of the river, which has now receded from it. The church was restored by the father Anbâ Ephraim, the Syrian, the [sixty-second] in the order of succession[3], in the caliphate of Al-Imâm Al-'Azîz bi-'llâh, son of Al-Imâm Al-Mu'izz li-dîni 'llâh. In ancient times there had been a church dedicated to Saint Mercurius, on the bank of the river, but it was ruined and turned into a storehouse for sugar-canes. Then, in the time of this patriarch, enquiries were made about the creed of the Christians, whether they believed in the truth

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[1] The passage is slightly corrupt. The reference is, of course, to the *Khiṭaṭ Miṣr* of Al-Kindî, from which our author so frequently borrows. There were many *Ḳaisârîyahs* in Cairo and Fusṭâṭ Miṣr; and accounts of them are given by Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. pp. ٨١–٩١, and Ibn Duḳmâḳ, iv. pp. ٣٧–٣٠. They were quadrangles, enclosed by a colonnade, and used as market-places or bazaars. The name was borrowed by the Arabs from the famous Caesarium (καισάριον) of Alexandria, mentioned by Strabo, xvi. c. i. and by Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvi. 14, 4.

[2] We are now coming to the history of the present church of Abû 's-Saifain. The tradition that the Nile came near it consists with the similar tradition concerning Ḳaṣr ash-Shama' (see R. Hay's *Illustrations of Cairo*, where is an excellent sketch of the great Roman gateway and the two bastions adjoining; see also note upon the plate). The main, and I think decisive, reason for this identification lies in the absolute certainty of the association of the existing church of St. Mercurius or Abû 's-Saifain with the legend attached to the church of St. Mercurius of the text. The story as related to me by the priest of the church, and the legend recorded by Al-Makîn in the fourteenth century, are both given in *Coptic Churches*, i. pp. 124–127: and the one-eyed water-carrier of the legend corresponds with the one-eyed tanner of Abû Ṣâliḥ's earlier version. (A. J. B.)

[3] Occupied the see from A. D. 977 (?) to 981 (?); see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 366–373.

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or in a lie. So the Christians assembled and went out to the mountain, Fol. 35 a
and the Muslims and Jews went out at the same time, on account of a certain event which is related in the history of the church. Many of the Muslim *sayyids*[1] came forward, and prayed, and cried *Allâhu akbar*, and implored the assistance of God, but no sign appeared to them. Then the Jews followed them, and still no result followed. Then the patriarch came forward, and the tanner, for whom God had performed a miracle, followed him; and all the orthodox people followed them. They prayed to the most high God, and burnt incense, and cried *Kyrie eleison*[2] three times; and God showed his wonders, and the mountain moved: namely, that part of the Muḳaṭṭam hills which is near the hill of Al-Kabsh, between Cairo and Miṣr. This miracle took place through the faith of the tanner, who had plucked out his own eye by the root, and in the presence of Al-'Azîz[3] and the chief men of his government, and the cadis of the Muslims. When Al-'Azîz had witnessed this great miracle, he said: 'It is enough, O patriarch; we recognize what God has done for you;' and then he added: 'Desire of me what thou choosest, and I will do it for thee.' The patriarch, however, refused with thanks; but Al-'Azîz begged him to ask for something, and did not cease until the patriarch had asked for a certain church, which had fallen into ruin. So Al-'Azîz Fol. 35 b
commanded that this church should be restored for the patriarch, and it is said to have been the church of Saint Mercurius.

When the patriarch was about to begin to work upon this church, the common people of the Muslims attacked him. For the church had fallen into ruin, and nothing was left to mark it except the walls, which were also in a state of decay; and it had been turned into a storehouse for sugar-canes. So the command was issued that it should be restored by the patriarch, and that money should be allowed him from the

[1] Or members of the family of the prophet Mahomet.

[2] It is well known that this liturgical formula of the first Christians has been preserved in the original Greek in the Coptic ritual, as it has been in the Latin mass.

[3] The caliph Al-'Azîz bi-'llâh Abû Manṣûr Nazâr, fifth of the Fatimides, reigned from A. H. 365 to 386 = A. D. 975 to 996.

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treasury, as much as he should ask for. The patriarch, however, took the decree, but returned the money, with apologies, saying: 'God, to whom be praise, who has shown his great power, is able to assist in the erection of houses for his worship, and has no need of this world's money.' And he begged Al-'Azîz to restore the money to its place, and not to force him to accept it; so the caliph consented to his request. And when the patriarch was hindered, by those who attacked him, from restoring the church to its original state, and when they raised disturbances and showed their indignation at the matter, news was brought to the prince of the faithful, Al-'Azîz bi-'llâh, that the common people would not allow the patriarch to carry out the decree for the restoration of the church. Then Al-'Azîz commanded that a body of his troops and his mamelukes should go and stand by during the rebuilding of the fabric, and should repulse any who tried to hinder it, and punish them as they deserved for opposing 'that which we have decreed to them[1].' When the people saw this, they refrained from their attacks. Thus the work was begun.

Now it happened at that time that the Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman Ḳuzmân ibn Mînâ, the scribe, travelled to Palestine and the surrounding districts, and remained there a considerable time, employing himself in the work to which he had been called; and in this way he gained much
Fol. 36 a money. He lived a solitary life, for he was not married; and none lived with him except his servants; and he was abstemious and contented with little, and economical in his way of life. So he brought the money which he had laid by to the aforesaid patriarch, when he was about to return to Syria, to continue the work to which he had been called by the government of the caliph; and he said to the patriarch: 'Spend all this money in the path of God; in building churches, and in other pious works for the sick and orphans and the poor, according to the will of the most high God; and may he impute it to me as a good deed!' So he departed to go to Syria; but before he left he gave two thousand dinars to the monasteries in the desert

[1] The first person is used in this last clause only, apparently a quotation from the decree.

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of Saint Macarius[1], and he begged the monks to remember him in their prayers, and to pray for the continuance of peace and a good end.

So the patriarch began the restoration[2], and a body of the chief men and the orthodox laity helped him in this work, and brought him that which he needed of various kinds for the restoration; and the pages and soldiers and mamelukes of the prince of the faithful stood by with him, to prevent attacks that might be made upon him, until the work was finished with the help of God. Then the church was consecrated, and the first liturgy was celebrated in it, on the middle altar; and that Fol. 36 b was a day of great joy and exultation over that which God had done from the beginning to the end.

After this the patriarch began to restore dilapidated churches, and to renew those parts of them that were falling into decay. All this is related in the *Lives of the Patriarchs*[3]; but I abridge the account of it here, that it may not be tedious. Thus the churches were put into good order.

Burning and Restoration of the Church of Saint Mercurius.

§ After the fire of Miṣr, caused by the mob of Mahometans of that city and of Alexandria, in the caliphate of Al-'Âḍid, and in the vizierate of Shâwar, in the month of Ṣafar, in the year 564 (A.D. 1168), [the church of Saint Mercurius also was burnt]. Now the patriarch Anbâ Jonas[4], the seventy-second in the order of succession, had foretold that the last-named church should be burnt, and that this should take place in the time of another patriarch; and so it came to pass. The cause of the burning of this church was that the Christians had brought many gifts to it, and had made for it many splendid vessels; so the mob of Muslims desired to pillage it thoroughly, but were unable to do this.

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[1] That is the Nitrian desert, or Wâdî Naṭrûn, where the principal monastery is dedicated to St. Macarius. (A. J. B.)

[2] Of St. Mercurius or Abû 's-Saifain.

[3] See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 368–371.

[4] Or John; he occupied the see from A.D. 1147 to 1167.

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Fol. 37 a Then a large multitude of them assembled and gave way to their fury, and set fire to the church, so that nothing remained except the walls, and a small chapel within it, which was not burnt. This chapel was dedicated to John the Baptist[1], and here the liturgy continued to be said, until the Christians decided to restore the Great Church aforesaid. So they restored it, and completed the sanctuary, and substituted for the roof of timber cupolas and arches of baked brick. The wooden baldakyn over the middle altar was renewed, and a wooden tablet was placed upon the latter. The wooden baldakyn over the middle altar was exceedingly handsome, of skilful workmanship, and supported on four pillars of hard marble[2]. All this was provided by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Abû Sa'îd Hablân, the scribe, in the year 892 of the Righteous Martyrs (A. D. 1175–6)[3], at his own expense; except the pillars, which were paid for out of the funds of the church, consisting of that which the chief men subscribed towards it, and that which was brought by the bishops, who were appointed to vacant sees, as a present from them. For this was in the patriarchate of Anbâ Mark[4], who was known, before his promotion, as Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Zar'ah, the scribe; and this patriarch forbad the acceptance of bribes for consecration, in obedience to the command of the law, 'Cursed is he who receives, and cursed is he

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[1] There is now no chapel of St. John the Baptist attached to the Great Church of Abû 's-Saifain, though there is a chapel dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. See the plan of Abû 's-Saifain in *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 78. It is possible that the chapel named in the text occupied the east end of the south aisle: and this conjecture is borne out by the subsequent statement of Abû Ṣâliḥ that the chapel of St. George also escaped the fire: for the chapel of Mârî Jirjis is in the triforium, i. e. on the first floor directly over the south aisle; see plan, *ibid.* p. 119. (A. J. B.)

[2] This description of the altar-canopy resting on marble columns corresponds with that now existing. The wooden tablet or altar-board has already been explained. (A. J. B.)

[3] This date, with that given below, roughly fixes A. D. 1170–90 as the date of the present building, although parts are earlier. (A. J. B.)

[4] The seventy-third patriarch; he occupied the see from A. D. 1174 to 1189.

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who gives;' and this was one of the good deeds of this patriarch. This was in the caliphate of Al-'Âḍid, and the vizierate of the most glorious Yûsuf an-Nâṣir ibn Ayyûb, brother of Asad ad-Dîn Shirkûh[1], the Kurd, Fol. 37 b under the dynasty of the Ghuzz. This restoration was superintended by three architects, among the principal architects of Cairo. This church had been the episcopal church, until the death of Anbâ Philotheus, bishop of Cairo; but Christodulus[2] transformed it into a patriarchal church[3], and appointed an income for Anbâ Gabriel, the successor of Philotheus, which he continued to receive from it; and arranged that he should say liturgies here at fixed times continually, as the *manẓarah*[4] bears witness. In the upper story of this church was the chapel[5] of

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[1] Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn (Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb) was, of course, nephew, not brother, of Asad ad-Dîn Shirkûh.

[2] The sixty-sixth patriarch; he occupied the see from A.D. 1047 to 1100.

[3] This would be quite a century before the restoration of the church. The existing tribune and patriarchal throne show how the restorers marked the character conferred on the church by Christodulus. See *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 111, and plan on p. 78. (A. J. B.)

[4] This passage refers to some inscription in the *manẓarah* of the church. The *manẓarah* was a gallery in the upper story of a house, church, or mosque, open at the side like an Italian loggia. There is a well-known example of such a *manẓarah* in the still existing mosque of Ḳâ'it Bey. The word also denotes, as here, a reception-room on the ground floor; and even a separate pavilion. (A. J. B.)

[5] The chapel of St. George (Abû Jirj or Mârî Jirjis) is in the south triforium of the church of Abû 's-Saifain, and the cupola referred to is part of the external fabric, although it rises over the sanctuary. It is curious that Abû Ṣâliḥ here specifies this chapel as escaping the fire which destroyed the main fabric, when he had a little earlier singled out the chapel of St. John as remaining uninjured, and so seemed to imply that no other part of the church survived. The expression 'whole and untouched' is remarkable, and would seem to show, what is otherwise probable, that the fire was of a very partial character: unless the conjecture of a previous note holds good, that the chapel of St. John was actually under that of St. George. It must, however, be noticed that Abû Ṣâliḥ's expression only applies to the *haikal* and dome, and seems to imply that the rest of the chapel

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Saint George[1], with the lofty cupola, erected by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Faḍl Yuḥannâ, son of Kîîl, the bishop; whose father received the name of John at the time of his promotion as bishop to the see of Atrîb[2]. The cupola and the sanctuary, that is to say the altar, and the walls of this chapel remained whole and untouched at the time of the fire. Ibn Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il ibn Farrûj built an enclosure around this church, which he also whitewashed and paved; and it was solemnly opened in the year 570 (A. D. 1175).

Church of the Archangel Michael.

The church of the angel Michael[3] was the patriarchal Cell from

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westward was burnt. I may be pardoned for quoting a description of the existing chapel written twelve years before I had seen Abû Ṣâliḥ. 'The choir of this chapel retains part of the ancient panelled roof which probably once covered the whole triforium. The beams and coffers are sumptuously gilt, and coloured in the style of the thirteenth century: but only faint relics of its former beauty remain.' By putting the date somewhat earlier—and merely architectural dates in these churches are not very certain—one may possibly identify this ceiling as previous to the general restoration. If not, it certainly dates from that epoch. (A. J. B.)

[1] The Arabic forms of the name George are various, but correspond to different Coptic forms of the same word. We have in Arabic Jirjiyûs (جرجيوس), Jirjis (جرجس), Jirj (جرج), Jirjah (جرجة), and the diminutive form Juraij (جريج); and in Coptic we find ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲓⲟⲥ, ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲓ, ⲅⲉⲟⲣⲅⲉ, ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ, ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅ, ⲅⲉⲟⲣⲅ, and ⲅⲉⲟⲣ. See Mr. W. E. Crum's *Coptic MSS. from the Fayyûm*, Index I. (A. J. B.)

[2] The classical Athribis and the Coptic ⲁⲑⲣⲏⲃⲓ, the site of which lies a little to the north-east of the modern Banhâ al-'Asal on the eastern bank of the Damietta branch. Atrîb was still a town or village in the fourteenth century and later. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. 111; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. 1vo f.; Quatremère, *Mém.* i. pp. 1–25; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 69 f.

[3] Abû Ṣâliḥ now mentions three churches, the church of St. Michael, the neighbouring church of Abâ Nûb which was destroyed by the fire, and the

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the time of the promotion of Anbâ Gabriel[1] Abû 'l-'Ulâ, son of Tarîk the scribe, the seventieth in the order of succession, and after him under Anbâ Jonas[2], the seventy-second. This Tarîk was a priest, who lost his wife, and then solicited the rank of bishop; but when the patriarch demanded money of him, he refused to gain promotion to a rank in the hierarchy by bribery. Then, since he had much wealth, he built this church, and ceased to solicit the dignity of bishop. This **Fol. 38 a** was in the patriarchate of Anbâ Michael[3] the Sinjârite[4]. The church was restored by the Shaikh As-Sadîd Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, known as Ibn Sittumi'ah(?), the scribe of the Emir 'Alî ibn Aḥmad, the Kurd, in the caliphate of Al-Mustaḍî, the Abbaside, and in the vizierate of An-Nâṣir Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, in the year 568 (A. D. 1172); and it was solemnly opened on the feast of the angel Michael, the 7th of Hatûr, in the year 809[5] of the Blameless Martyrs, when the liturgy was said in it.

Church of Saint Anûb.

Adjacent to the last-named church, there is a church dedicated to

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church of St. Anthony, built on the same site as Abâ Nûb. These, I think, were separate buildings, i.e. not part of Abû 's-Saifain; indeed this is proved by the fact of St. Michael being the patriarchal Cell, and having its own courtyard, and by the fact of Abâ Nûb being turned into a summer residence. But it is remarkable that these three names are found attached to three chapels side by side in the upper story of Abû 's-Saifain: see *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 119, plan. There can be little question that these three chapels are meant to preserve the names of the three churches which have perished. (A. J. B.)

[1] Occupied the see from A.D. 1131 to 1146. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 500–513.

[2] Or John.

[3] The sixty-eighth patriarch; he occupied the see from A. D. 1093 to 1102. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 471–483.

[4] I. e. of Sinjâr, the Coptic ⲡⲥⲓⲛⲓⲃⲉⲣⲓ, in the northern Delta, between Burlus and the marshes. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 375.

[5] It would seem that this date should be 889=A. D. 1172.

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the glorious martyr Saint Anûb[1], to the expenses of which the patriarch Anbâ Gabriel contributed. It is said that it was founded by Abû Naṣr, brother of Abû 'l-'Ulâ ibn Tarîk, but was not finished; and then was newly built by the Shaikh As-Ṣafî Buṭrus ibn Muhnâ, the scribe. Afterwards the priest Abû 'l-Khair, known as Ibn al-Amadî, chose to pass the summer at the church of Saint Anûb, and in part of the courtyard in front of [the adjacent church of] Michael; and here the patriarchs generally sat on a wooden daïs, to enjoy the coolness during the days of summer. [Saint Anûb] was restored as a church after the fire, under the name of Saint Anthony, and was solemnly opened by Anbâ John, the seventy-ninth[2] patriarch, at the beginning of his patriarchate, in the year 903[3] of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D.
Fol. 38 b 1187). All those named contributed to the expenses of the annual [dedication] festival. The [last-named] patriarch died in the year 923[4] of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1207), on Thursday, the 1st of Bashans[5]; and in this very year his elder brother the priest died.

Church of Saint Sophia.

There is also an ancient church, broad and spacious, the walls of which became weak, and some of the paintings fell to pieces. It was

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[1] The Arabic Abâ Nûb represents the Coptic ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲃ. The saint, whose festival is kept on Abîb 24=July 18, was beheaded in his youth, under Diocletian, after enduring horrible tortures. See *Synaxarium* (MS. *Arabe* 256), at Abîb 24; Zoega, *Cat. Codd. Copt.* Cod. xxiv; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 145 ff.

[2] This should be 'seventy-fourth.'

[3] There is some difficulty about this date, as the Patriarchal History and Abû 'l-Barakât assign the election of John, the seventy-fourth patriarch, to A.M. 905= A.D. 1189, and Al-Maḳrîzî makes it only one year earlier; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 554–5. Our author, however, is a contemporary witness.

[4] The other writers give A.M. 932=A.D. 1216 as the date of John's death, which was followed by a vacancy of the see lasting for many years. Oriental chronology is full of discrepancies!

[5] The Coptic ⲡⲁϫⲱⲙ=April 26–May 25.

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formerly named *Agia Sophia*[1]; and the building was wonderful for its plan and its construction and its symmetry. It was restored at the expense of the Shaikh Ṣafî ad-Daulah ibn Abû Yâsir ibn 'Alwan, the scribe.

Church of Saint Macarius.

There is a church named after Saint Macarius[2], attached to the last-named church. Those parts of it which had fallen to decay were renewed by the deacon Abû Isḥâḳ ibn 'Abd al-Masîḥ.

Church of the Four Living Creatures.

There is the church of the Four Angels, who are the Living Creatures which surround the most high throne[3]. It was restored by the Shaikh Ibn [illegible] al-Mulk ibn al-Muhaddith Abû Sa'îd ibn Yûḥannâ, the Alexandrine scribe, who constructed for it a wooden roof of skilful workmanship, in the year 893 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1176); [and it was opened] on Wednesday, the 8th of Hatûr, which is the festival of the Four Creatures. The church contains their special altar; and the altar named after the Presentation of the Lord in the Temple; and an altar dedicated to the martyr, the valiant Fol. 39 a

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[1] There is no remaining church of this name near Cairo. It would seem to have been named after Justinian's famous church at Constantinople. The rough breathing is, of course, not pronounced in modern Greek.

[2] There are three Saints Macarius especially celebrated in Egyptian hagiology: St. Macarius the Great, monk of the Nitrian Desert; St. Macarius the abbot, of Alexandria; and St. Macarius the bishop of Jerusalem.

[3] The festival of the Four Incorporeal Living Creatures (Apocalypse iv. 7–9; Ezekiel i. 5 and x) is kept on Hatûr 8=Nov. 4. See *Synaxarium* (MS. *Arabe* 256) ad diem.

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Theodore Basrâdîlâdus[1]. The church was restored by Al-Mu'allim Zawîn, who was dâmin[2] of Cairo in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiẓ. Afterwards it fell into decay and ruin, and was restored by the Shaikh Al-Makîn Abû 'l-Barakât, known as Ibn Kitâmah; and when it again fell into decay, it was restored by Amîn ad-Daulah ibn al-Muṣawwif, who added on the south side of it a sanctuary named after the glorious angel Michael. The church was consecrated by Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, under the government of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn Yûsuf[3], the Kurd.

Other Churches in the Ḥamrâs.

§ There is the church of Poemen[4] the Confessor, adjacent to which is a sanctuary named after the Lady, between it and the church of Saint Coluthus[5], which has already been described.

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[1] Basrâdîlâdus is a transcription of the Coptic ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ, which is the Greek στρατηλάτης with the Coptic article prefixed. This word translated the Latin *Magister militum* or general of troops (in Arabic اسفهسلار), a post held by Theodore under Licinius. The saint is also called St. Theodore of Shuṭb, after the native town of his parents; and his festival is kept on Abîb 20=July 14. See *Synaxarium* (MS. *Arabe* 256) at that day; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 182 ff. St. Theodorus Dux (στρατηλάτης) is commemorated by the Roman church on Feb. 7 (see *Acta SS.*); but, although he suffered under Licinius, his history is different from that of the Coptic martyr. The Greek church also commemorates him.

[2] See note on fol. 12 b.

[3] I. e. Saladin.

[4] The Arabic Bamîn is intended as a transcription of the Graeco-Coptic ⲡⲟⲓⲙⲏⲛ. This saint, whose festival is kept by the Copts on Kîhak 9=Dec. 5, was one of the famous hermits of Egypt in the fourth and fifth centuries. Some of the acts and sayings of Poemen or Pastor are to be found recorded in Rosweyde; *Synaxarium* (MS. *Arabe* 256) ad diem; Zoega, *Cat.* pp. 290, 299, 319, and 340. The Roman church commemorates Poemen on Aug. 24. He is said to have died in A. D. 451, at a very great age. See *Acta SS.* at Aug. 24.

[5] See fol. 32 a ff.

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There is the church of the glorious angel Gabriel. There is also, over the tank, a church named after Saint John the Baptist[1], restored by Abû 'l-Fatḥ, of Upper Egypt, who was priest at the church of Al-Mu'allaḳah[2]. It was roofed with great beams. On a recent occasion the blacks determined to pillage this monastery, and they attacked this roof, so that they succeeded in ruining the building. Afterwards it was restored by the aforesaid persons[3], and was solemnly opened on Sunday, the 22nd of Barmahât[4], in the year 900 of the Blameless Martyrs (A.D. 1184), by Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, and Anbâ Peter, bishop of the Fayyûm. Near it is the tower, which is entered from the church, and beneath which lies the garden; it overlooks the lake of Al-Ḥabash, and the river Nile, and Al-Bustân. Fol. 39 b

Monastery of Saint John the Baptist.

[Attached to the last-named church is] the monastery of Saint John, which is of beautiful aspect, and wonderful for its situation near the lake of Al-Ḥabash, especially in the time of high Nile[5], and in spring, and in the ploughing season and seed-time of summer. Yaḥyâ ibn al-'Ubaidî the scribe was superintendent of this monastery; but Gabriel, the seventieth patriarch, called Abû 'l-'Ulâ Ṣâ'id, son of Tarîk the scribe, was informed that the conduct of this man was worthy of blame, and that he treacherously allowed many Muslims to attend the liturgies. Accordingly the patriarch rebuked him for this time after time, but yet he did not amend; and at last he was expelled from the monastery, and was obliged to give it up until he should

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[1] This church as well as the two previously mentioned and those subsequently named as standing near the lake of Al-Ḥabash are unknown, though obviously existing at the time of our writer, in different degrees of repair. (A. J. B.)

[2] See note on fol. 9 b. [3] Only one has been named.

[4] The Coptic ⲫⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲑⲓ = Feb. 25–March 26.

[5] Because the lake of Al-Ḥabash, like the other then numerous pools of Cairo, was full of water only at the time of high Nile. Most of the pools within the city were filled up by Muḥammad 'Alî, who is said thereby greatly to have improved the health of the place at the expense of its picturesque character. (A.J.B.)

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return to his faith. Yaḥyâ suffered much from this, and at last repented, and consented to abandon his evil habits; and so the monastery was restored to him. Nevertheless, he returned to his reprehensible practices, and the remedy employed was of no profit. Therefore Yaḥyâ was expelled again, and another was appointed in his place. It is said that through Abû Shâkir, the scribe, of Alexandria, the removal of Yahyâ was facilitated by the condition that he should be allowed to live in the tower, and to have the enjoyment of the garden. Satan induced Yaḥyâ to abandon the Christian religion, and he became a Muslim, and made a *ḳiblah*[1] in the bakehouse, and another *ḳiblah* over the entrance into the monastery; and he did much injury to the monastery. He took
Fol. 40 a possession of the road by which the monastery was entered, and he separated the tower and the garden from the monastery, and allowed all except Christians to enter them; but the Christians took measures to open another door, near the first, leading into the monastery only. This was in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiẓ. Thus Yaḥya had possession of the tower and the garden. When that apostate died, after repenting and neglecting the matter of his religion, his sons acquired possession of the garden and the pavilion, and made use of them; and they also were Muslims.

Beside the same lake[2], near this monastery, stands the monastery named after Saint John the Baptist, celebrated for its beautiful and pleasant situation, but now in the possession of the Melkites. It was formerly restored by Abû 'l-Faḍl ibn al-Baghdâdi and Abû Naṣr ibn ʿAbdûn, known as Ibn al-ʿAddâs, the metwalli of the Divan of Syria, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim. Ibn al-ʿAddâs rose high in the affairs of the government and became Nâzir; his sobriquet was *Al-ḥamdu*[3] *lillâhi ʿalâ mâ yastaḥiḳḳu.*

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[1] The term *ḳiblah* is commonly applied to the niche in the wall of a mosque, showing the direction of Mecca, although this is properly called *miḥrâb*, and *ḳiblah* denotes the point to which the eyes are directed in prayer. The meaning here is that Yaḥyâ set on these two places the symbol of Mahometan worship. (A. J. B.)

[2] I. e. the lake of Al-Ḥabash.

[3] 'Praise to God as He is worthy.'

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In the upper story of this building was the remarkable *manẓarah*, prepared for the assembling of the novices. Here were a large number of Melkite nuns, who were supported by Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il ibn Abî 'l-Laith, the scribe, the owner of a garden near this place, which he rented from the Divan of Upper Egypt, and which contained fine palm-trees, pomegranates, myrtles, and many kinds of trees, bearing excellent fruit, such as are not to be seen together elsewhere. When this Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il died, he left a nephew named Abû 'l-Makârim Maḥbûb, son of Abû 'l-Faraj al-'Âbûdî, whose wife was the sister of Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Abû 'l-Laith. Abû 'l-Makârim deserted the Christian religion, and became a Muslim, and was circumcised at the age of nearly forty years. He laid his hand upon the aforesaid garden, and took possession of it as part of his inheritance; he forced the nuns to depart from it, and he dismantled the *manẓarah*, and turned it into a mosque. He also weakened the monastery. There he entertained the Imâm Al-Ḥâfiẓ, who visited him there. So the monastery was weakened more and more; and the Melkites were prevented from visiting it. Then troubles followed one after the other, and the greater part of the monastery and the church fell into decay and perished. The Melkites had a bishop at Miṣr, named Joseph, who did what lay in his power to renew and restore this monastery; but the restoration remains to this day unfinished, on account of the weakness of the sect, and their small numbers, and the remissness of their head, and his neglect of the supervision of this place and others. The bishop of this sect at Miṣr began once more to visit this monastery on the Monday of the second week of the Great Fast, together with a great number of Melkites and Copts who assemble to hear the Lenten charge, and the instructions which are given them as to what must be done during that season. Moreover, festival is kept in this monastery on the second day of the feast of the bathing[1].

Fol. 40 b

Fol. 41 a

[1] The festival of the bathing is otherwise called *'Îd al-Maghtas* or 'feast of the tank,' because of the custom of bathing in the church tank, formerly observed by the Copts on that day. The festival is observed in memory of the Baptism of Christ, and it coincides with the western Epiphany, being kept on Ṭûbah 11 = Jan. 6. At the time of our author, the custom of bathing in the Nile on the

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The *Book of the Monasteries*, by Ash-Shâbushtî[1], bears witness that this monastery is on the bank of the lake of Al-Ḥabash, near the river, and that beside it are several gardens, one of which was laid out by the emir Tamîm, brother of Al-'Azîz bi-'llâh; and in this there is a pavilion, the roof of which is supported by pillars. The pavilion is beautifully designed, skilfully constructed and adorned, and decorated with paintings; near it is a well called Bîr Najâ'î, beside which grows a tall sycamore affording much shade; and here the people assemble to enjoy the shade, and saunter around the spot, when the Nile is high and the lake is full, and also when the crops are green and the flowers are blooming. Near the aforesaid sycamore is the bridge which leads to many roads, and at which men set lines for fishing during the days of high Nile; and this is a pretty sight.

Al-Ḥâkim seized upon part of this monastery and church, and rebuilt it as a mosque, with a minaret; and his name was inscribed upon it. Now[2] the first who constructed minarets[3] in mosques was Mukhallad al-Anṣârî[4].

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night of the Epiphany was still observed; and not only the Christians but the Mahometans also followed the practice, and marked the festival by illuminations, and a fair with its usual accompaniments; many of them pitching tents beside the river. Al-Mas'ûdî, who witnessed the festival in A. H. 330=A. D. 942, describes the illuminations and festivities on this night ordered by Al-Ikhshîd, then governor of Egypt; and Al-Masîḥî describes the observance of the festival by the Fatimide caliph Aẓ-Ẓâhir in A. H. 415=A. D. 1024. See Al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-Dhahab* (ed. Barbier), ii. p. 364 f.; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٤١٩.

[1] See Introduction.

[2] I have changed the order of the sentences to avoid the awkward parenthesis in the text.

[3] In a paper which I wrote some years ago in the *Athenaeum*, 1881, I tried to show that the minaret (منارة=lighthouse) took its origin from the Pharos at Alexandria (منارة الاسكندرية), and that theory has been rather strengthened than shaken by subsequent research. Al-Maḳrîzî relates that all the early minarets were of brick, and that the first stone minaret was that of the mosque of Al-Mâridânî; see S. Lane Poole's *Art of the Saracens*, p. 59. (A. J. B.)

[4] It was not Mukhallad, but his son Maslamah ibn Mukhallad, governor of Egypt under the caliph Mu'âwiyah from A. H. 47=A. D. 668 to A. H. 62=A. D. 682;

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§ The church of Saint George, the property of the Copts, was near the monastery of Saint John the Baptist. It was very large. Afterwards the river flooded it, and not a trace of it remained. Fol. 41 b

§ The district of Al-Ḥabash[1], and the Well of the Steps[2], beside which grows a great sycamore, which throws a broad shade and is round like a tent, and the Well of Al-Ghanam[3], and three feddans of black soil. It is said that these two wells and the land were the property of Tâj ad-Daulah, the Syrian, son of Sabîl, known as the 'Golden Nose.' It is also said that all this land belonged to the vizier, Abû 'l-Faraj, the West-African, in the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir, besides quarries of yellow clay at Al-'Adawîyah, of which the [pots called] *Khazaf* are made.

Church of Saint Victor.

§ The church[4] dedicated to the martyr Saint Victor[5] stands in the

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see above, fol. 23 b. Maslamah was the first who made additions to the mosque of 'Amr, by building in A. H. 53=A. D. 673 new structures on the north and east sides of it, and by adding a minaret. He also decorated the walls and roof of the mosque. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٨٩٨; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٢٣٧ f.; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. ٧.

[1] The district of Al-Ḥabash was adjacent to the lake of Al-Ḥabash, and was called in Coptic ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲁⲧⲱⲙ (Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 162). It is mentioned, not only by 'Abû Selah,' as M. Amélineau remarks, but by Yâḳût, who speaks (*Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٥٩١) of

بساتين تعرف بالحبش والبركة منسوبة اليها

'Gardens named Al-Ḥabash, after which the pool of Al-Ḥabash is so called;' and by Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ١٥٢.

[2] So called because a flight of steps led down into it. This well was constructed by Al-Ḥâkim. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٣٦٠.

[3] Also called 'Well of Abû Salâmah.' It is said to have been situated in the most beautiful spot near the lake of Al-Ḥabash. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٣٦٠.

[4] This church is named in two Copto-Arabic lists of churches and monasteries as ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲁⲧⲱⲙ—ابا بقطر بالحبش, 'The church of Saint Victor at Al-Ḥabash.' See Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 579 and 581.

[5] St. Victor, whose festival is kept on Barmûdah 27=April 22, was a soldier

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district of Al-Ḥabash, near the Well of the Steps. On the wall of the apse of this church, a Coptic inscription was found, giving the date of the paintings upon it, namely the year 759 of the Martyrs[1] (A. D. 1043), in the patriarchate of Anbâ Sinuthius[2], the sixty-fifth in the order of succession. At the end of the church were built two altars: one of them named after the martyr Saint Cosmas[3], with his brothers and his mother, and the other named after Saint John, the martyr of Aswân; and these were built at the expense of Abû 'l-Barakât, the above mentioned, in the year 572 (A. D. 1177). In the upper story is a church named after George the Martyr, erected by the Shaikh Al-Maḳîn Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Kitâmah, the scribe, in the caliphate of Al-Fâ'iz[4]; and the said shaikh also rebuilt, in the year 573 (A. D. 1178), beside the church of Saint Victor, a church named after
Fol. 42 a the martyr Saint Mennas, containing a well of running water. Near this church there is a garden, which belongs to it, but is now a desert, and nothing is left standing in it except palm-trees.

Opposite this church, and within the enclosure of the garden known as that which was founded by the vizier Abû[5] 'l-Faraj, the West-African,

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in the Roman army; and he was beheaded after manifold tortures in the persecution of Diocletian. See *Synaxarium* (Paris MS. *Arabe* 256) ad diem; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 177 ff.; Zoega, *Cat.* pp. 113, 239. There are other saints of the name in the calendar.

[1] These paintings are again wall-paintings, or 'frescoes;' although the term is not technically correct, as the Coptic artists worked in distemper, not in the fresh plaster. But this date, fixing the middle of the eleventh century of our era for the execution of the work, is exceedingly interesting. (A. J. B.)

[2] Occupied the see in the middle of the eleventh century, but the date of his election and death are uncertain; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 408–417.

[3] Saints Cosmas and Damian with their mother and their brethren were popular saints in Egypt. Their festival is kept on Hatûr 22=Nov. 18.

[4] The thirteenth of the Fatimide caliphs; reigned from A. H. 549–555=A. D. 1154–1160.

[5] Abû 'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Maghrabî became vizier in A. H. 450, and remained in office about a year. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٥١; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, ii. p. ١٠٠.

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in the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir, there is another church named after Saint Victor, which is now furnished and complete with its domes and walls. For a long time there was no liturgy there, and when this state of things had long continued, the vizier Ṭalâ'i'[1] ibn Ruzzîḳ commanded that some of the columns should be taken to build the mosque which he founded in that part of Miṣr named Ḳarâfah. The tribe of Ḳarâfah were called Banû Ḥajaṣ or Banû Yûsuf ibn Wâ'il, and they took up their quarters at this place, when the Arabs conquered Egypt. The place was called Ḳarâfah[2], a word which means 'copyist,' or 'copyist of books;' and there were many monks here in hermitages and monasteries, and many churches, which the Muslims destroyed when they came with 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî ibn 'Adî, in the month of Muḥarram of the year 20 (A. D. 641). Those of the hermitages which remain have been turned by the Muslims into minarets. Then their hands were stretched out, until they built of part of the walls of the hermitages the foundations of this garden, which at the present time is still in cultivation. Afterwards, Al-Ajall Tâj al-Mulûk Bûrî[3], the Kurd, brother of Ṣalâh ad-Dîn Yûsuf, built many pavilions in this garden and outside it, and embellished them with marble and gilding, and spent much money upon them. Fol. 42 b

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[1] See note on fol. 7 a.

[2] The Greater and Lesser Ḳarâfahs were the principal burying-grounds of Cairo and Fusṭâṭ, and the name is still retained for the well-known cemetery where the 'tombs of the caliphs' and the 'tombs of the mamlûks' stand. The place was selected as a burying-ground immediately after the Arab conquest. Various accounts are given of the origin of the name: that it was the name of an Arab woman; or of a branch of the tribe of Banû Maghâfir; or, as the text suggests, a word of Greek origin (γραφεύς), meaning 'writer' or 'copyist.' See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ۴۸; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. pp. ۴۴۳–۴۴۵.

[3] A younger brother of Saladin. He was slain at the siege of Aleppo in A. H. 579=A. D. 1183: a disaster which elicited from Saladin the lament:

ما وقعت حلب علينا رخيصة بموت بورى

'The fall of Aleppo has been dearly bought by the death of Bûrî.' (Abû l'Fidâ, *Annales*, iv. p. 58.)

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Monastery of the Nestorians.

§ In this quarter also is the monastery known as the monastery of the Nestorians, dedicated to Saint George, and enclosed within a surrounding wall of hewn stone. It is beautifully and artistically constructed, and greatly celebrated as a place of resort. The Shaikh Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, the Nestorian, known as the physician of the tribe of Al-'Aẓamîyah, in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, restored it at his own expense, and renewed it in an excellent style, with hewn stone; and there were here many Nestorian monks. But when Al-Âmir was informed of this restoration, he issued a decree against Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, and acted extortionately towards him, and seized all his money; and the decree remained in force until the caliph had built a mosque within the monastery. The originator of this act of tyranny was Abû 'l-Faḍl Ja'far ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im, known as Ibn Abû Ḳîrâṭ, the metwalli of the Dîwân al-Khâṣṣ[1] of Al-Âmir. There was some land attached to this monastery and belonging to it, outside the enclosure, and this land was farmed by Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Kitâmah, the Jacobite scribe. There was now no one in the monastery, which was empty,
Fol. 43 a and deprived of liturgies and prayers. One of the stewards of Kitâmah lived there, in a garden which was the property of his master; but the priest Yûsuf, the Nestorian, gained possession of it, and let the land to Muslims, and sold the upper story of the church at Miṣr, including the bakehouse, and let most of the property with which the Nestorian churches were endowed at low rents to the Muslims, for long periods. There are no Nestorians with him; but they live in the east, and in Persia, and in Al-'Irâḳ and Al-Mauṣil, and by the Euphrates, and in Mesopotamia; and in Egypt they are few in number and of a low class.

This monastery [of which we have been speaking] came into the possession of the Copts of Miṣr in the patriarchate of Anbâ Mark ibn Zar'ah, the seventy-third in the order of succession, who made it

[1] The board which regulated matters connected with the privy purse.

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patriarchal, and dedicated the church in it to Saint Philotheus[1] of Antioch. In the upper story of the monastery there are *manẓarahs;* and the whole building is of hewn stone, within and without. The church was solemnly opened and the liturgy was said in it the first week of the blessed fast, namely on Tuesday, the 16th of Amshîr, of the year 899 of the Righteous Martyrs, which is equivalent to the 24th of Ramaḍân of the year 576 (A. D. 1181). [This change of ownership took place] because no Nestorians were left in Miṣr except one or two men. The monastery was solemnly opened by Anbâ Peter, bishop of the Fayyûm. It contains three altars: one named after Philotheus of Antioch; the second after John the Evangelist; the third after Thomas the Disciple. Its expenses were paid by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Manṣûr ibn Bûlus, who also paid for the liturgies and the eucharistic elements and the rest, and did not cease to supply all that was needed until the day of his death. His son continued to provide for [the expenses of this monastery], as his father had done—may God rest his soul!—and appointed ministers, both priests and deacons. The monastery is now prosperous, and the people of Upper Egypt come to it, and open its door. **Fol. 43 b**

There is also a burying-place for the Coptic Jacobite Christians and the bishops of Miṣr, in the district of Al-Ḥabash; and the body of Anbâ Zacharias[2], the sixty-fourth patriarch, is buried there, and the people receive blessings from it; [and it was taken there] because he commanded at his death that he should be buried among the people of Miṣr, on account of his knowledge of the pre-eminence of their faith, and what they had suffered in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim[3]. In [the same burying-ground] also are the tombs of the bishops of Miṣr; and near

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[1] The festival of this martyr is kept on Ṭûbah 16=Jan. 11. He was converted to Christianity in his youth, and martyred in the persecution of Diocletian. See *Synaxarium* ad diem.

[2] Occupied the see from A. D. 1002 (?) to 1032; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 386–408. On p. 401 Renaudot refers to this passage of Abû Ṣâliḥ.

[3] See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥١٠, and Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 390 ff., for an account of Al-Ḥâkim's terrible persecution of the Christians, and the plunder and destruction of their churches. (A. J. B.)

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it there are two wells of running water: one constructed by Abû 'l-Ḥasan Sa'îd ibn Manṣûr, the scribe, and the second made by Nâṣir, the grave-digger. In this burying-ground there is a conspicuous monument of syenite, sculptured with a cross of points[1]. Near the burying-ground is the Well of the Steps, with the sycamore beside it, and the guard-house. At the upper end of this ground, there is a cemetery of the Jews
Fol. 44 a and Samaritans, and when they come near the Christian cemetery they see the sign of the cross, and then they return to that part of the ground which Anbâ Michael, the fifty-sixth patriarch[2], sold to the Jews, at the time when Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn extorted money from him. This patriarch also sold a church to the Jews[3] in the Ḳaṣr ash-Shama', besides the property of the churches at Alexandria, and the herds of camels of the monks of the monastery of Saint Macarius. The Melkites, however, have no cemetery in the district of Al-Ḥabash, but their burying-places are within their churches, and on the hill where the monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair stands. The Armenians and the Nestorians likewise [bury] in their churches.

Church of Al-Martûtî.

§ The garden called Al-'Adawîyah[4], or Munyat as-Sûdân[5], was

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[1] The 'cross of points' is doubtless the Coptic cross, such as that represented on the cover of my *Coptic Churches*. (A. J. B.)

[2] Occupied the see from A. D. 881 to 899 (?); see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 319–398. He was the second of the name.

[3] The church, sold by Michael or Khâ'îl to the Jews in A. D. 882, still belongs to that community, and is used as a synagogue, after a possession of 1,000 years. An account of it is given in *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 169, and its position shown on the plan facing p. 155. (A. J. B.)

[4] Al-'Adawîyah and its monastery stand about eighteen miles to the south of Old Cairo, on the same bank of the river. The church of Al-Martûtî, however, is not now in existence, possibly because the confiscation recorded by Abû Ṣâliḥ was permanent. Yâḳût calls Al-'Adawîyah a village on the eastern bank, possessing many gardens; and he suggests other derivations of the name; see his *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٦٢٥. (A. J. B.)

[5] Two villages of this name are now in existence, but neither of them is near

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named after a woman called 'Adawîyah, who came from Western Africa in the days of Al-Mu'izz. She had much money, and she took up her abode in this place, which was named after her.

§ The church of the Pure Lady Mary, called *Al-Martûtî*, is surmounted by a cupola. In ancient days this was a place of worship of the Israelites when they were in bondage in Egypt; and when our Lord Jesus Christ came down into Egypt from Syria, with his mother in the flesh, our Lady the Pure Virgin, and the righteous old man Joseph the carpenter, they sat in this place, where there is now a picture of the Lady before the holy altar. The church was founded by the Copts Fol. 44 b under the name of the Lady, and was called *Al-Martûtî*, which is the Greek word *Matîr-tû*[1], and means 'Mother of God the Word.' When this church grew old it fell into decay, and was restored by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman Wazîr, a native of Sanhûr[2], and metwalli of the Divan of the Delta, and by Abû 'l-Manṣûr, his son, in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, and in the vizierate of Al-Afḍal Shâhanshâh. In its upper story Abû 'l-Yaman built a beautiful *manẓarah*, called As-Salûḳîyah, and the priests assembled there, and he conversed gaily with them; this was in the lunar year 478 (A. D. 1086), in the patriarchate of Cyril[3], and the episcopate of Daniel. He also caused a complete set of vessels of goldsmiths' work to be made for this church, for the liturgy and the incense and all the needs of the church. In the upper story of the church he built several depen-

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Al-'Adawîyah; see *Rec. de l'Égypte*, p. 222. Cf. Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. ۴۰۱. Al-Idrîsî, however, mentions the place named by our author, saying, according to Jaubert's translation: 'Quand on part de Missr pour se rendre en remontant le Nil dans l'Égypte supérieure, on va de Fostat à Miniet es-Soudan, joli port situé sur la rive occidentale (sic!) du Nil et environ à 15 milles de Missr.' (Tome i. p. 311.)

[1] Μήτηρ Θεοῦ.

[2] A town between Alexandria and Damietta, now included in the district of Dasûḳ, in the province of Al-Gharbîyah. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ۱۷.; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 415–417.

[3] The sixty-seventh patriarch; occupied the see from A. D. 1078 to 1092; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 449–470.

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dences and offices. A small garden was attached to the church, and was entered from the interior of the building; and the door gave proof of its existence. So the government laid its hand upon this garden, and it was taken away from the church.

A certain Jew, named Abû 'l-Fakhr ibn Azhar aṣ-Ṣânic, became a Christian, and was converted to the religion of the Messiah, and was baptized in this church by Anbâ John, bishop of Ṭamwaih, in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, assisted by the priest Abû Yâsir ibn Abû Sa'd
Fol. 45 a ibn al-Ḳusṭâl, in the caliphate of Al-Fâ'iz, in the vizierate of Ṭalâ'i' ibn Ruzzik, and in the patriarchate of Jonas, the seventy-second in the succession; this took place in the month of Rajab, in the year 554 (A.D. 1159). God enlightened this Jew so greatly that he learnt to read Coptic, and translated it into Arabic; and he was ordained deacon, on account of his peculiar merits, in the church of the Pure Lady[1], in the Ḥârah Zawîlah, in the city of Cairo, by Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, on the 15th of Abîb, in the year of the church 901 (A.D. 1185).

Adjacent to this church of *Al-Martûtî*, is a church which had fallen into decay, but was restored by Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il ibn Ash-Shubrâmurayyiḳî[2], with the assistance of a body of Christians, in the year 902 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1186). The furnishing of the church was completed by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Zanbûr, the scribe of As-Sûbâsî the Turk, wâlî of Cairo; he paid the expenses himself, and he provided for it a dome and a roof, and constructed over the dome a beautiful dome of timber; and he built in it two altars, one named after Saint George, and the other after the angel Michael. In the midst of the church he erected a long vaulted transept, in which he also opened a door which led to the altars in the old church; and he separated them from one another. The number of altars in this church amounted to
Fol. 45 b five, ancient and modern. Abû 'l-Faraj completed the restoration of the church by whitewashing and painting it, and it was solemnly opened

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[1] See fol. 3 a and note.

[2] The town of Shubrâ Murayyiḳ (شبرا مريق), in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, is mentioned by Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. rrv.

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on Monday, the 21st of Barmahât, the second day of the fifth week of the holy fast, in the presence of Anbâ Mark ibn Zar'ah, the seventy-third patriarch, and Michael, bishop of Basṭah and Al-Khandaḳ, and Anbâ Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, and Anbâ Simon, bishop of Al-Bahnasâ[1], and Anbâ Peter, bishop of the Fayyûm, and an assembly of the clergy and of the chief men.

In the upper story of this church, the steward, Sayyid al-Ahl, son of Thomas, the archdeacon, built a church in the name of Saint Mercurius, with a wooden altar[2], and it was consecrated by Anbâ John, the seventy-fourth[3] patriarch, on the 10th of Bashans, in the year 910 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1194). The Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman Wazîr removed the body of Saint John from the church at Damanhûr, near Cairo, to this church, because, so it is said, when he was in the neighbourhood of it on a certain night, he heard a voice from the shrine of the martyr, saying: 'I cannot remain in the church of the Lady; there is no church for me except that in which I was at first.' Accordingly the body was restored thither. Fol. 46 a

In this neighbourhood, the Nestorians had a large monastery like a great castle, within an enclosing wall of hewn stone, and containing, a large church, separate and conspicuous, of which all the architectural features remain to this day; but the apse has been turned into a *Ḳiblah*, and above it rises a lofty minaret, and, around it, the chambers, which belonged to the monks, are inhabited by Muslims; and this change took place in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim.

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[1] The classical Oxyrhinchus, and the Coptic ⲡⲉⲙⲛϩⲥⲉ; then the capital of a province. It stands on the western bank, at some distance from the stream. It was said that our Lord and his mother sojourned at Al-Bahnasâ. The town is now ruined and contains about sixty inhabitants; it is in the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Minyah. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٧٧١; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٢٧; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 90.

[2] This is the only definite instance known to me of a Coptic altar constructed of wood; see *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 3 ff. (A. J. B.)

[3] Occupied the see from A.D. 1189 to 1216; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 554–567.

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At the church of *Al-Martûtî*, the history of which has been related, there was a priest named Abû Yâsir, son of the priest Abû Sa'd, known as Ibn al-Ḳusṭâl, who maintained customs at variance with those prescribed by the pure Fathers: such as growing the hair long, and baring the head at the time of the liturgy[1], and christening infants without circumcision[2], and giving permission to the bridegroom to see the bride before marriage[3]. If a priest with shaven hair and covered head said the liturgy, he would not communicate from his hand, but he had a second liturgy for himself. Thus he divided the church into two parties; and, although he was often rebuked for this, he would not repent or change his opinions. The state of affairs required that in order to maintain the canons, he should be expelled from the church; may God reconcile him to himself!

To the church of this priest there was a garden attached, as it has
Fol. 46 b already been related. This garden was seized by the emir Jabrîl, son of the Imâm Al-Ḥâfiẓ, who built opposite to the church, near the river, in the place called *Al-Khaimat al-ḳiblîyah*, for the survey of the taxes, a *manẓarah*, which was visited by the Imâm Al-Ḥâfiẓ and the Imâm Aẓ-Ẓâfir[4], his son, during the lifetime of this emir Jabrîl; and after his death the Imâm Al-'Âḍid came here. Each of them contributed to the support of this church, and received the food that was brought to him from the monastery. This church stands in the midst of the gardens, and from its upper story a view of the blessed Nile is obtained, as far as that part of the river bank on which Ṭamwaih, in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, is situated, and as far as Munyat ash-Shammâs[5] and other places on

[1] These two customs of wearing long hair and uncovering during the liturgy seem to refer to the priests only: neither of them is now practised. See above, fol. 9 b and 15 a. (A. J. B.)

[2] I have before stated that circumcision on the eighth day is customary, but not obligatory, with the Copts; while circumcision after baptism was always regarded as forbidden. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 286, 497, 588. (A. J. B.)

[3] In prohibiting this the Copts seem to have followed the Muslims.

[4] The twelfth of the Fatimide caliphs, who succeeded his father Al-Ḥâfiẓ in A. H. 544=A. D. 1149 and died in A. H. 549=A. D. 1154.

[5] There were two places of this name in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, but this

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the western bank. It is a place of devotion and of pleasure; and the church is much visited because intercessions are accepted here, and visible miracles are performed for the faithful.

§ Al-Ajall Saif al-Islâm Tughtikîn[1], brother of Al-Malik Salâḥ ad-Dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, the Kurd, acquired possession of the garden, and of Al-'Adawîyah, and the church of As-Sûdân, and the bank of the river near it; and he rebuilt the *manẓarah*, and added a gallery to the upper part of it, and he planted many trees in the garden and spent much money here. At Al-'Adawîyah are the quarries of yellow clay, of which the [pots called] *khazaf* are made; and they are to the north, on the estate of the vizier Abû 'l-Faraj al-Maghrabî.

Ṭurâ.

The district known as Ṭurâ[2], which leads to Iṭfîḥ[3], by way of the monastery of Shahrân[4]. Under the southern sycamore, in the southern part of Ṭurâ, Moses the prophet prayed—upon him be peace,—and in the town there are monuments of 'Abd al-Azîz ibn Marwân[5]. Ṭurâ was allotted as a fief to the Ghuzz and the Kurds, when they conquered Egypt. Iṭfîḥ is the name of one of the sons of Mizraim. Shahrân is a large village, and was flourishing and populous. It is Fol. 47 a

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is probably that one which was also called Dair ash-Shama'; see fol. 65 b. It is still existing in the district of Badrashain in that province, and in 1885 had a population of 883. See Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. ۴۰۷; De Sacy, *Abd-Allatif*, p. 676; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 221.

[1] Ruler of Yemen after A.H. 577; died A.H. 593.

[2] To the south of 'Adawîyah and to the north of Ḥulwân, on the eastern bank. It is now in the district of Badrashain, and in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, and in 1885 had 1,335 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Dict.* iii. p. ٥٦٠; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥٠١; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 519. (A. J. B.)

[3] See fol. 2 b, and note.

[4] The site of Shahrân cannot be identified. (A. J. B.)

[5] Son of the caliph Marwân I, and wâlî of Egypt from A.H. 65=A.D. 685 to A.H. 86=A.D. 706. He attempted to make Ḥulwân the capital of Egypt; see below.

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built on the side of the river; and they say that Moses the prophet—upon him be peace—was born[1] there, and his mother cast him thence into the river, in the wooden ark. Shahrân is celebrated as a spot frequented by visitors, on account of the beauty of its situation, and the views obtained from it of Miṣr and the river Nile; so the *Book of the Monasteries*, by Ash-Shâbushti, testifies. Opposite this monastery of Shahrân, in the mountain on the east, there is a large cavern[2], supported by pillars like a house, which has been hollowed out in the side of the mountain, and is exceedingly extensive; and it is said to be called 'the city,' and the end of it is unknown.

Monastery of Shahrân, near Ṭurâ.

The monastery called Shahrân was restored by Poemen, the monk, who had been perverted to the religion of the Muslims, but returned to his own faith in the caliphate of Al-Imâm al-Ḥâkim, and became once more abbot of the monastery. This monk was the cause of the opening
Fol. 47 b of the churches which had been closed, and of the changing of the costume[3] which Al-Ḥâkim had injoined, and which he had maintained for nine years, during which Zacharias, the sixty-fourth patriarch, was imprisoned[4], and thrown to the lions, which did him no harm; for God forbad the lions to touch the patriarch, on account of his holiness, and the strength of his faith in God. The instigator of this persecution was a monk from the monastery of Saint Macarius[5], named Jonas[6], because

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[1] On fol. 19 b, Askar is said to be the birthplace of Moses.

[2] Doubtless one of the subterranean quarries in the Muḳattam range near Ṭurâ. These caverns were cut out by ancient Egyptian workmen quarrying for stone for the pyramids and other buildings. The Arabs have a great horror of mining in the dark, and tell marvellous legends of these openings into the heart of the mountain. (A. J. B.)

[3] Al-Ḥâkim had forced the Christians to wear black clothes and turbans, and to use black trappings for their mules and asses, forbidding them to ride on horseback. (A. J. B.)

[4] See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 391 ff.

[5] In the Nitrian desert.

[6] Or John. See the story in Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 388 f.

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he had solicited a bishopric from that patriarch, but was prevented from obtaining it by Michael, the patriarch's nephew, who had demanded money from Jonas, [but did not receive it]; the whole of this story is told in the *Lives of the Patriarchs.*

In the aforesaid monastery there is a tower, entered through the monastery, and it had a garden attached to it, measuring six feddans, in which were fruit-bearing palms and corn-plots. Al-Imâm al-Ḥâkim was fond of visiting the country at this monastery, and of taking the air here; and from it he went out to the mountain, and made journeys into the country.

Monastery and Church at Ṭurâ.

§ The monastery known as the Monastery of the Potter is dedicated to Saint Mercurius. It is said also to have been named after the martyr Theodore. There is also a church, named after the glorious Saint George, which is in the district of Ṭurâ, on the bank of the river. This church was small when it belonged to the Jacobite Copts; but at the time when Gregory[1], the patriarch of the Armenians, came to Egypt, and Amîr al-Juyûsh Badr was surrounded by Armenians, in the patriarchate of Anbâ Cyril, patriarch of the Jacobites, and the district of Ṭurâ was allotted to the Armenians, then they seized this church, and pulled it down, and built instead of it a large and spacious church, with several cupolas, which was dedicated to the name of Saint George. Above it there rose a tower, the door of which was within the church; and the latter was enclosed within a wall, and within the enclosure there was a well and a water-wheel. Around the church there was a space planted with orange-trees, and two *duwairahs*, which are fruit-bearing palms, and other trees. When, however, the series of misfortunes befell the Armenians, the church came back to the Jacobites, in the patriarchate of Anbâ Mark, known before his promotion as Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Zar'ah, the scribe; he was the seventy-third in the succes- Fol. 48 a

[1] See note on p. 3. This passage is referred to by Renaudot (*Hist. Patr.* pp. 459 and 508), who writes Dora for Ṭurâ.

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sion. In this church the priest named Abû Yâsir, whose history has been related with reference to the church of *Al-Martûtî*, which is called Al-'Adawîyah, restored all that was required for the furnishing of it; and the people began again to frequent it at all times. Outside it, there are stone foundations visible on the surface of the ground, which are said to have been made for the purpose of building upon them a *manẓarah;* but it was never fully prepared, and now there is only one fragment of building in a cracked condition. When the patriarch came to this church to consecrate it, an assembly of bishops and priests and of the Christian laity were present.

In another copy it is said that the monastery of Saint George came into the possession of the aforesaid priest Abû Yâsir, known as Ibn
Fol. 48 b al-Kusṭâl, and was solemnly opened in the month of Ba'ûnah, in the year 559 (A. D. 1164), in the patriarchate of Anbâ John, with the consent of the Armenians. Abû Yâsir built in the upper story a church to the martyr Saint Mennas, and a church in the name of the great saint John the Baptist and of Gregory. The latter church was to the south of the great central sanctuary, in the monastery of the Armenians at Ṭurâ, and it was consecrated on the 30th of Ba'ûnah, in the year 902 of the Righteous Martyrs (A. D. 1186); and the expenses of the building were paid at first by Ibn Mashkûr, and at the time of its consecration by Abû Manṣûr, the superintendent of the building of the walls of Cairo and Miṣr. In the same monastery there is a tower, and a mill, and a garden which belonged to the Armenians; and, when it ceased to belong to them, it came into the possession of the Jacobites, after the year 600 (A. D. 1204). When the priest Abû Yâsir died, the monastery became the property of his disciples, and of the Copts, permanently down to our own time.

The Eastern and Western Ranges.

The eastern hills known as Al-Muḳaṭṭam, which was the name of the son of Mizraim, the son of Miṣr, the son of Ham, the son of Noah. Muḳaṭṭam was the first who worshipped on this spot, and here he gave himself up to the service of God; so that after his time the mountain

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was known as Al-Muḳaṭṭam. It is situated near Ṭurâ, by the stone-quarry, and is contiguous to Ṭurâ lengthwise, and it is a holy place.

§ The western range unites itself to the mountain chain of Western Africa and to the western shores, which at last reach the land of Ibn[1] Ghawâṭah, and the Dark Sea[2]. The river Nile flows between these two mountain-ranges. Fol. 49 a

Melkite Monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair.

The monastery known as Al-Ḳuṣair is on the summit of the eastern mountain-range. From this monastery there is a view of the blessed Nile, and of the district of Ṭurâ. It was founded by Arcadius[3], the Great, son of Theodosius the Great, emperor of the Romans, over the tomb of his teacher, Saint Arsenius, after whose name he called it. This Arsenius had fled from the emperor, and devoted himself to religious worship in the desert of Saint Macarius in the Wâdî Habîb; but afterwards he removed to this mountain, and spent his time in worship there. This monastery was known as Ḳuṣair[4]. A great festival

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[1] A mistake for Baraghwâṭah (برغواطة), which was a district in north-western Africa, inhabited by a tribe of the same name; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٥١٣; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 87]; Ibn Khaldûn, vi. p. ٢٠٧.

[2] The Atlantic.

[3] Arcadius can hardly have founded this monastery in memory of his teacher, who is said to have outlived him by some forty years at least; see Gibbon (Edinburgh, 1832), vol. v. p. 148 n. The association of Arsenius with the monastery is, however, probably authentic. The full name of the convent, according to Al-Maḳrîzî, was monastery of John the Dwarf (Yuḥannus al-Ḳaṣîr or Al-Ḳuṣayyir), i. e. St. John Kolobos; see *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥٠٩. (A. J. B.)

[4] Our author probably borrows this account of the foundation of Al-Ḳuṣair from Eutychius, with whose narrative the statements in the text agree; see his *Annales* (ed. Pococke), i. p. 537. Quatremère gives an article on this monastery in *Mém.* ii. pp. 499–502, which consists of translations from Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥٠٢, where Ash-Shâbushtî is quoted, as by our author. Yâḳût also describes the monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair among the few monasteries which he writes of; see his *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ١٨٥.

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is kept there in honour of Arsenius, at which many people assemble. Below his church on the mountain-top, there is another church, hewn out in the rock with the pickaxe[1], and in it there is an altar. The monastery is on the upper part of the mountain and stands on a terrace, on a peak of the mountain, and is fairly constructed and commands a beautiful view. It has a well hewn in the rock, from which water is drawn. In the monastery there are excellent pictures, of extremely skilful and admirable execution. The monastery contains an upper room [built by] Abû 'l-Jaish Khamârawaih[2], son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, which has
Fol. 49 b four windows in its four sides. The road to this monastery from Miṣr is difficult, but on the southern side the ascent and descent are easy. At the side of it there is a hermitage, always inhabited by a hermit. The monastery overlooks the village named Shahrân and the desert and the monastery of Shahrân, which is a large and flourishing village, on the bank of the river, according to the testimony of the *Book of the Monasteries*, by Ash-Shâbushtî. This Al-Ḳuṣair is one of the monasteries that are visited for worship, and also for the pleasure of sauntering around them.

The patriarch Eustathius[3] founded in this monastery the church of

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[1] This would be the church of St. John the Baptist named below on fol. 51 a.

[2] Khamârawaih, son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, and second of the Ṭûlûnide dynasty, ruled Egypt and Syria, nominally under the suzerainty of the Abbaside caliphs, for twelve years, from A. H. 270=A. D. 884 to A. H. 282=A. D. 895. The annual tribute demanded from him by the caliph amounted to about 500,000 dinars. He was famous for his magnificence and his love of art. The story which our author tells of his admiration for the mosaics at the monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair is told also by Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. 100.

[3] Eustathius succeeded Balatianus, as Melkite or orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, in the sixteenth year of the caliph Hârûn Ar-Rashîd, i. e. A. D. 802, and occupied the see for two years. See Eutychius (*Annales*, ii. p. 410), who is the authority from whom the statements in the text are taken. Eutychius explains مدق as:

البيت الذى يدق فيه الكتان

Cf. Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*

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the Apostles, and he founded a cell for the bishops. The monastery is in the possession of the Melkites, and contains a body of their monks. There is kept every year the festival of Saint Arsenius, on the 13th of Bashans[1]. This Eustathius was a linen-merchant, and he found a treasure in the place where the flax was beaten; and then he became a monk in this monastery, and built in it that which has been mentioned. After that, he was made patriarch of the Melkites, and the length of his patriarchate was sixty-four years[2]. In this monastery there are eight churches, and they are enclosed within a wall. In it also there is a *manẓarah*, and a cemetery; and below it there are many caves hewn in the mountain. The church of the Apostles in this monastery was destroyed in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim, in the month of Sha'bân, of the year 400 (A. D. 1010); and a band of the common people came here, and seized the coffins of the dead, and the timbers from the ruins. Afterwards it was decreed that [the monks] should restore the ruined building, and Al-Yâsâl, the brother of Tâj ad-Daulah Bahrâm, assigned to the monastery sixteen feddâns of land as an endowment. Fol. 50 a

There was in this monastery a mule, to carry the water from the river, and bring it up to the monastery; and one of the monks went down with it to fill up the quantity required; and the monk remained by the river, while the mule kept going backwards and forwards by itself, until he had finished his business. The monastery is enclosed within a stone wall; but on one occasion a mob of Muslims went up, and by a ruse induced the monks to open the gate to them, whereupon they entered and sacked the monastery, and killed some of the monks.

The monastery known as Al-Ḳuṣair al-Ḥaḳḳânî is within the desert, and is uninhabited; it is half-a-day's journey from the monastery which is being described.

The number of churches at the monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair, accord-

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[1] I. e. May 8. Cf. *Synaxarium* (Paris MS. *Arabe* 256) for that day.

[2] This must be a confusion with the length of Eustathius' life.

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ing to a description, of the date of Barmahât, in the year 891 of the Blameless Martyrs (A.D. 1175), was ten.

(1) In the upper part is the church of Saint Arsenius, the teacher of the sons of the emperors; and his body is buried under the altar, which is the only altar[1], and is surmounted by a baldakyn; over the middle of this church is a long vaulted[2] roof.

Fol. 50 b (2) A church named after our Lady Mary, the pure and holy Virgin, in which there is one altar, as in the former.

(3) The church of the Apostles or Disciples, in which there was a picture of the Lady, carrying the Lord, with angels on the right and on the left, and pictures of all the twelve disciples, the whole being composed of tesserae of glass[3], and skilfully executed, as at Bethlehem;

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[1] This is exceedingly interesting for two reasons: (i) It is unusual for a church to have less than three altars now, though Abû Ṣâliḥ proceeds to enumerate several with this peculiarity; and (ii) I do not know any other so distinct and unquestionable evidence of the practice of burying the body of a saint under the high altar of an Egyptian church, though ten or twelve years ago, writing on the subject of the Coptic altar in ignorance of Abû Ṣâliḥ's testimony, I had no hesitation in inferring that the practice existed. See *Coptic Churches*, ii. pp. 12–16. (A. J. B.)

[2] In technical language this means, I think, that the nave was roofed with wagon-vaulting, such as may still be seen in the basilica in the Hârah Zuwailah in Cairo, in the church of Al-Mu'allaḳah within the fortress, and in many others. (A. J. B.)

[3] This is, as far as I know, with the subsequent statements of our author, the only direct evidence of the use of the Byzantine glass mosaic in the churches of Egypt, and it is fortunate that Abû Ṣâliḥ's testimony is of unmistakable clearness.

The arrangement which he sketches is common enough, indeed is almost exactly reproduced in the *haikal* of Abû 's-Saifain (*Coptic Churches*, i. p. 112, see also p. 40). But there the design is painted on the wall, not wrought in mosaic: and as I have explained (*id. ib.* p. 37 seq.), there is no known instance of a picture in glass mosaic remaining in the Coptic churches, or anything to show that this form of art ever flourished in Egypt, though mosaic of another kind constitutes some of the most splendid decoration in churches and mosques alike. There is, however, some evidence from early writers to support the construction of the text.

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and some of these glass tesserae were gilded and some were coloured. Khamârawaih, son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, used to stand before these

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The allusion to Bethlehem is, of course, to the church of the Nativity erected there in A. D. 327 by the empress Helena, and it is possible that even at that date glass mosaics were employed for decoration: for those in the church of S. Pudenziana at Rome and S. Costanza at Naples are said to date from the fourth century. However that may be, there is no doubt that by the time of Justinian the walls of the church at Bethlehem were covered with mosaics, traces of which remain even at the present day in spite of renewals and destructions.

Eutychius records the visit of the caliph 'Umar to this church, his admiration for the mosaics in the southern transept ('for the whole vault was decorated with many-coloured designs in mosaic work'), and his order that no change should be made in the decoration (ed. Pococke, ii. pp. 158, 288). But the best account of these mosaics is given by De Vogüé in his *Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 66 ff.

The word rendered *tesserae* in the text is فصوص, the plural of فص *faṣṣ*. But Eutychius, in the passage just quoted, uses the word فسيفسا *fusaifisâ* as the term for glass mosaics—a term derived from the Byzantine ψήφωσις. Now the author of the *History of Damascus* speaks of فصوص or tesserae, coloured and gilt, which are known as *fusaifisâ*; and similarly Kamâl ad-Dîn defines *fusaifisâ* as equivalent to فص مذهّب or gilded tesserae. Further, Ibn Baṭûṭah mentions a mosque adorned with pictures of great beauty in gilt mosaic, and again of animal figures in mosaic. These authorities are quoted by Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, ii. Liv. i. append. p. 270 n. But the point which Quatremère misses is that if these passages are examined, they are found all to establish the use of glass mosaics, but out of Egypt—in Syria and Arabia. I do not, however, know of any passage proving the use of Byzantine mosaic in Egypt to put beside this clear and explicit evidence of Abû Ṣâliḥ, here and on fol. 104 a. The splendid lamps of the type called Ḳalâ'ûnî, found till recently in churches and mosques, but now chiefly in museums, show what skill in glass-work the Egyptians possessed in mediaeval times—a skill far higher than would be needed for making the cubes of mosaic work. Going further back, we find record of famous glass-works at Fusṭâṭ. Further back still, Olympiodorus of Alexandria wrote on the sacred art of alchemy, which included the making of glass coloured like precious stones. This was early in the third century, and the MS. is in the *Bibliothèque*

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pictures and admire the beauty of their execution, and was much delighted with them, especially with the picture of the Lady; so that he even built a *manẓarah* for himself at this monastery, that he might come there for recreation. This church was very large; but Al-Ḥâkim destroyed it in the year 400 (A.D. 1010). Afterwards there was built on the same site a new church, named after Peter and Paul, in which there was one altar surmounted by a baldakyn, and over the middle of which there was a vaulted roof.

(4) The church of Stephen, the chief of the deacons and first of the martyrs for the name of Christ among the Israelites.

(5) A church named after Saint George.

(6) The church of Saint Sabas[1] of Alexandria, which was restored by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Barakât Yûḥannâ, the scribe, son of Abû 'l-Laith, in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, and in the vizierate of Al-Afḍal Shâhanshâh;
Fol. 51 a and his brother, Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, was charged with the control of the outlay. This Abû 'l-Barakât was the metwalli of the *Dîwân at-taḥḳîḳ*[2], in

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Nationale. See Hendrie's *Theophilus or Arts of the Middle Ages*, 1847, p. 163. The same most interesting work has a long account of glass-making and painting in Book II, and Greek enamelling and mosaic are described *ib.* ch. xiii–xv. pp. 133–135. Strabo was told by the glass-workers of Alexandria that they were enabled to execute their magnificent works of art solely through the existence in Egypt of a peculiar earth (Book XVI, ch. ii. § 25, quoted by Perrot & Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Egypt*, ii. p. 375). Indeed the manufacture of glass is now supposed to have had its origin in Egypt, and the art of enamelling which flourished under the caliphs certainly began with the Pharaohs. (A. J. B.)

[1] This 'Melkite' saint is, of course, not also revered by the monophysite Copts, since he was the great opponent of the monophysite leader, Severus of Antioch, and the determined adherent of the Roman see.

[2] This was the board which regulated the expenses of the government. The metwalli of this Divan was a person of high rank. In A.H. 501 a sum of 700,000 dinars is said to have passed through the hands of this Divan, apart from the expenses of the officials, and Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Abî 'l-Laith arranged the dinars in boxes on one side of the room and the dirhams on the other side. When the vizier Al-Afḍal saw this large sum of money, he said to Abû 'l-Barakât: 'By my father's tomb, if I hear of any well out of order, or of any land lying

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the vizierate of Al-Afḍal, and afterwards, until he was put to death in the year 528 (A. D. 1134). In this church there is one altar, surmounted by a small baldakyn; and over the midst of the church there is one large cupola of conspicuous size. The church contains pictures of the forty martyrs of Sebaste; and beneath it is the tomb of the said Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il.

(7) The church of the martyr Barbara, which is small.

(8) [The church of] Saint Thomas.

(9) The church of Cosmas and Damian and their brothers and their mother, who were all martyred for the name of Christ.

(10) Below this is the church of Saint John, the Baptist and Forerunner, in a cave, and with a stone roof, supported on a pillar, like a house which is concealed. In the midst of it, and on the roof, are ecclesiastical paintings, most of which have been effaced. Near this church is the tomb of John the monk, who planned the walls of Cairo and its gates[1], in the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir, and in the

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uncultivated, or of any village in ruins, I will cut off thy head!' to which the metwalli answered: 'Far be it from thee that in thy days any village should be ruined, or land left uncultivated, or well allowed to fall out of repair!' Al-Maḳrîzî confirms the statement of our author that Abû 'l-Barakât was put to death in A. H. 528. See *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ۴۰۱.

[1] This piece of information is very interesting, and is one more proof that the Copts were the architects of Cairo, as I have always contended, and not the Moslems.

What Abû Ṣâliḥ says is that John the monk planned the new walls of Cairo in the vizierate of Badr, under the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir. The original walls, of brick, were built by Jauhar, under the caliph Al-Mu'izz in A. D. 969 or 970 (see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ۲۷۷ ff.); but a century later these walls, being outgrown, were demolished by Badr al-Jamâlî, in A. D. 1087, who extended the boundaries of the city, especially on the northern and southern sides, erecting new walls of brick, with gateways of stone (see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ۲۷۹). In his learned essay on the topography of Cairo, M. Ravaisse gives a very clear plan, showing the walls of Jauhar and those of Badr. Saladin subsequently extended the citadel and made other enlargements, but in the main the existing walls are more probably those of Badr than those of Saladin. See M. Ravaisse in *Mém. Archéol. de la Miss. Franç. au Caire*, 1881–4; esp. plate 2 facing p. 454. (A. J. B.)

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vizierate of Amîr al-Juyûsh Badr; over his tomb there is a marble slab in the wall[1].

The church of Saint George[2], which has already been mentioned among these numerous churches, is outside, on the peak of the mountain, and it was founded by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Ḥakam, brother of Abû
Fol. 51 b 'l-Khaṣîb, and relative of Abû 'l-Barakât ibn Abû 'l-Laith.

On this mountain there are many caves, hewn in the rock, which also forms their roof; one of them is the cave of Saint Arsenius, which was made for him, and it contains the stone which he used as a pillow. Within the monastery there is a cistern, which receives water from the mountain at the time of rain. There is also a well of springing water, hewn in the rock, of which the monks and their visitors drink. There is a mill hewn in the rock. The churches are likewise founded in the rock. Near the church of Saint Sabas, restored by Abû 'l-Barakât, there is a *manẓarah* which was made for Al-Âmir, who came here in the hunting season; and there is a place for his attendants. There is here the *manẓarah* of Khamârawaih, son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, in the upper story of the monastery on the eastern side; it has now fallen into decay. The monastery now, in our time, contained five monks in poor circumstances, until the end of Barmahât, in the year 891 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1175). After that, Fakhr ibn al-Ḳanbar[3], the misleader of the ignorant through his false creed, came to live there, with a body of his followers; and he dwelt there twenty years, until he died, on Monday, at the beginning of the White Week[4], in the second week [of the Fast], on the 23rd of Amshîr[5], in the year
Fol. 52 a 924 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1208). The monastery is now

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[1] This tomb was apparently in the cave in which the church was hewn. The slab over the tomb is worth notice, as the Copts never mark the burial-places of the dead in any of the old churches. (A. J. B.)

[2] No. 5 in the list of churches. [3] See above, fol. 9 a ff.

[4] I. e. the first week of Lent, during which the use of fish and other white meat is allowed. (A. J. B.)

[5] The Coptic Mechir (ⲙⲉϫⲓⲣ) = Jan. 26 to Feb. 24.

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in the possession of his followers, who form a large body, but are in poor circumstances. It is said that in former times there were in the monastery and in the caves hewn in the mountain-sides nearly six thousand monks.

Hermes Trismegistus.

§ Kalkalî[1], son of Kharâbâ, son of Mâlîḳ, one of the sons of Baiṣur, son of Ham, son of Noah, was exceedingly wise; and it is said that his teacher was Hermes[2], who was the first inventor of alchemy, and turned lead into gold, and hardened quicksilver into solid, white gold, and melted sand into glass[3]; and his glass-furnace was at a place called 'the Oven[4],' at the top of the eastern mountain, outside Cairo.

Church of the Chamberlains at Al-Ḳanṭarah.

The church of the Lady Mary, the Pure Virgin, at Al-Ḳanṭarah[5], commonly named the church of the Romans. It is also called the church of the Christian Chamberlains, because it was restored by

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[1] Al-Maḳrîzî and As-Suyûṭî write this name Kalkan (كلكن), and the father's name Khartabâ (خرتبا) or Kharîbâ (خريبا); see *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٣٦; *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٢٠٠.

[2] See below, fol. 64 b.

[3] This legend is so far correct that the art of glass-making probably began in Egypt, and not, as it was stated by Pliny and those writers who have followed him, among the Phoenicians. See Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Phoenicia and Cyprus*, ii. p. 326; Hendrie's *Theophilus*, p. 162. (A. J. B.)

[4] On the top of the Muḳaṭṭam hills, to the east of Cairo. For the legends related of the spot, see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٣٥٥.

[5] This village, or suburb of Al-Fusṭâṭ, has already been mentioned; see fol. 23 b and 32 b. The reason for the foundation of this church at this spot is given by Eutychius, namely that when the caliph was residing at his palace called the 'Dome of the Air' on the Muḳaṭṭam hills, his Greek (Roman) chamberlains found it too far to go to the Melkite churches in the Ḳaṣr ash-Shama' or Fortress of Babylon, and so asked and obtained his permission to build a church at the nearer suburb of Al-Ḳanṭarah; see Eutychius, *Annales* (ed. Pococke), ii. p. 430.

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the chamberlains of Al-Ma'mûn[1] 'Abd Allâh, son of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, since it was near the 'Dome of the Air[2],' which he founded on the Muḳaṭṭam hills. The Christians wore black garments[3], and rode on horses, until the caliphate of Al-Mutawakkil Ja'far, who forbad them to do so.

Ḥulwân.

Ḥulwân[4]. 'Abd al-'Azîz[5] ibn Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam, surnamed Abû
Fol. 52 b 'l-Uṣbu', lived in this place, and Ḥulwân was the name of his eldest son. It was in this neighbourhood that Al-Imâm al-Ḥâkim bi-amri'llâh alighted from the ass which he was riding, and ordered his groom, who accompanied him wherever he went, to hough the ass; and he himself went alone into the inner parts of the desert and never returned; nor is it known to this day where he retired. This happened in the month of Shawwâl, in the year 411 (A.D. 1021)[6].

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[1] The seventh of the Abbaside caliphs; reigned from A.D. 813 to 833.

[2] The *Ḳubbat al-Hawâ* was on the mountain near the citadel of Cairo; see C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, &c., i. p. 93. (A. J. B.)

[3] Al-Mutawakkil reigned from A.D. 847 to 861. It would appear from Abû Ṣâliḥ's remark that the Christians voluntarily affected a black dress at this time, and that the ordinance of Al-Ḥâkim two centuries later was an enforced reversion to an old custom. (A. J. B.)

[4] Ḥulwân or Ḥalwân (Helouan), the Coptic ⲉⲗⲗⲟⲩⲁⲛ or ⲉⲗⲗⲱⲁⲛ, is on the right or eastern bank of the river, five or six miles to the south of Al-'Adawîyah, and is still a favourite health-resort of the Cairenes on account of its sulphureous springs. The place seems to have been in existence, and to have had a bishop, before the Mahometan conquest. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٢٢١; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٠٩ f.; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 584. (A. J. B.)

[5] See fol. 47 a.

[6] Bar-Hebraeus states that Al-Ḥâkim was assassinated at the instigation of his sister, and that this was the explanation of his disappearance. Al-Maḳrîzî also mentions this report but denies its truth (ii. p. ٢٨٩). Ibn Khaldûn, iv. p. ٩١; Ibn al-Athîr, ix. p. ٢٢١; Abû 'l-Fidâ, iii. p. 48; As-Suyûṭî, ii. p. ١٨; and Ibn Khallikân relate the same story.

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At Ḥulwân 'Abd al-'Azîz erected some handsome buildings, and set up a Nilometer. He was attacked by the disease called lion-sickness, or elephantiasis, and he took many medicines, but the medicines did him no good, and so the physicians, in treating him, selected [Ḥulwân[1] as a residence for him]. This 'Abd al-'Azîz pulled down the Old Mosque at Miṣr, known as the foundation of 'Amr ibn al-'Âsî, governor of Egypt, and rebuilt it, adding to its extent[2]. At Ḥulwân he made a large lake, into which water flowed from springs in the hills, named the Muḳaṭṭam hills, by an aqueduct which he constructed [from the hills] to the lake. Beside the latter he erected a pavilion of glass[3].

'Abd al-'Azîz also built several mosques at Ḥulwân, and spent much money here. One copy of the history states that he spent a million of dinars here. He also planted palms and other trees here. He levied the land-tax several times in every week, fearing that a rebellion might arise and come upon him, and that then he would stand in need of money. He built the bridges over the canal of the Prince of the Faithful[4]. It was his wish to remove the seat of commerce by land and water to [Ḥulwân], and to depopulate Al-Fusṭâṭ. [In his time] Fol. 53 a the public treasury was at Ḥulwân.

§ [There is at Ḥulwân] a monastery named after the Lady Mary, the Pure Virgin. It was erected at the expense of the bishops, in the

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[1] I translate the words thus because the statement and even some of the words are apparently borrowed from Eutychius, who says:

كان قد ابتدأت به علة الجذام فاختار له الاطباء مدينة حلوان

'He had begun to be attacked by the disease of elephantiasis, so the physicians selected the city of Ḥulwân as a residence for him.' (*Annales*, ii. p. 369.)

[2] This was in A. H. 79=A. D. 699; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٢٩٨. An abstract of Al-Maḳrîzî's full history of the Old Mosque is given by Lane in *Modern Egyptians*, vol. ii. App. F. iii. p. 348. (A. J. B.)

[3] Our author's account here seems to be taken from Eutychius; see *Annales* (ed. Pococke), ii. p. 369.

[4] The *Khalîj* or canal of Cairo; cf. above, fol. 24 a & b.

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patriarchate of Anbâ Isaac[1] the monk, who was the forty-first in the order of succession, and in the patriarchate of his successor, Anbâ Simon[2] the Syrian, the forty-second patriarch, during the governorship of 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Marwân, through the agency of Gregory[3], bishop of Al-Ḳais[4]. The monastery is called the monastery of Abû Ḳarḳar; the last word being derived from the name of Gregorios.

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[1] Occupied the see from A. D. 686 to 688; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 177–9. Al-Makîn gives the name of the patriarch as Îsâk (ايساك) in Coptic, transcribing the word ICAAK; see *Ta'rîkh al-Muslimîn*, ad ann. 66. The foundation of a church by the patriarch Isaac at Ḥulwân, during the residence there of 'Abd al-'Azîz, is mentioned in the Coptic life of this patriarch; see Amélineau, *Hist. du patr. Isaac*, p. 78. The Patriarchal History also says:

وبنا بيعة بحلوان لان فى ذلك الموضع كان يمضى الى الامير عبد العزيز وكان قد امر اراخنة الصعيد وكل الكور ان يبنى كل واحد لنفسه مسكناً بحلوان المدينة

'And [Isaac] built a church at Ḥulwân because he was visiting the emir 'Abd al-'Azîz at that place. Now the emir had commanded the chief men of Upper Egypt and all the provinces to build each one a house for himself at the city of Ḥulwân.' (Brit. Mus. MS. *Or.* 26,100, p. 126, ll. 22–4.)

[2] Occupied the see from A. D. 688–700 (?); see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 179–189.

[3] This bishop is mentioned as the chief bishop present at the election of John, who was set aside by 'Abd al-'Azîz in favour of the patriarch Isaac; see Brit. Mus. MS. *Or.* 26,100, p. 125, l. 27—p. 126, l. 1. The building of the church in question and of other churches was entrusted to the superintendence of the bishop Gregory by 'Abd al-'Azîz.

وبعد ثلاثة سنين اطلق الاساقفة الى كراسيهم ان يبنوا بيعتين فى حلوان وكانوا الاساقفة ينفقون من عندهم على عمارتها ووكل الوالى بعمارتها اغريغوريوس اسقف القيس

'After three years 'Abd al-'Azîz dismissed the bishops to their sees that they might find means for building two churches at Ḥulwân; and the bishops spent money from their own revenues upon the building; and the governor entrusted the superintendence of the building to Gregory, bishop of Al-Ḳais.' (*Ibid.* p. 135, ll. 4–6.)

[4] The Coptic KAIC. Now in the district of Banî Mazar in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 3,160. In Yâḳût's time it was in ruins.

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§ There is a second monastery, which was restored in the same way. ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz ibn Marwân decreed that a church should be founded for the patriarch Jonas[1] and the bishops; and so this church was founded by the Christian chamberlains of ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz ibn Marwân, in the name of the glorious martyr Saint George. This church was small, and was called the church of the Chamberlains[2]. These Christian chamberlains were Melkites.

Church and Monastery at Dahshûr.

§ The church of Moses, who spoke with God. This is a large and spacious church on the bank of the blessed Nile, near Ḥulwân[3] and Munyat as-Sûdân. (Now the Pharaoh of Moses was Al-Walîd[4] ibn Musʿab.)

§ There is a monastery adjacent to this last-named church. This is a large building, skilfully planned and constructed, and it contains a large number of monks and devout old men. A festival is kept in this monastery, on the 17th of Ṭûbah, every year, in memory of the two saints, so celebrated for their monastic life, Maximus and Domitius, his brother, the sons of the emperor Valentinian[5], and superiors Fol. 53 b

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See Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [pp. 47 and 113]; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 110; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 395–397.

[1] Or John; he occupied the see from A.D. 677 to 686 (?), and was the predecessor of Isaac, and the fortieth of the Coptic patriarchs. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 174–177.

[2] There would seem to be some confusion between this church and that mentioned on fol. 52 a. Both accounts, however, are based on Eutychius, who speaks of the church built by the chamberlains of ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz at Ḥulwân in *Annales* (ed. Pococke), ii. p. 369, and calls it كنيسة الفراشين as here.

[3] We are told a few lines further down that it was at Dahshûr, which is on the western bank, opposite Ḥulwân.

[4] The father of Ar-Rayyân according to most of the Arab historians; see above, fol. 18 b.

[5] The form of the name is corrupt. The two saints are commemorated on Ṭûbah 17=Jan. 20. They are said to have been the sons of the emperor

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of the monastery of Our Lady, named after Baramûs[1], in the desert of Saint Macarius or Wâdî Habîb.

It was the custom among Christian pilgrims to make a pilgrimage to these two saints three times in the year: namely, at the Feast of the Cross, on the 17th of Tût; at the Feast of the Bathing[2], on the 11th of Ṭûbah; and on the Monday of Easter; and the people manifested great joy on account of these saints, and held spiritual communion [with them].

The revenues of this monastery and this church, which are in the district called Dahshûr[3], in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, were composed partly of an income of money and produce, together with the endowments and votive offerings and other receipts. But this state of things was afterwards changed, and disappeared through the disappearance of the good people; and this church became a mosque, and was called the mosque of Moses; and the monastery was entirely inundated by the river.

Church of the Virgin.

Fol. 54 a § There is a church named after Mary, the Pure Virgin. It was restored in the patriarchate of Anbâ Isaac, the forty-first in the succession, by Gregory, bishop of Al-Ḳais. The bricks and timber of this church were taken away, at the time of the victory of the emir

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Valentinian I, and to have been devoted to pious exercises from their youth. After a pilgrimage to Nicaea, the scene of the Council, they determined to become monks, and finally they became disciples of St. Macarius in the desert of Scete. See *Synaxarium* ad diem. In the Bib. Nat. of Paris there is an Arabic life of the two saints.

[1] This famous monastery is still standing.

[2] The Epiphany; see fol. 41 a.

[3] On the western bank; now in the district of Jarzah, in the province of Al-Jîzah, and in 1885 had a population of 1,987. It is celebrated on account of its pyramids. It stands opposite to Ḥulwân, but further to the south. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ١٢٢; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 93.

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Ḥusain ibn al-Ḥâfiẓ and of the quarrel between the Raihânîyah and the Juyûshîyah[1], when many on both sides were killed. With the materials thus seized, the mosque called 'Mosque of the Hyena,' at Iṭfîḥ, was restored, in the lunar year 528 (A. D. 1134). The result was that this church was entirely ruined and fell to the ground.

Monastery of Saint Anthony near the Red Sea.

§ Iṭfîḥ received its name from one of the sons of Mâlîḳ, son of Tadrâs, one of the sons of Mizraim; for most of the large towns are called after the names of their sons. [Iṭfîḥ] travelled towards the west, until he reached the [Sea of] Darkness[2], and beheld many wonders.

§ The monastery named after Saint Anthony[3]. This stands to the east of Iṭfîḥ, and to the south of Miṣr, and from it to the river Nile there

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[1] These two sections of the Egyptian army quarrelled and fought in the reign of Al-Ḥâfiẓ, and his son Ḥusain had much trouble in quelling the riots. See the account in Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ۱۷ ff.

[2] The Atlantic Ocean, called by the Arabs *Aẓ-Ẓulmah* or *Baḥr aẓ-Ẓulumât*, was thought by them to be the western portion of the circumambient ocean. In these dark regions, curiously enough, is placed the Fountain of Life, of which Al-Khiḍr drank and so lives on to the Day of Judgment. (A. J. B.)

[3] Abû Ṣâliḥ now passes from the Nile valley eastward through the desert to the celebrated monastery of St. Anthony, which lies in the mountains towards the Red Sea coast, to the south-east of Cairo, and nearly in lat. 29° N. In *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 342 ff., may be found some remarks on this and the neighbouring monastery of St. Paul. A woodcut of *Dair Anṭâniyûs* is given in Sharpe's *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. p. 350. St. Jerome in his Life of Hilarion gives a brief description of the place, mentioning the gardens with their springs of running water, and the chapel of St. Anthony on the height. For the visit of the Père Sicard, see tome v. pp. 125–200 of *Nouveaux Mém. des Missions du Levant*, Paris, 1725, where there is an interesting plan of *Dair Anṭâniyûs* and *Dair Bûlus*, as well as a map of Egypt. Still earlier is the visit in the seventeenth century of Jean Coppin, a French officer, who published his travels in a work called *Bouclier de l'Europe*, Paris, 1686, 4to, where there is an account of these monasteries on p. 305 ff. Pococke (vol. i. p. 128), besides some brief notes on the two monasteries,

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is a distance of three days' journey through the desert of Al-Ḳulzum. The pure body [of Saint Anthony] lies at this monastery, buried in his cave[1], in which he used to pray; [the body] is walled up within. His church, named after him, stands upon the summit of the holy mountain.

Fol. 54 b This monastery possesses many endowments and possessions at Miṣr. It is surrounded by a fortified wall. It contains many monks. Within the wall there is a large garden[2], containing fruitful palm-trees and apple-trees and pear-trees, and pomegranates and other trees; besides beds of vegetables, and three springs of perpetually-flowing water, with which the garden is irrigated and of which the monks drink. One feddân and a sixth in the garden form a vineyard, which supplies all that is needed; and it is said that the number of the palms which the garden contains amounts to a thousand trees; and there stands in it a large and well-built keep. The cells of the monks overlook this garden. The monastery possesses property and gardens also in Iṭfîḥ. There is nothing like it among the other monasteries inhabited by Egyptian monks. It is in the possession of Jacobite monks.

§ It was in the Egyptian desert that Anbâ Andûnah, the Egyptian, appeared. He was also named Antonios, the Star of the Desert and Father of Monks[3]. He was the first monk who lived in the desert; and

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gives a rude plan which he says was taken from a 'MS. map of the country about them.' Quatremère has some remarks on the monasteries in *Mém.* i. p. 153 ff. In recent times, the late Mr. Greville Chester visited *Dair Anṭâniyûs*, and published a short account of it in pamphlet form. Mr. Headlam, of All Souls College, went to the monastery of St. Anthony and thence, like Coppin, on foot across the mountains to that of St. Paul. (A. J. B.)

[1] The cave of St. Anthony lies high above the monastery on the steep side of the mountain. From it there opens a magnificent view of the Red Sea and Mount Sinai. (A. J. B.)

[2] The gardens are still celebrated for their fertility. They are watered by springs from the mountain, of a slightly brackish kind, and not by wells as are the gardens of the Nitrian desert. See St. Jerome, quoted above. (A. J. B.)

[3] For an account of Anthony and of monasticism in Egypt see Gibbon's well-known chap. 37; Sozomen's *Eccl. Hist.* i. 13, where it is stated that Anthony

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monks gathered together to him. He began the building of monasteries and the assembling of monks in them. This holy monastery [which has been described] was built in the reign of the emperor Julian the apostate, son of the sister of Constantine the believer, and in the reign of Sapor, son of Artaxerxes, son of Babek, the Sassanian. Fol. 55 a

§ This great saint, Anthony, was the first monk who clothed himself in wool, and exhibited the monastic habit, and left the world and dwelt in the deserts. The angel of the Lord also appeared to him, and showed him how to wear the monkish habit[1], and taught him how he must act in dwelling in the desert, that he might be an example to other monks, who should imitate him and live according to his pure life.

§ That emperor of whom we have spoken, I mean Julian, was slain by the martyr Mercurius[2], as it is related by Basil[3], bishop of Caesarea, who saw the similitude of blood on the point of his lance[4]. According to the history of Sa'îd ibn Baṭrîḳ[5], who was patriarch of the Melkites,

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was born at Κομᾶ or Κόμα near Heraclea, and where his life is given; *Bibl. Magna Patrum*, tom. ix. p. 729; Athanasius, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 450 ff.; Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum*, s.v.; Sharpe's *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. p. 274, &c. (A. J. B.)

[1] Hence called the Angelic Habit; see *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 347 and p. 334. (A. J. B.)

[2] This story is related in the legend of St. Mercurius given in *Coptic Churches*, ii. pp. 357–360. (A. J. B.)

[3] The story is not to be found in the works of St. Basil now extant in Greek.

[4] Eutychius relates, on the authority of St. Basil, that the latter was sitting in his room, with a picture of St. Mercurius before him, when it suddenly disappeared from the panel on which it was painted; but that it reappeared an hour later with blood on the point of the lance, much to the astonishment of St. Basil, until he heard that at that very hour Julian had been mysteriously slain. (A. J. B.)

[5] I. e. Eutychius; see the story in his *Annales* (ed. Pococke), i. p. 485, whence Abû Ṣâliḥ has borrowed it. Artaxerxes is, of course, inaccurately put for his descendant Sapor, mentioned a few lines above. Artaxerxes was the founder of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia, and reigned from A. D. 226 to 241. Sapor II reigned from A. D. 310 to 380. The death of Julian was in A. D. 363, whereas the year of Alexander (i. e. of the Seleucian era) 580 would be 267. (A. J. B.)

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this happened in the reign of Artaxerxes, in the year 580 of Alexander, or, according to another copy, in the year 554 of Alexander. The history of Maḥbûb al-Manbajî, son of Constantine, relates the same incident.

With [Anthony] also was Paul[1] the monk; and these two were the first who clothed themselves in woollen garments, and dwelt in
Fol. 55 b the deserts. This was in the patriarchate of Dionysius[2], the fourteenth in the succession. In the time [of Anthony] also lived Athanasius[3], the scribe, patriarch of Alexandria, and Saint Pachomius[4], the Egyptian monk, and Basil, bishop of Caesarea.

In this district [of Iṭfîḥ][5] there are seven churches, of which six

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[1] The name is corruptly written; it probably passed through the stages بولص, بدكس, بدقص, بدقس, بدقش, which are intelligible enough if we suppose that they were the result partly of careless dictation, partly of careless writing from dictation, and partly of careless copying.

Sozomen (vi. 29 and i. 13) mentions two Pauls, viz. (1) a saint who lived at Pherme, a mountain in Scete or the Nitrian desert. There were 500 monks with him. He prayed 300 times a day, and had a bag of pebbles by which to count his orisons—a sort of rosary. (2) Paul, called the Simple, who was a disciple of Anthony and who gave his name to the monastery of St. Paul or *Dair Bûlus*, as it is now called, a day's journey to the south of *Dair Anṭûniyûs*. Abû Ṣâliḥ's account of *Dair Bûlus*—a very scanty one—is given a few pages below. (A. J. B.)

[2] Occupied the see from A. D. 248 (?) to twelfth year of Gallienus, i.e. 264–5. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 32–39. St. Anthony lived from A. D. 251 to 356.

[3] Athanasius was a friend of St. Anthony. His life and writings are too well known to need special reference. (A. J. B.)

[4] A celebrated monk of Tabennesi, called the Father of the Coenobites, because he first gathered the monks together into monasteries. His 'Fifty Rules for the Monastic Life' are given in Migne's *Patres Aegyptii*, p. 948; and Palladius gives his history. See *Acta SS.* for May 14, Rosweyde, Tillemont, and the Coptic life by his disciple Theodore, published in 1889 by M. Amélineau. Pachomius seems to have been born about A. D. 280, and to have died in A. D. 348 or 349. His festival is kept by the Copts on Bashans 14 = May 9. (A. J. B.)

[5] As the road to the monastery of St. Anthony started from Iṭfîḥ or near it,

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belong to the Copts and one to the Armenians; this last is named after the martyr Saint George.

Monastery of Al-Jummaizah.

§ The monastery called the monastery of Al-Jummaizah[1] stands upon the bank of the blessed Nile. Adjacent to it there is a keep, and a garden, and a mill, and a wine-press. It stands near Dahrût[2], and contained, up to our own time, thirty monks.

The Heretic Balûṭus.

§ In the [aforesaid] monastery of Anbâ Andûnah, or Antonios, there was a monk named Balûṭus, learned in the doctrines of the Christian religion and the duties of the monastic life, and skilled in the rules of the canon-law. But Satan caught him in one of his nets; for he began to hold opinions at variance with those taught by the Three Hundred and Eighteen [of Nicaea]; and he corrupted the minds of many of those who had no knowledge or instruction in the orthodox faith. He announced with his impure mouth, in his wicked discourses, that Christ our Lord—to Whom be glory—was like one of the prophets. He associated with the lowest among the followers of his religion, Fol. 56 a

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our author speaks as if the monastery was in close connexion with the town; see above, fol. 10 a.

[1] There are two places of this name: Al-Jummaizah the Great (Al-Kubrâ) and Al-Jummaizah the Little (Aṣ-Ṣughrâ), both near Iṭfîḥ. This monastery is mentioned by Al-Maḳrîzî (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥٠٢), who says it was also called Al-Jûd, and was dedicated to St. Anthony. Perhaps it is identical with the monastery of St. Anthony near the Nile, a little to the south of Iṭfîḥ and therefore not far from Al-Jummaizah; from this monastery provisions were sent to the great monastery of St. Anthony near the Red Sea.

[2] A town about twenty miles below Al-Ḳais, on the west bank, and not far from Al-Bahnasâ; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٦٢٢; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 113]. It does not seem to be in existence now. As the place is at some distance from Al-Jummaizah, and on the opposite bank of the river, perhaps our author or his abbreviator has here confused two monasteries.

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clothed as he was in the monastic habit, girded with the *zûnîyah* and the *askîm*[1]. When he was questioned as to his religion and his creed, he professed himself a believer in the Unity of God[2]. His doctrines prevailed during a period which ended in the year 839 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1123); then he died, and his memory was cut off for ever.

Churches at Al-Barnîl and Ṣaul.

§ In the district of Al-Barnîl[3] there is a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Beside it there is another named after the saint Abû 'l-Ârah[4].

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[1] I have already explained that by the *askîm* is meant properly the *σχῆμα ἀγγελικόν* or angelic habit, but it sometimes denotes merely the leathern girdle, as Al-Maḳrîzî says:

الاشكيم وهو سير من جلد فيه صليب يتوشح به الرهبان

'The askîm, which is a leathern belt with a cross upon it, and with which the monks gird themselves.' (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥٠٨.)

The wearer of this girdle has, nowadays, for the time being to double his offices and make 600 daily prostrations. The order made by St. Pachomius for the monkish habit enjoined the use of a sleeveless cassock—*χιτὼν ἀχειρίδωτος*, a hood—*σκέπασμα* or *κουκούλιον*, a girdle—*ζώνη*—the *zûnîyah* of the text, and the *ἀναβολεύς*, which is defined as *τοὺς ὤμους καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἀνέχων*, and seems to have been a sort of scarf worn across the shoulders (Sozomen, iii. c. 14). But the Père Sicard seems to identify the angelic habit with this *ἀναβολεύς*. He says that the habit is a sort of 'pallium ou scapulaire' of leather, called the *askîm*; that it falls from the shoulders over the back and chest and has four ends worked with crosses, and that these ends are disposed crosswise over the body in various fashions. (*Nouv. Mém. des Missions dans le Levant*, v. p. 150.) (A. J. B.)

[2] Or 'a Unitarian.' (A. J. B.)

[3] Yâḳût sets this place on the eastern bank of the Nile, but says no more about it. It does not seem to be in existence now, but was presumably between Iṭfîḥ and Ṣaul. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ad voc.

[4] I can only conjecture that this saint is the martyred priest of Shatnûf, Abâ Ârî (ابا ارى), commemorated in the *Synaxarium* on Misrî 9=Aug. 2. See Hyvernat, *Actes des MM. de l'Égypte*, p. 202 ff. Cf. Amélineau, *Actes des MM. coptes*, p. 151.

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In the district of Ṣaul[1] there is a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary.

There is also a church named after the glorious and valiant martyr Theodore, the Eastern[2].

There is also a church to the glorious Saint John[3].

Churches at Iṭfîḥ.

Moreover in the district of Iṭfîḥ, in the city and outside it, there were more than twenty churches; but only ten of them remain to the present time. One of these is a church in the district of Bâlûjah[4], named after the Disciples, and enclosed within a fortified wall; it has a garden, and a water-wheel attached to a well of fresh running water. [In this district is] the church of Saint Mercurius; and a church of the Lady, which belongs to the monks; and a church named after the valiant martyr Theodore; and a church named after Saint Cosmas; and a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin; and a church named after the saint Aba Jûl[5]; and a church of the martyr Saint

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[1] On the east bank, to the south of Iṭfîḥ; the place is now included in the district of Iṭfiḥ (Aṭfîḥ), in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, and in 1885 had a population of 3,184. See Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٣٢٥; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 296.

[2] This saint, whose festival is kept on Ṭûbah 12=Jan. 4, is very popular among the Copts. Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 179 ff.; *Synaxarium*, ad diem. He fought in the Roman army against the Persians together with St. Theodore of Shuṭb, with whom he is probably confused, and was martyred under Licinius.

[3] It is impossible to say to which St. John this church was dedicated, since there are several saints of that name. One of them is 'St. John of the Golden Gospel' (صاحب الانجيل الذهب), commemorated on Abîb 16=July 10, who had the gospels written out for him in golden letters. (A. J. B.)

[4] There is some difficulty about this town, which Al-Maḳrîzî places close to Daljah, i. e. on the west bank, to the west of Mallawî and Ushmûnain (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥٠٥), whereas our author seems to set it on the east bank, near Iṭfîḥ.

[5] Aba Jûl is without doubt a corrupt form of Aba Bajûl, the Coptic ⲁⲡⲁ

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Fol. 56 b Mennas, called the 'Church of the Column,' over which is a sheet of metal, and to which many votive offerings are brought. The Melkites have a sanctuary in this last-named church, in which they celebrate the liturgy. There is also another church named after the martyr Saint Mennas, near the ancient temple[1].

§ There is another monastery in the desert, called the monastery of the Mule[2], containing many monks.

Monastery of Saint Paul near the Red Sea.

§ Within the desert is the monastery of Saint Paul[3]. It stands on the bank of the Salt Sea[4], and between it and the monastery of Al-Jummaizah there is a journey of two days through the desert. Monks in priest's orders and deacons come from the monastery of the great Saint Anthony to the monastery [of Saint Paul] to celebrate

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ⲡⲭⲱⲗ or ⲡⲥⲱⲗ, the name of a celebrated hermit, the first teacher or religious superior of St. Sinuthius. See Zoega, *Cat.* p. 375; Amélineau, *Mém. pour servir à l'hist. de l'Église chrét. au 4 et 5 siècles*, p. 5.

[1] The notice of an ancient temple, such as is denoted by the term *birbá*, existing in the twelfth century near Iṭfîḥ, as Abû Ṣâliḥ apparently implies, is interesting, and may be of use to explorers. It is said that there are no ancient remains there now. (A. J. B.)

[2] According to Al-Maḳrîzî (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥٠٩) this was another name for the monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair, in connexion with which our author has already told the story of the mule; see fol. 50 a.

[3] This is the famous monastery of St. Paul (*Dair Búlus*), of which I have spoken above, near the Red Sea and almost a day's journey beyond St. Anthony. St. Jerome, in the Life of Hilarion, quotes St. Anthony's disciples, Amathas and Macarius, as stating that Paul the Theban was the real author of monasticism —'principem ejus rei fuisse non nominis'—if the reading is right; and St. Jerome professes his own agreement with that opinion; although St. Anthony is generally called, as by Abû Ṣâliḥ, the 'father of monks.' (A. J. B.)

[4] The sea is called البحر المالح in distinction from البحر without an epithet, which might mean simply a river or canal, and in Egypt generally means 'the Nile.'

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the liturgy in it by turns. It stands in the Wâdî 'l-'Arabah[1], near the pool of Miriam; and it is near Mount Sinai, but divided from it by the passage over the Salt Sea.

Al-'Arîsh.

§ The region of Al-'Arîsh. In this region there are two large churches, which have stood here from ancient times, and are now in ruins, but their walls remain up to our own time; and the wall of the city[2], which ran along the side of the Salt Sea, is still existing.

It is said that of all the marble and columns which are to be found at Miṣr, the greater part and the largest specimens came from Al-'Arîsh.

Al-Faramâ.

§ The city of Al-Faramâ. This city was built by Pharaoh[3], on the river Nile, in the twenty-eighth year after the birth of Moses

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[1] The Wâdî 'l-'Arabah is a valley running from west to east between the Nile and the Red Sea. The 'pool of Miriam' is a name given by our author to a spring which bursts out of the rock behind the monastery of St. Anthony and supplies it with water, and in which Miriam, the sister of Moses, is said to have bathed at the time of the Exodus (Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٥٠٢; cf. Murray's *Guide*, p. 324).

[2] It is interesting to know that remains of the ancient Rhinocolura existed in the time of Abû Ṣâliḥ. The columns at Miṣr would be mostly those used in the construction of the Christian churches and of the mosques. These columns were taken from classical buildings, and were not cut or designed during the middle ages. The use of columns for building is illustrated by the well-known story of Ibn Ṭûlûn and the Christian architect who built his mosque; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٢١٥ ff., and S. Lane-Poole's *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, p. 54. (A. J. B.)

[3] Champollion justly points out that the towns denoted by the modern Arabic names are not as a rule on the actual site of the ancient towns which they represent, and argues that Al-Faramâ was rebuilt by the Arabs nearer to the sea than the ancient Pelusium, which is said by Strabo to have been 2,040 yards from the sea,

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the prophet; and its name was taken from Faramûnus[1]. It was exceedingly wonderful, and one of the most ancient of foundations of which there is a record. It is said that there was a way from this
Fol. 57 a city to the island of Cyprus on dry land, but the sea covered it. The sea also covered the quarry of black and white marble of Gaza, and the quarry of white marble which was in Libya[2]. There were at Al-Faramâ many churches and monasteries, which were wrecked by the Persians[3] and the Arabs; but it is said that the wall of the city remains to the present day.

§ The book of *Faḍâ'il Miṣr*[4] relates that there was in the city of Tinnîs a governor called Ibn al-Mudabbar, who sent men to Al-Faramâ to pull down the stonework of the gateways on the eastern side of that city. But when those who were sent to extract the stones arrived, the people of Al-Faramâ went out armed to meet them, and forbad them to extract the stones, saying: 'These gates are ancient and have never been injured by any king or any other man; how then can we allow you to extract the stones from them, and take them away to another country? It was through these gates also that Jacob, the father of

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and is put by Champollion at 3,000 yards. Abû Ṣâliḥ states above that the Arab town was on the sea (fol. 19 b); Al-Maḳrîzî is evidently wrong in placing it at the distance of a day's journey. Al-Faramâ was occupied by 'Amr on his way to the conquest of Egypt. Subsequently it was refortified by the caliph Al-Mutawakkil about A. D. 853; and about 1117, as Abû Ṣâliḥ records, it was taken by Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, who, being unable to hold it, laid it in ruins and retired. See Hamaker, *Incerti auctoris Expugnatio Memphidis*, pp. 16, 17; Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. pp. 82–87; Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 259. (A. J. B.)

[1] This is evidently a transcription of the Coptic Pheremoun or Baramoun. Both the Coptic name and the Greek Πηλούσιον, as well as the modern Arabic designation At-Tîh, have the connotation of 'mud.' (A. J. B.)

[2] This account of Al-Faramâ is borrowed from Al-Kindî; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ۲۱۱.

[3] During the invasion of Chosroes; see Patriarchal History, Brit. Mus. MS. *Or.* 12,000, p. 101.

[4] By Al-Kindî. Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ۲۱۲), who quotes Ibn Ḳudaid.

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the tribes, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham the Friend [of God] —upon them be peace!—made his entry[1]; and if perchance one of the kings who believe in God shall undertake to restore the gates, then their stones shall be found safe and in their places.' So the men went away and did not displace a single stone.

Ishmael.

§ It was Ûṭîs[2], the son of Khartabâ, who gave to Sarah, the wife of Abraham the Friend [of God], her handmaid Hagar, in the thirty-fifth year of the life of Abraham; or, according to another copy, in the eighty-fifth; and the latter is the true date. By Hagar, Abraham became the father of Ishmael, who was called his son by Hagar; and the Arabs call Ishmael their ancestor, because he took a wife from among them; and they are called Ishmaelites, because Ishmael was their father, and because Ishmael grew up among the Arabs and spoke the Arabic language. Ishmael lived one hundred and thirty-nine years[3]. He had, by his Arab wives, twelve sons[4], who Fol. 57 b

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[1] The allusion is, although somewhat incorrectly made, to the Koran, *Sûrah Yûsuf*, ver. 67, where Jacob says to his sons when they are about to journey to Egypt:

يَا بَنِيَّ لَا تَدْخُلُوا مِن بَابٍ وَاحِدٍ وَادْخُلُوا مِنْ أَبْوَابٍ مُتَفَرِّقَةٍ

'My sons, do not enter by a single gate, but enter by different gates.' Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢١٢. Cf. the Midrash Rabbah on Gen., Par. 91 (quoted by Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* p. 148):

אמר להם יעקב אל תפנסו כלכם בפתח אחת

'Jacob said to them: Do not all of you assemble at one gate.'

[2] We have here another of our author's digressions. Ûṭîs is the ancient king of Egypt who is named Afṭûṭîs on fol. 22 b; see note there.

[3] The Hebrew text and the LXX have 137 years.

[4] See Gen. xxv. 13–15. The Arab writers naturally give somewhat corrupt forms of their names; see e.g. Ibn Isḥâḳ quoted by Ibn Hishâm, *Sîrah Muḥammad*, p. ٣٠.

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were great giants among the Arabs; and they were the [heads of] tribes. And Nabish[1] was one of the sons of Ishmael. Now he, I mean Ûṭîs, dwelt at Al-Faramâ. His name is also said to have been Sâdûk. He built many cities, and called them by the names of his sons: such as Tinnîs and Damietta and Nûbah[2] and Daḳahlah[3]; and he rebuilt Samannûd. It is said that Pharaoh built Al-Faramâ, which was a lake of water; and a thousand boats were sunk in it, and the sea overwhelmed a thousand men, and therefore it was called *Alfa ramâ*[4].

Cleopatra, queen of Alexandria, built the wall of *Al-Ḥujûz*[5], on the eastern side of the country, from Nubia to Al-Faramâ, and on the western side from Nubia to Alexandria, to fortify herself against Augustus Caesar, emperor of the Romans, who captured Jerusalem, and carried the Jews away thence to Rome.

Invasion of Egypt by Baldwin I.

Sîrbâduwîl[6], king of the Franks in Syria, came to Al-Faramâ in

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[1] This is the form given by Ibn Isḥâḳ; the Hebrew is Nâphîsh (נָפִישׁ); see Gen. xxv. 15.

[2] Nûbah or 'the Nubians' is the name of a tribe, not of a town.

[3] The Coptic ⲧⲕⲉϩⲗⲁ. It is the town which gives its name to the province of Ad-Daḳahlîyah in the Delta. It stands between Damietta and Damîrah, on the east bank of the Damietta branch, in the district of Faraskûr, and in 1885 had 1,197 inhabitants, having much sunk from its former importance. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٥٨١; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 509 f.

[4] 'It cast a thousand;' the etymology reminds us of Virgil's derivation of Latium, 'his quoniam latuisset in oris.' (A. J. B.)

[5] The *Ḥâ'iṭ al-Ḥujûz* or 'barrier-wall,' generally called *Ḥâ'iṭ al-'Ajûz* or *Jisr al-'Ajûz*, 'wall' or 'dyke of the old woman,' has already been mentioned on fol. 19 b. It was generally said to have been built in remote antiquity by a queen called Dalûkah; and our author's statement that Cleopatra built it to fortify herself against Augustus, is probably borrowed from Eutychius; see *Annales*, i. p. 301.

[6] I.e. *Sieur Baudouin* or Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem from A.D. 1100 to 1118.

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the caliphate of Al-Âmir and the vizierate of Shâhanshâh al-Afḍal, in the fifteenth year of the patriarchate of Anbâ Macarius[1], the sixty-ninth in the succession. This king of the Franks came with his troops and his army, and plundered the city, and burnt it. He made up his mind to march as far as Miṣr, in order to take possession of that city; but he fell sick at Al-Faramâ on the third day after his arrival, and, as his sickness increased, he commanded his followers to carry him back to Syria. They did as he commanded them, and when he came near to Al-'Arîsh he died; and so they embalmed him, and carried him back to Jerusalem, where he was buried. Fol. 58 a

Al-Ḳulzum.

§ Al-Ḳulzum[2] was the fortress of the king, on the frontier bordering upon the Hedjaz, and he named it after the cord of the weaver's stand, which holds the garment, and which is called *ḳulzum*[3]. Here is the church of Athanasius[4]. There is a monastery in the district of Rânah, founded by the emperor Justinian. At Al-Ḳulzum was the end of the canal from Cairo. Here, between the two seas, namely the Syrian Sea and the Sea of the Hedjaz, is the barrier or isthmus, which is the narrowest piece of dry land on the surface of the earth; and it is the land lying between Al-Faramâ and Al-Ḳulzum, a distance of one day and one night's journey. A certain prince[5] undertook to dig a canal between

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[1] Occupied the see from November A. D. 1103 to 1129; see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 483–500. His fifteenth year therefore corresponds with A. D. 1118, the year of Baldwin's invasion of Egypt and of his death.

[2] See above, fol. 19 b.

[3] I. e., as Professor Margoliouth suggests, the Greek κλῶσμα.

[4] Anbâ Siyûs is incorrectly written for Atanâsiyûs or Athanasius. His death is commemorated on Misrî 29 (Aug. 22). See *Synaxarium* at that day. Eutychius names the church of St. Athanasius at Al-Ḳulzum, and states that it was built by order of the emperor Justinian; see *Annales*, ii. p. 163.

[5] It might be thought that this refers to the canal of Pharaoh Necho, who is said to have been warned by an oracle that his enterprise would only help the

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these two places, in order that the two seas might be connected, the one with the other; but he feared that the Romans might attack the shores of the Hedjaz with their ships.

§ Al-Faramâ is surrounded by a fortified wall of stone without gates, which is in a state of ruin.

§ It is said that it was in the sea of Al-Ḳulzum, which is the Red Sea, opposite to the monastery of Anthony, that God drowned Pharaoh and his host, and led the prophet Moses and the children of
Fol. 58 b Israel over on dry land by twelve paths; and some of them remain to this day, and witnesses to them are not wanting[1]; and this sea is the *Baḥr Sûf*[2].

§ The history of Sa'îd ibn Baṭrîḳ, the Melkite, relates[3] that the dearth was raging at Medina, near Mecca, and the people of Medina, of the Hanîfite religion, were in great distress; so 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, in the eighth year of his caliphate, wrote from the Hedjaz to 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî ibn 'Adî, emir of Egypt, to inform him of this. Then 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî sent to 'Umar a caravan of camels loaded with corn, for which the point of arrival was Medina, and the point of departure Miṣr. Then 'Umar wrote to 'Amr commanding him to dig a canal to Al-Ḳulzum, that thus the transport of the corn might be facilitated. So 'Amr dug the canal, which passes through Al-Ḳantarah, and is called the canal of the Prince of the Faithful; and thus boats brought wheat and barley from Al-Fusṭâṭ along the canal to Al-Ḳulzum, whence they

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barbarians, i.e. Phoenicians. But all ambiguity is removed by a passage in Al-Mas'ûdî (quoted by Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 175), who states that the caliph Hârûn ar-Rashîd contemplated making a canal across the isthmus, but was deterred by the representation that the Greeks would take advantage of it to gain command of the Gulf of Suez and attack the pilgrim ships on their way towards the holy places of Arabia. (A. J. B.)

[1] It would seem that these two clauses refer to the army of Pharaoh, some relics of which are said to have remained.

[2] I. e. the Hebrew יַם־סוּף.

[3] See Eutychius, *Annales*, ii. p. 321. This canal of Cairo, or *Khalîj Amîr al-Mu'minîn*, has already been spoken of on fol. 24.

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were carried over the Salt Sea to Medina, which is the city of Afram, belonging to the diocese of Al-Ḳulzum, and the children of Israel built it for Pharaoh at that time.

It is said that the canal[1] of Cairo starts from the dam near [the island of] Rauḍah at Miṣr, and finishes at As-Sadîr, in the province of Ash-Sharḳîyah, where there is a bridge, and where the wheat is transferred from the bank to the dealer who travels to Mecca and the Hedjaz.

Churches in the Province of Al-Jîzah.

§ The western bank [of the Nile]. The province of Al-Jîzîyah[2]. The fortress of Al-Jîzah was built by 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî, in the year 22 of the Hegira (A. D. 43), and was completed for the Hamdân[3]. This last is [the name of] an Arab tribe who settled there at the time of the conquest of Alexandria. Fol. 59 a

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[1] The present canal or *khalîj* was doubtless the old *Amnis Trajanus*, and it starts from the Nile, as described, at the *Fum al-Khalîj*, near the island of Rauḍah. Yâḳût (*Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٥٩) speaks of As-Sadîr as a marshy district on the eastern boundary of Egypt, being the first place arrived at by one coming to that country from Syria; and he adds that he had visited the place himself. Abû Ṣâliḥ means, I suppose, that the canal at the time of his writing, in the twelfth century, was still available for merchandise as far as As-Sadîr, from which point transport to the east had to be made by camel. The greater part of the canal was disused as early as the eighth century, when the caliph Al-Manṣûr is said to have filled it up. (A. J. B.)

[2] Al-Jîzah, now pronounced Ghîzah, is the name of the town or village on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Cairo, and it gives its name to the province. The Coptic name of Al-Jîzah was ⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥⲏⲥ or ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲓⲟⲓ. (A. J. B.)

[3] The caliph 'Umar warned the Muslims not to allow any great river to intervene between them and their home in Arabia, so that if they had to flee back to their native country there might be no obstacle in their way; but in spite of this the tribe of Hamdân insisted on settling at Al-Jîzah on the further side of the Nile, and 'Amr built a fort for them there. See As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٨١.

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In the western part of Al-Jîzîyah are the tombs of the kings[1] or Pharaohs, in which are their treasures, all traces of which have been effaced.

In this district [of Al-Jîzah] is the church of the martyr Victor, son of Romanus[2], on the bank of the river; it was built at the expense of Abû 'l-Khair aṣ-Ṣairafî, a native of Al-Jîzah. A light was seen to proceed from the picture of the Lady in the apse of this church on several occasions; and this thing became celebrated, and was talked of by many of the faithful who had witnessed it, and by other persons of authority. The foundations of this church were inundated by the river, so that it almost fell into ruin; but it was restored, and its foundations were strengthened, and an enclosure in the river was built for it, to give it strength, by the Shaikh 'Izz al-Kufât Abû 'l-Fakhr ibn Sulaimân, the scribe, who spent much money upon it. This [shaikh] was celebrated in his time for his benevolence and his almsgiving. The Ghuzz and Kurds destroyed part of the aforesaid church; but God on this account performed a great wonder, so that they never attacked it again; and this was that by the end of the year not one of those who had attacked the church was living.

Fol. 59 b Adjacent to this church there is a garden. After a time the river gained upon the building; and the architects were unable to invent any remedy, so that the river carried away the eastern side of the building. Then Fakhr ad-Dîn, the wâlî of Miṣr, known as Ghulâm al-Bâniyâsî, carried off eighteen pillars, marked with the sign of the cross[3]; and he built with them an inn and other houses for himself; but he was deprived of the governorship of Miṣr, and was fined soon after this, and all his property was seized to pay the fine; and he died during his imprisonment.

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[1] The pyramids are, of course, intended. (A. J. B.)

[2] The name is corruptly written here, but all other authorities make it Romanus; see *Synaxarium* (Paris MS. *Arabe* 256), which has رومانوس; Zoega, *Cat.* p. 239, &c.; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 177 ff.

[3] This allusion to consecration crosses cut or painted on the pillars is interesting. See *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 188, &c. (A. J. B.)

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The house of Fakhr al-Kufât[1] stood by the river; and he feared lest the river should destroy it, as it had destroyed the rest; so he pulled it down, and carried away all the materials and the timber, and the timber of the roof of the church which has been described, with its materials, and rebuilt with them a church which had fallen into ruin, and which was named after Mark[2] the Evangelist. This building he made wider and handsomer than the former church; and it remained for several years in good order, until the Ghuzz and the mob of Muslims attacked it and wrecked it; and after that no one restored it again; but its walls are still standing, in a ruined state, and it is deprived of liturgies and prayers. This destruction took place at the promotion of Anbâ John, son of Abû Ghâlib, the seventy-fourth patriarch.

§ There is a church of Saint Peter at Al-Jîzah, on the bank of the Nile, the foundations of which are in the river. It was in this church that the Christians assembled, at a time when the Nile was slow in rising; and they offered prayers on this account by night and by day, and fasted for the space of a whole week; and at the end of the week God filled up the measure of the waters of the Nile, and they increased beyond that, after the rising of Arcturus, until they reached a height of seventeen cubits or more; and the *Life of Anbâ Michael* states that they reached[3] eighteen cubits; and men ceased to despair of the **Fol. 60 a**

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[1] 'Izz al-Kufât.

[2] Mentioned by Al-Maḳrîzî, and by the Copto-Arabic lists (Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 578 and 580).

[3] I have inserted these two clauses here instead of lower down, where the copyist has misplaced them in the text. The history of this rise of the Nile in answer to the prayers of the Christians is borrowed by our author from the Life of Michael the forty-sixth patriarch, by John the Deacon, included in the patriarchal biographies. This writer describes the assembly of bishops at Al-Fusṭâṭ, according to the custom which prescribed that all the bishops should meet the patriarch in synod, twice in the year; and having stated that the Nile had not risen that year above fourteen cubits, he adds:

ولما كان السابع عشر من توت يوم عيد الصليب المجيد جمع كهنة الجيزة والنزهات واكثر اهل الفسطاط والكبير والصغير من شعبه وحملوا الاناجيل ومباخر البخور ودخلنا الى البيعة الكبيرة

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rising of the Nile. Then Nârûn, the wâlî of Miṣr, said: 'How does God receive the prayers of the Christians!'

At Al-Jîzah there is also a church named after the angel Michael, near to which lies the village of Al-Khaizarânîyah. It was to this

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القتالويكى التى على اسم القديس بطرس وكان اساسها فى البحر ولم تكن البيعة تسع الناس من كثرتهم حتى انهم كانوا فى الغيطان والمواضع ورفع البطرك الصليب وكان معه انبا مينا اسقف منف والانجيل المقدس معه وخرجنا جميعنا ونحن حاملين الصليب والانجيل المقدس ووقفنا على شاطى البحر قبل طلوع الشمس وصلى الاب البطريرك وانبا مينا الاسقف ولم يزال الشعب صارخين كرياليصون الى ثلاثة ساعات من النهار حتى نهت جميع الجموع من اليهود والمسلمين وغيرهم من صراخنا الى الله سبحانه وتعالى فسمع جل اسمه الكريم وطلع البحر وزاد ذراع واحد ومجد كل احد الله وشكره ولما اتصل الخبر بنارون تعجب وخاف هو وجميع عسكره

'When the 17th of Tût came, which is the festival of the Glorious Cross, the clergy of Al-Jîzah and of distant places assembled, with most of the lay people of Al-Fusṭâṭ, old and young, and walked in procession carrying the Gospels and censers with incense. Then we entered the great cathedral church of St. Peter, the foundations of which lie in the river; but the church could not contain the people on account of their multitude, so that they stood in the outlying places. Then the patriarch raised the cross, while Anbâ Mennas, bishop of Memphis, stood by him with the holy Gospel, and led us all forth, bearing crosses and books of the Gospel, until we stood on the banks of the river; and this was before sunrise. And the patriarch prayed, and Anbâ Mennas, the bishop, prayed, and the laity did not cease crying *Kyrie eleison* until the third hour of the day; so that all the Jews and Muslims and others heard our cries to the most high God. And he heard us, praise be to his glorious name; for the river rose and increased in height by one cubit; and every man glorified God and gave thanks to him. And when Nârûn heard of this matter he was filled with wonder and fear, both he and all his troops.' (Paris MS. *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 183, ll. 5–14.)

Cf. Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 230, where he wrongly says that the church of St. Peter was at Miṣr. Al-Maḳrîzî also mentions the event.

The subsequent rise to the height of eighteen cubits is mentioned in the MS. just quoted on p. 180, l. 7.

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church [of the angel Michael] that Anbâ Michael, the forty-sixth patriarch, came with the bishops who were his fellow-prisoners, when they were released from the hand of Marwân al-Ja'dî, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs. Afterwards the river inundated this church, and not a trace of it remained.

§ The monastery named after the glorious martyr Mercurius. The church belonging to it was destroyed by the Khorassanians[1], when they were transported to the western bank of the river, in order to fight with Marwân, surnamed the Ass of War[2].

§ There is a church of Mark[3], the evangelist and apostle, in the fort built by Khûsh[4], king of the Persians, at the same time as the *Ḳaṣr ash-Shama'* at Miṣr. The king used to alight at both of them from his boat. Fol. 60 b

§ The church of the angel Michael, also called the Red Monastery[5], is on the bank of the blessed Nile. In this monastery there is a church named after Cosmas and Damian, which has a conspicuous dome of stone.

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[1] The best account of the attack upon Marwân made by the Khorassanian troops of the Abbaside caliph As-Saffâḥ is given by the contemporary witness, John the Deacon, in the life of Michael just quoted.

[2] This *sobriquet* alluded to his vigour and tenacity.

[3] This must be the church already mentioned on fol. 59 b.

[4] I. e. Artaxerxes Ochus. The name is shortened from اخوس, and the points over the ش are, of course, incorrect. Eutychius, after mentioning Artaxerxes Mnemon, says:

وملك بعده ابنه ارطخشاست ويسما اخوس

'And after him reigned his son Artaxerxes, called Ochus.' Further down Eutychius says:

وبنا اخوس ملك الفرس بفسطاط مصر القصر المعروف اليوم بقصر الشمع

'And Ochus, king of the Persians, built at Fusṭâṭ Miṣr the fort which is now called *Ḳaṣr ash-Shama'*.' (*Annales*, i. p. 267.)

[5] This must still be in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, and is not to be confounded with the Red Monastery of Upper Egypt.

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Al-Khaizarânîyah[1]. Here is the church of Saint Poemen, [the garden of] which contains fruitful palm-trees and an arbour of trees[2].

Munyat Andûnah[3]. Here there is the church of the saint Abû Bîmah[4]; and a church named after Abû Baghâm[5], the

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[1] This village or district was, as we have been told a few lines above, contiguous to Al-Jîzah. Both the locality and its church of St. Poemen are named in the Copto-Arabic lists (Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 578 and 580), thus

ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲓⲁⲁⲓⲙ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ : انبا بمين بالخزرانية

'[Church of] Saint Poemen at Pouhît or Al-Khazrânîyah.' M. Amélineau, in spite of his study of Abû Ṣâliḥ, has not discovered the mention of this place and church in our author, and therefore is totally at a loss as to the position of Al-Khazranîyah, or Al-Khaizarânîyah (*op. cit.* p. 363). The name of St. Poemen, M. Amélineau assures us, is translated into Greek [sic] by 'Pastor'!

[2] انشاب, put by a clerical error for انصاب, seems to denote trees, and is probably the Syriac ܐܝܚܐ.

[3] This village, on the west bank, a little to the south of Al-Jîzah, is said to have been named after a Christian scribe of Aḥmad al-Madâ'inî, whose riches excited the cupidity of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, so that he fined him 50,000 dinars. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٠٨.

[4] In Coptic ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲁⲉ, which is more correctly transcribed in Arabic as 'Abâ Abîmah.' He was a celebrated martyr, born at Pankoleus in the nome of Pemje or Al-Bahnasâ. Pankoleus appears to be the same as Jalfah, which is mentioned by our author on fol. 73 b and 74 a; see Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 96. Epime or Abîmah was a landed proprietor and the chief of his townsmen. In the persecution of Diocletian, he was ordered to bring forth the presbyters of the town and to hand over the sacred vessels, but answered that there were no permanent priests there, and that the vessels were of glass. The saint was sent to Alexandria, where Armenius, the governor, condemned him, it is said, to be thrown into a furnace at the baths, from which he emerged unhurt; but finally he was beheaded, after manifold tortures, at Ahnâs. His life was written by Julius of Aḳfahs; and his festival is kept on Abîb 8=July 2. See *Synaxarium* at that day; Zoega, *Cat.* p. 22; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 134.

[5] A soldier in the time of Diocletian, who, on account of his adoption of Christianity, was scourged and afterwards put to death. His festival is on Kîhak 2=Nov. 28.

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martyr, whose body lies within it, although his monastery is at Suyûṭ[1].

§ Wadâb al-Kûm. Here is one church.

§ Bunumrus[2] or Ḳaṣr Khâḳân. There is here a church named after the holy martyr Saint George, which was restored by 'Ilm aṣ-Ṣarf Abû 'l-Makârim al-Wizân bi 'sh-Shafâ'if; and within it there is a tablet of wood fastened with thread.

§ Bûlâḳ[3]. Here is the church of Saint George, beside which grows an ancient lotus-tree; and the church of the valiant martyr Theodore.

At Mukhnân[4] there is a single church.

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[1] Suyûṭ or Usyûṭ, now more commonly called Asyûṭ, is the largest town in Upper Egypt, since it contained, in 1885, 31,398 inhabitants. It is the Coptic ⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩⲧ and the classical Lycopolis; and it is now, as it was in the time of our author, the capital of a province. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 466.

[2] Called Abû 'n-Numrus by Al-Maḳrîzî and others. It is now in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jîzah, and had in 1885 a population of 2,593 inhabitants, besides 299 Bedouins. It was called in Coptic ⲡⲟⲙⲛⲟⲙⲣⲟⲥ, and the Arabic form with ابو is, of course, the result of a popular assimilation to other names compounded with that word. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 361 f.

[3] I. e. Bûlâḳ ad-Dakrûr. The suburb of Cairo named Bulâḳ was not founded until A. D. 1313; see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ١٣٠.

[4] This place, the Coptic ⲙⲟϫⲟⲛⲟⲛ, lay in the province of Al-Jîzah, a little to the north of Cairo, on the east side of the Rosetta branch of the Nile, and was sometimes called Mukhnân Munâ 'l-Amîr, as being close to the latter place. M. Amélineau's article on the name consists of the following words: 'Mokhonon, ⲙⲟϫⲟⲛⲟⲛ, مخنان. Ce nom se trouve dans la liste des églises de l'Égypte, qui est publiée à la fin de cet ouvrage. Il devait sans doute faire partie de la banlieue du Caire, comme la plupart des lieux cités dans cette liste. Il n'a pas laissé de traces dans l'Égypte contemporaine, et était même déjà perdu dans le xiv^e^ siècle' (*Géogr.* p. 585). It is remarkable that M. Amélineau here disregards the testimony of our author himself, of Yâḳût, and of the revenue-list published by De Sacy, although he expressly states that he has had recourse to these very authorities for the composition of his book. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٨٨١; De Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, p. 676.

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Munâ 'l-Amîr[1]. Here there is a single church.

Tamhâ. Here is the church of the martyr Theodore, which was restored by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman al-Bazzâz, who paid the expenses of it.

§ Wasîm[2]. Here is the church of the Lady, restored by the priest George, of Upper Egypt, scribe of Al-Ustâdh Ṣandal al-Muẓaffarî. It is said that there were at Wasîm 366 churches, in which the liturgy was celebrated every day, and to which priests and deacons were attached; at which also the laity congregated.

Fol. 61 a § Al-Muḥarraḳah[3], contiguous to Bunumrus. Here there is an extensive church, and a large monastery containing many monks.

Monastery of Nahyâ.

§ The following is the history of the monastery of Nahyâ[4], as I learnt it from Sa'îd the deacon, son of Najâḥ, who was a novice

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[1] See above, fol. 34 b. Near Mukhnân, and now included in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jîzah, with a population in 1885 of 2,935. *Munâ* (مُنًى) is the plural of *Munyah*, and the place in question was sometimes called in the singular Munyat al-Amîr. Nevertheless M. Amélineau writes it 'Mînâ al-Emîr' (مينا الامير), as if it were compounded with the Arabic مينا, 'harbour.' The modern pronunciation *Mina* (مِنَى, less correctly مِينا) arises from the present vocalization of the singular as Minyah (مِنْيَة). De Sacy transcribes the name as Mona al-Amîr. The place is called in Coptic ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲙⲏⲣⲉ. See Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. ۴۰۱; De Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, p. 676; *Recensement de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 218; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 256 f.

[2] On the west bank of the Nile, near Cairo, a little to the north-west. It is now called Ausîm, and gives its name to a district of the province of Al-Jîzah. In 1885 it had 7,170 inhabitants. In Coptic it is ⲃⲟⲩⲥⲓⲙ. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ۱۲۹; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 51 ff.

[3] This village, if correctly placed here, must not be confounded with Al-Muḥarraḳah at Ḳûsaḳâm, named on fol. 78 a.

[4] A little to the west of Al-Jîzah, in the same province, and now, with a population of 3,914, included in the district of Wasîm (Ausîm). See Yâḳût,

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[there], and a native of the town of Nahyâ, when I visited the monastery in the month of Shauwâl, in the year 569 (A. D. 1173), at the feast of the holy Pentecost, in order to receive the communion there. He said that he had found, in a chronicle[1], the statement that this holy monastery was erected by a merchant, who had come to Egypt from the west, when he arrived at Miṣr[2] from the frontier district of Alexandria, before the reign of Diocletian, the unbeliever, who shed the blood of the martyrs, and commanded the people to serve idols, and slay victims for them, and offer them up to them, and burn incense to them. That merchant had come from the west forty years before these things happened.

When Al-Mu'izz li-dîni 'llâh came from Western Africa, and took possession of Egypt[3], he encamped beneath the walls of this monastery, and stayed there seven months, and laid out in front of it a garden, with a well and water-wheel, at the foot of the hill to the west of the sycamore-tree, besides constructing a cistern for the convenience of travellers. This well is now filled up, and the cistern is disused. Subsequently [Al-Mu'izz] entered Miṣr. At the present day the garden is a waste, and there is nothing left in it except the roots of sycamores and lotus-trees.

Geogr. Wört. iv. p. ٨٥٢ ; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 258. This was one of the monasteries of Egypt which were famous even among the Mahometans. There was an account of it in Ash-Shâbushtî's *Book of the Monasteries*, from which our author himself quotes on fol. 64 a and b, and which is also quoted by Yâḳût, Al-Ḳazwînî and Al-Maḳrîzî. Quatremère gives a translation of our author's account of the monastery of Nahyâ (Nehia) in *Mém.* i. pp. 116–125, but with certain alterations and omissions. (A. J. B.)

[1] That this monastery once possessed a good library may be inferred from Ibn Manṣûr, quoted by Quatremère, *Rech. Crit. et hist. sur l'Égypte*, p. 145. (A. J. B.)

[2] Memphis is often spoken of by the Arabs as Miṣr al-Ḳadîmah, or Ancient Miṣr.

[3] Al-Mu'izz was great-grandson of the founder of the Fatimide dynasty at Tunis. Egypt was conquered by his troops in A. D. 969, and in A. D. 973 he himself arrived in Egypt. (A. J. B.)

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Al-Ḥâkim caused this monastery to be burnt to the ground. Afterwards, however, it was restored by an official, a native of Wasîm in
Fol. 61 b the province of Al-Jîzîyah; and Al-Ḥâkim granted an endowment there to the monks, which has remained up to this day. The columns of this monastery, at its restoration, were constructed of granite.

Al-Âmir bi-aḥkâmi ['llâh] visited this monastery in the vizierate of Muḥammad ibn Fâtik; but he found the doorway, which was closed by an iron door, too low for him[1], and as he would not consent to enter with bowed head, he turned his face to the outside, and his back to the door, and crouched down, until he had entered. Then he walked straight forward until he had entered the sanctuary. Then he said to one of the monks: 'Where is the place at which the priest stands?' So [the monk] showed it to him. Then the caliph said: 'Where is the place at which the deacon stands?' So the monk informed him where it was. Then Al-Âmir took his stand in the priest's place, and said to the monk: 'Stand opposite to me, in the place of the deacon.' So the monk did this. When the caliph had walked round the church, he gave to the monks a thousand dirhams, after receiving hospitality from them; and then he went out of the monastery to hunt, and did not pass the night in the monastery on that occasion.

The altar was approached by a descent of some steps, followed by an ascent[2], but the steps were removed by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Faḍl, son of the bishop, who filled up the [hollow] place, and paved it. He also made a wall of masonry before the sanctuary upon three pillars of marble[3].

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[1] This is the usual form of doorway to a *dair* in remote places even now, as at the Naṭrûn monasteries. The description in *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 296, of a doorway 'scarcely four feet high, and closed with a massive iron-plated door,' exactly agrees with that in the text. (A. J. B.)

[2] This hollow place before the altar with steps on each side was doubtless meant to give access to a confessionary in which relics were deposited under the altar. (A. J. B.)

[3] Quatremère translates thus (*Mém.* i. p. 118): 'Il plaça devant le sanctuaire un voile soutenu par trois colonnes de marbre,' ignoring the word ⲗⲗⲗ. The

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After this, Al-Imâm al-Âmir began to pay visits to the monastery, with his retinue and troops, to hunt. He erected here a lofty *manẓarah*, surmounted by a high cupola on the northern side [of the monastery]; its door was outside the monastery, but it possessed a staircase, constructed of stone, which was ascended from [within] the monastery. The door is now walled up.

The worms[1] did so much damage to this *manẓarah*, besides other parts, that it fell, and not a trace of it was left. Fol. 62 a

The caliph Al-Âmir spent a night in the monastery on two separate occasions, and went out each day to hunt. He was entertained by the monks; and accordingly every time that he visited the monastery, he gave them a thousand dirhams, so that they received in this way twenty-five thousand dirhams, in good coin. The old wall [of their dwelling] had fallen to decay; and so the new enclosure which is now standing was built with that money. The number of the camels which carried the stone and the bricks to the monastery every day amounted to forty. Near the monastery, within the enclosure, and in its south-eastern corner, there is a well of running water, covered with a roof.

Then the monks, when they saw the great liberality of Al-Imâm al-Âmir, and began to allow themselves freedom with him, asked him to grant the monastery a piece of land which they might cultivate year by year; and he granted their request, and by a permanent deed of gift in his own handwriting gave to the monastery a piece of land in the district of Ṭuhurmus[2] in the province of Al-Jîzîyah, and in their neighbourhood, of about thirty *feddâns* in extent, [to judge] without measurement; and this remained in their possession until the Ghuzz and Kurds conquered [the country] in the year 564 (A.D. 1169), and took this land away from the monastery, so that nothing was left to the

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words are difficult to understand. They seem to refer to an altar screen, although it is not easy to imagine any symmetrical arrangement with three pillars, the central one of which would necessarily come where the door should be, nor to picture a wall 'supported' in the manner described. (A. J. B.)

[1] *Termes Arda.* [2] Mentioned by Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٥٣٥.

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monks except the fishing-pool, on the produce of which they make a profit.

Fol. 62 b One of the government scribes of Miṣr came to this monastery to ask for water to drink, and to wash his hands; but he found the water there scanty in quantity, and so he caused a well to be dug within the enclosure, opposite to the southern wall of the church. Those who dug the well met with a rock [in the course of their work] and so he caused it to be cut through, at the cost of one dinar for every cubit, and the number of cubits amounted to fourteen; and this was in addition to the money that he spent on the digging and fitting up of the well. It is this well from which water is drunk at the present day. May God rest the soul, and reward the intention of the founder! The water which comes up from this well is sweet, good, light, and digestive.

§ The reporter of this narrative, whom I have already designated, said that the church of this monastery was named after Martha and Mary, the sisters of Lazarus, whom our Lord Jesus Christ raised from the dead, and who lived nine years after that, and became bishop of Cyprus[1] for a considerable time. The number of the Jews who witnessed the resurrection of Lazarus was 7,400 men, besides women and children. The reporter of this true narrative said to me: 'I used to receive counsel from the monk who was my spiritual father, and he informed me of all that you have heard from me, for he lived in this monastery, and met here with old men who told him all that I have

Fol. 63 a told you. On a certain occasion I was about to behave irreverently in a place opposite the well; but this old man forbad me, saying: "This place, my son, contains the tomb of Martha and Mary[2], which

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[1] The resurrection of Lazarus is commemorated by the Copts on Barmahât 20=March 16. The emperor Leo translated the reputed relics of Lazarus from Cyprus, where he was said to have been bishop of Citium, to the monastery which the emperor had built in his honour at Constantinople. See *Acta SS.* at May 4.

[2] Nothing is known in the west of the reputed relics of St. Martha and St. Mary in Egypt.

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lie beneath it in a crypt[1] which was made for them." On this account I began to reverence that place, and to pray in it. One day I measured [the ground] from this place of which I have been speaking to the edge of the well, and found the distance to be eighteen cubits, and the distance from the place of the tomb to the southern wall of the church, including the distance to the well, [I found to be] twenty-nine cubits.

'God knows that I possess no means of erecting a cupola over their tomb, so that it might be known thereby!'

In this church there is a tank, into which the water flowed from that well which I have mentioned through a pipe, which was afterwards filled up. There is in the monastery a Persian mill, which contained an instrument for peeling off the bran, but this has now become useless. Near the church there is a large and lofty keep[2], consisting of three stories, which is entered from within the church by a flight of steps. This keep fell into decay, and so it was restored by the Shaikh Al-Makîn Abû 'l-Barakât, the scribe, known as Ibn Katâmah, who also restored the wall contiguous to the washhouse, below, and restored the pipe.

Near [the keep] there is a church named after the holy father Andûnah or Anthony, which has fallen into decay. Fol. 63 b

Outside and in front of the monastery there are a number of cells, which belonged to the monks when they came out from the monastery of Saint Macarius in the patriarchate of Anbâ Benjamin[3], the thirty-eighth in the succession, but which are now ruined.

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[1] Ṭâfûs is a transcription of the Greek τάφος. (A. J. B.)

[2] The tower or keep is a conspicuous feature in all the desert monasteries at the present time—in fact it is the citadel of the fortress. See the Père Sicard's description and woodcut of Dair Anṭâniyûs and the illustration in *Coptic Churches*, i. pp. 295 and 309. (A. J. B.)

[3] It seems to have been in the patriarchate of Damianus, the thirty-fifth patriarch, that the monasteries of the Wâdî Habîb were pillaged by the Berbers, and they remained in a partly deserted condition until the Mahometan conquest in the time of the patriarch Benjamin, when they were restored. See the patriarchal biographies, Brit. Mus. MS. *Or.* 26,100, pp. 95, 103, 110 ff. The

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In the monastery there are two crypts: one of them near the church of Saint Anthony, for burying the bishops of Al-Jîzîyah; and the other under the keep, for burying the monks. There are also in the monastery places of burial for the villagers.

The worms destroyed the timbers of this monastery and the church; and so they were pulled down at the expense of that *Sayyid*[1], who constructed instead of the roof [of timber] a vaulted roof, and enclosed the columns within piers [of masonry], and none of the columns remained visible, except the two ancient granite columns which [stand] in front of the picture of the Lady, the Pure Virgin. The wooden *Bustul*[2] remained, because it had been anointed with myrrh, which prevented the worms from injuring it.

The number [of the monks] who are assembled together in this monastery in our own time amounts to seven or less.

§ According to the *Guide to the Festivals*, composed by Anbâ Jonas, bishop of Damietta, every year, on the 30th of Ba'ûnah, the festival of Mary and Martha is kept, who are [buried] near the Two Pyramids, in the monastery known as the Monastery of the Dogs, the correct name of which is the Monastery of the Vinedresser[3]; but the Melkites burnt it, on account of their hatred towards the Jacobites. It is said that the bodies of these two saints and the body of Lazarus are at
Fol. 64 a Constantinople, and were translated thither from the island of Cyprus[4].

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destruction of the church of St. Macarius and of the cells by the Arabs of Upper Egypt (عُرْبَان الصعيد) is commemorated on Barmûdah 1 = March 27; see *Synaxarium* at that day.

[1] I. e. Ibn Katâmah.

[2] This sentence is left untranslated by Quatremère in quoting the passage, doubtless because he failed to understand it. The word *Bustul* has already been explained in connexion with a similar passage above, fol. 27 a. By the 'wooden *Bustul*' is meant a pillar painted with the figure of an apostle. (A. J. B.)

[3] The Muslims contemptuously changed the name *Dair al-Karrâm* into *Dair 'al-Kilâb*, as they transformed the name of the Church of the Resurrection (*Ḳiyâmah*) at Jerusalem into Church of the Rubbish-heap (*Ḳumâmah*). (A. J. B.)

[4] The translation of the relics of St. Lazarus from Cyprus to Constantinople is commemorated by the Copts on Bâbah 21 = Oct. 18.

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The *Guide to the Festivals* also states that the birth of the Lady [which took place] outside Jerusalem in the reign of Augustus Caesar, is celebrated every year on the 1st of Bashans[1], which is called the *'Îd as-Sunbulah.* In another copy of the *Guide*, the monastery of Nahyâ is said to be dedicated to the Lady.

This monastery formerly belonged to the bishop of Al-Jîzîyah and the island of Miṣr, but the patriarch Anbâ Mark transferred it to himself; he was the seventy-third in the order of succession. He allowed the bishop to receive three dinars yearly from the revenues of the monks.

§ In the district called Nahyâ[2], in the province of Al-Jîzah, is situated the monastery which has been described above. It is surrounded by a wall, and the church which it contains, named after the Lady the pure Virgin Mary, was restored by a merchant who came from the West.

[The caliph] Al-Imâm al-Âmir bi-Aḥkâmi 'llâh used to come to this monastery and enjoy the country here; and he erected in it a *manẓarah*, and restored the enclosing wall. The *Canon of the Festivals* states that the church of this monastery is named after Martha and Mary, the sisters of Lazarus, whose festival is kept on the 28th of Tûbah every year, or on the 19th.

The *Book of the Monasteries*, by Ash-Shâbushtî[3], testifies that this monastery is one of the finest and most agreeably situated in Egypt, and that the view of it is most admirable, especially during the days of the high Nile, and of the sowing of seed. It has a canal, where Fol. 64 b

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[1] I.e. April 26. So also the Coptic *Synaxarium*, Paris MS. *Arabe* 256. *'Îd as-Sunbulah* means 'festival of the constellation Virgo.' Cf. the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* in Thilo, *Proleg.* xc–cv and 340 f.

[2] Here begins another account of the same monastery of Nahyâ.

[3] This passage from Ash-Shâbushtî is quoted in much the same words, but without mention of the source, by Yâḳût (*Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٧٠١٤) and by Al-Ḳazwînî (*Kitâb Âthâr al-Bilâd*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. ١٢٢), and, with due acknowledgment of the author, by Al-Maḳrîzî.

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people assemble to enjoy the country. It has also an extensive fishing-pool. The waters of the blessed Nile surround this monastery on its four sides[1].

Church of Saft Maidûm.

Saft Maidûm[2]. Here there is a church, common [to different sects], containing three altars: one of them, in the middle, belonging to the Copts, and named after the valiant martyr Theodore; the second belonging to the Armenians, and named after the glorious martyr Saint George; the third [dedicated] to the Lady, the Virgin Mary, and belonging to the Melkites.

Pyramids of Al-Jîzah.

The Pyramids. These were built by Hermes[3], the wise, the three-fold in wisdom, who by his knowledge of the secrets of nature, invented

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[1] I. e. during the annual inundation.

[2] Or Saft Maidûn. Formerly in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, but now in that of Banî Suwaif and in the district of Zawîyah, with a population in 1885 of 1748. See Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. rᵉ٩; *Recensement de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 279. The insertion of the passage referring to Saft Maidûm here, in the midst of a description of the province of Al-Jîzah, is an illustration of the want of plan of the book in its present form.

[3] The earliest mention of 'Mercurius' or 'Hermes Trismegistus' occurs in Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.* c. 15, and in Lactantius, if the passage of Manetho quoted by Georgius Syncellus is an interpolation. A papyrus of the reign of Gallienus speaks of τρισμέγιστος Ἑρμης as the god of Hermopolis in Egypt, i. e. Ushmûnain; see Wessely in *Mitth. aus der Samml. der Pap. Erzherzog Rainer*, v. p. 133 f. In the hieroglyphic inscriptions, Thoth, who was identified by the Greeks with Hermes, is called 'great, great,' i. e. 'twice great.' To this Thoth or Hermes was ascribed the authorship of all the sacred books which the Greeks called Hermetic; and Clement of Alexandria says that there were forty-two of such works, forming a sort of encyclopaedia of knowledge. In the third and fourth centuries the name was adopted by the writers of various Neo-Platonic and Cabbalistic works, but it is doubtful whether any writer was ever known as Trismegistus, although there are extant under the name many MSS. To the

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the art of alchemy, and was able to make substances. His birth-place was Memphis. He is said to have been the same as Idrîs, who is related to have been 'raised up to a high place[1].' The Sabaeans

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Arabs the name was well known through the existence in Arabic of many treatises ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus; see Ḥâjî Khalfah (ed. Fluegel), iii. pp. 53, 424, 480, 592; iv. pp. 100, 465; v. pp. 39, 41, 157, 171, 247, 587, where works of Hermes are mentioned on such subjects as alchemy, talismans, the mystic use of letters, astrology, the philosopher's stone or elixir (الإكسير = ξήρον). The belief that the pyramids of Al-Jîzah were built by Hermes, or that one of them was his tomb, was widespread among the Arabs, who, however, generally say that they derived it from the Sabaeans; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 969; 'Abd al-Laṭîf, *Mukhtaṣar* (ed. White), p. 99; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. pp. 111–121; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. pp. 17, 43, 45. (A. J. B.)

[1] The identification of Hermes with Idrîs, who is further identified with the Enoch of Genesis, is common to most of the Arab historians. The words placed in inverted commas are a quotation from the Koran, *Sûrah Maryam*, v. 27, where it is said:

وَاذْكُرْ فِي ٱلْكِتَابِ إِدْرِيسَ إِنَّهُ كَانَ صِدِّيقًا نَبِيًّا وَرَفَعْنَاهُ مَكَانًا عَلِيًّا

'Make mention of Idrîs in the Book; for he was truthful and a prophet, and we raised him up to a high place.' The last words, of course, refer to his translation to Heaven. See Al-Baiḍâwî, *Anwâr at-Tanzîl*, &c. (ed. Fleischer), i. p. 583.

Eutychius says that Enoch was called Idrîs by the Arabs (*Annales*, i. p. 30). Ibn al-Athîr says that Enoch (خنوخ), the son of Jared, is the same as Idrîs the prophet; that he was the first of the prophets, and the first to write and to study the stars and to calculate; that the learned Greeks (علماء اليونانيين) call him Hermes the Wise, and hold him to be great; that he exhorted the people to repentance, and that God raised him up when he was 365 years old according to the Pentateuch (*Al-Kâmil*, i. p. 42). As-Suyûṭî says that Enoch, Hermes, and Idrîs are the same person (*Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. 17). Ḥâjî Khalfah says that Idrîs, the son of Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, was the originator of all the learning that existed before the flood—

جميع العلوم التى ظهرت قبل الطوفان انما صدرت عنه فى قول كثير العلماء

and that he is the same as Hermes, and is called the Chief Hermes (هرمس الهرامسة)

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make pilgrimages to the two great pyramids, and say that Hermes is buried in one of them, and Agathodaemon[1] [in the other]. The Sabaeans come to the pyramids from Ḥarran, on pilgrimage[2]. There is not on the face of the earth a structure erected by the hand [of man], stone upon stone, higher than these two pyramids[3], which are the tombs of Hermes and Agathodaemon. It is said that the area covered by each of the two great pyramids is twelve feddâns[4]; and in each of them there is a well, the site of which is not known.

Monastery of the Vinedresser.

Near this place there is a monastery, known as the Monastery of
Fol. 65 a the Vinedresser, but called by the heretics the Monastery of the Dogs.

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and the Threefold in Grace (المثلث بالنعمة); and that he was the first to erect buildings, and was himself the constructor of the pyramids; see *Lex. Bibliogr.* ed. Fluegel, i. p. 63.

[1] Nothing is known from Greek or Latin sources with regard to Agathodaemon except that he designed maps for Ptolemy's Geography, and therefore probably lived at Alexandria in the middle of the second century of our era; but the Arabs have more to say about him, since they claimed to possess treatises by him on amulets and on alchemy (Ḥâjî Khalfah, iii. p. 391, vi. p. 51), and identified him with Seth (ibid. i. p. 65; cf. the sources quoted in the last two notes). (A. J. B.)

[2] As-Suyûṭî adds that they offer sacrifices and incense there.

[3] The present height of the great pyramid is about 451 ft., but the original height was 480 ft. 9 in., which is nearly 20 ft. higher than the tower of Strassburg cathedral, the loftiest building in Europe; St. Peter's at Rome being 429 ft., and St. Paul's in London 404 ft. high. The second pyramid is not much smaller than the first. The third pyramid, however, is considerably less, and was therefore less famous than the other two; not to mention the still smaller pyramidal structures which make up the group at Al-Jîzah. (A. J. B.)

[4] This is singularly accurate as regards the great pyramid, the present area of which is 12⅝ acres, the former 13¼. The pyramid of Chephren, however, is smaller, covering now about 10¾ acres, and formerly about 11½. (A. J. B.)

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There is also a third pyramid, besides the two former, the base of which is built of hard granite of variegated colour [1].

The monastery is near the pyramids, on the western side; and its church is called the church of Timothy [2] the monk, a native of Memphis, whose body is buried in it. His intercession was powerful in this church, so that those who visited it and prayed to God in the power of faith, gained their requests; and if any one were desirous of entering upon some undertaking, and asked God to guide him according to that which was best, God revealed to him in a dream the advantages which would result from his undertaking, or else warned him not to enter upon it. This is attested by the *Book of the Histories of the Councils*.

The Western Mountains.

§ At the foot of the mountain-range there is a town called Mastâyah [3]. At the foot of the mountains in [the province of] Al-

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[1] Herodotus and Pliny call this granite 'Ethiopian stone;' Diodorus and Strabo 'black stone;' while the Arab writers, from the colour of the granite, name the pyramid the red pyramid. 'Abd al-Laṭîf says:

واما الثالث فينقص عنهما بنحو الربع لكنه مبنى بحجارة الصوان الاحمر المنقط الشديد الصلابة ولا يوثر فيه الحديد الا فى الزمن الطويل

'The third pyramid is less than the other two by about a quarter; but it is built of stones of red granite, which is spotted, and of extreme hardness, so that iron makes no impression upon it except after a long time.' (*Mukhtaṣar*, p. 92.) (A. J. B.)

[2] This must be the martyr Timothy of ancient Miṣr (مصر القديمة), a name given to Memphis by Arab writers, who is commemorated on Ba'ûnah 21 = June 15; see *Synaxarium* at that day. He was a soldier in the Roman army when the persecution of Diocletian broke out, and for proclaiming Christ before Arianus, the governor of the Thebaid, he was repeatedly tortured and at last beheaded. Such, at least, is the account given.

[3] I transcribe this name conjecturally as Mastâyah because De Sacy names a town called Mesṭâyah in the province of Al-Gharbîyah. A few lines further down our copyist writes مستاتة, Mastâtah (?).

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Jîzah there are fifty monasteries, flourishing and populous, which have been ruined and burnt by the heretics: [that is to say] at the hands of the Berbers of Western Africa, who do not know the truth, or obey the law, or distinguish between right and wrong. This western range of mountains is united with the mountains on the western bank of the Nile, but then branches off from them, until, after passing by Barca and the whole sea coast of northern Africa, it reaches the land of Baraghwâṭah[1] and the shores of the Sea of Darkness. In this western mountain-range is the city called Mastâyah, to which [in former days] they used to bring the dead bodies of the kings, with all their money and treasures; and the greatest number of treasure-hunters haunt the environs of this city, which they call Dâr Mânuwîl.

Monastery of Ash-Shama'.

Fol. 65 b § Munyat ash-Shammâs[2] [or Munyah of the Deacon], namely, of Paphnutius, the novice, is to the west of Ṭamwaih.

The monastery called 'Monastery of *Ash-Shama'*[3].'

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[1] See note on fol. 49 a, where the name is incorrectly written Ibn Ghawâṭah. See Ibn Khaldûn (vi. p. ٦١), where there is a mention of the tribe of Baraghwâtah and their native country in north-west Africa.

[2] This place is said by Yâḳût to be in the province of Al-Jîzah, and to be also called *Dair ash-Shama'* or 'Monastery of the Candle.' Compare the name Ḳasr ash-Shama' and its supposed derivation from ⲭⲏⲙⲓ, 'Egypt.' The revenue-lists of A.D. 1375 also name the place as existing in the province of Al-Jîzah. There were two places of the name in the same province; but there is now only one Mît Shammâs, which is in the district of Badrashain, in the province of Al-Jîzah, with a population in 1885 of 883. See Yâḳût, *Mushtarik*, p. ٣٠٧; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 221. The monastery of Ash-Shama' must have stood close to Munyat ash-Shammâs.

[3] Yâḳût says that this was 'an ancient monastery, held in reverence among the Christians, in the province of Al-Jîzah in Egypt. Between this monastery and Al-Fusṭâṭ there is a distance of three parasangs, as you go up the Nile; and the throne of the patriarch is in this monastery, and here he resides as long as he is in the neighbourhood of Miṣr.' (*Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٦٧٣.)

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§ This monastery is also called the 'Monastery of the Devils[1],' for the following reason. In the days of [the caliph] Al-Mustanṣir, during the years of dearth, the monks deserted this building, which remained uncared for, so that cattle used to feed in it. Moreover certain figures used to issue forth from the monastery, and used to ride upon horseback from nightfall to morning, and enter a certain ruined village. Thus the monastery received that name. Paphnutius[2] went and lived in this monastery alone, to take care of it. It was a small domed structure, and it was restored at the expense of the officials, until it assumed the form in which it is now. Paphnutius had visited Onuphrius, the saint and pilgrim[3], and lived with him for a time; for whenever Paphnutius heard of a saint, he went to see him and received his blessing; and he was with Saint Onuphrius at the time of his death[4]. There was at the dwelling of the latter a single fruit-bearing palm-tree; so Paphnutius thought in his heart that he would live there in the place of Onuphrius. But God sent a violent wind, which lasted long and blew down that palm-tree, from which Onuphrius used to feed himself during his lifetime; and filled up with sand the well of water from which he drank. So Paphnutius went elsewhere, and every one who saw his form, thought that he was a disciple [of Onuphrius], although it was not so. Afterwards he became a dis-

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[1] Yâḳût mentions a monastery of this name near Al-Mauṣil in Mesopotamia; see *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٦٧٣.

[2] This is a famous Egyptian anchorite of the fourth century; but not the bishop commemorated by the Roman church on Sept. 11. See Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* p. 125; *Apophthegmata Patrum*, p. 377 f.; Zoega, *Cat.* p. 308 f.; *Acta SS.* His festival is kept by the Copts on Amshîr 15=Feb. 9; see *Synaxarium* at that day. The name is ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩⲧ ('the man of God') in Memphitic, and ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ in Sahidic. (A. J. B.)

[3] Abû Nafar or St. Onuphrius is always called 'the Wanderer' in the titles of Coptic paintings. (A. J. B.)

[4] The visit of Paphnutius to Onuphrius is described in the *Synaxarium* at Ba'ûnah 16.

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ciple of Saint Macarius[1] the Great, in the Wâdî Habîb; and then he went to the monastery of Ash-Shama'. This monastery contains his
Fol. 66 a body. The church in this monastery has three altars: the middle altar named after Saint Anthony; the northern altar after Saint Sinuthius[2]; and the southern after Paphnutius; and the church is named after Saint Sinuthius. The liturgy is celebrated at the altar named after Saint Paphnutius, in the middle of the Fast of the Forty [Days], every year. It was in [this monastery] that he died; and according to his biography, he died on the 15th of Amshîr (Feb. 9).

This monastery was restored in the year 667 of the Righteous

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[1] Macarius the Great is distinguished by the title of 'the Egyptian' from Macarius 'of Alexandria' or of 'the City.' He is, perhaps, the most highly reputed of the monks of the Nitrian desert, and the best-known monastery there still bears his name. He has left fifty homilies and 'a volume on Christian Perfection, which places him in the first rank among the writers on practical Christianity' (Sharpe's *History of Egypt*, ii. p. 289. See also Sozomen H. E. ed. Hussey, bk. III. c. 14; vol. ii. p. 289). He is said to have retired to the desert in A. D. 330, and to have died there in A. D. 390. (A. J. B.)

[2] Abû Shanûdah, in Coptic ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ or ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩϯ, and, in the Graecizing form found in Coptic MSS., ⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩⲑⲓⲟⲥ, Sinuthius, is the name of the celebrated monk who founded the White Monastery; see below, fol. 82 b. He was the son of a peasant and was born at Shenalolet, which has been identified with Shandawil, to the north-east of Ikhmîm. He served in boyhood as a shepherd, and then came under the tuition of his uncle Apâ Pjôl (ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡϫⲱⲗ = ابا بجول), who trained him in the monastic life. Sinuthius is said to have been present with St. Cyril of Alexandria at the council held to condemn Nestorius. The death of Sinuthius is commemorated on Abîb 7 = July 2, and is said to have taken place in the very year of the Council of Chalcedon, viz. A. D. 451. The discourses delivered by this saint were carefully preserved, and many attributed to him are extant at the present day. It is said that a copy of one of them was laid upon the tomb of St. Peter at Rome, and that the voice of the Prince of the Apostles declared that 'Sinuthius was the fourteenth Apostle, as Paul was the thirteenth.' See *Synaxarium* at Abîb 7; Zoega, *Cat.* pp. 375–502; Amélineau, *Vie de Schnoudi* and *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Église Chrét.* (A. J. B.)

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Martyrs (A. D. 951), according to the stone on which its date is inscribed over the door of the keep. In this monastery was the body of Saint Paphnutius, who was the disciple of Saint Macarius the Great in the Wâdî Habîb, [lying] on a bed of leather within a coffin[1] above the surface of the ground. It is said that the body was stolen by Ḥusain, son of the caliph Al-Ḥâfiẓ, by means of certain Arabs. The monastery fell into decay a second time, and was restored by Anbâ Gabriel, the seventieth patriarch, known as Abû 'l-'Ulâ Sâ'id ibn Tarîk, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiẓ. It is a famous monastery, and contains many monks. In front of it there is a large keep, which is entered from the church; and there are also handsome *manẓarahs* in it. It possesses a garden, and land, and houses at Munyat ash-Shammâs, bought by the tribe of Banî Sûrus from the ancestors of the Shaikh Muṣṭafâ 'l-Mulk Abû Saff Ya'ḳûb ibn Jirjis, who were natives of Damîrah[2], in the north of [the province of] Al-Gharbîyah. Fol. 66 b

This monastery was under the see of Memphis and Ṭamwaih; but it became patriarchal. To it is brought the chrism[3], and it

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[1] Quatremère (*Mém.* i. pp. 160–161) refers to the *Acta SS.* ii. 15 for a statement of St. Antoninus that he saw at Clysma several coffins of wood, enclosing the remains of various anchorites, and among them probably the relics of St. John the Dwarf and St. Sisoi. In *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 304, I have noted the existence at this day of wooden coffins full of relics at Dair Abû Maḳar; and, curiously enough, when the Père Sicard visited the monastery of St. Macarius he saw four of such coffins, one of which, the monks said, enclosed the body of John the Dwarf. (A. J. B.)

[2] The Coptic ⲧⲁⲗⲗⲏⲣⲓ; now included in the district of Sharbîn in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, with a population in 1885 of 3,185. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 118.

[3] The Arabic *mîrûn* (ميرون) transcribes the Greek μύρον, and denotes 'chrism.' The chrism was originally consecrated at Alexandria, but about A. D. 390 the place was changed to the monastery of St. Macarius in the Nitrian desert; see *Coptic Churches*, ii. pp. 333–334. This passage of Abû Ṣâliḥ is well illustrated by Renaudot (*Hist. Patr.* pp. 354–355), who relates that, during the great famine in

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is consecrated there. The roads are dangerous, and this course was found necessary. Anbâ Mennas, the sixty-first patriarch, built an altar named after Saint Mark, at Maḥallah Dâniyâl, where the patriarchs lived; and the chrism was placed upon it for fear of the dangers of the roads, from the time of the dearth at the beginning of the caliphate of Al-Mu'izz in Egypt.

Other Churches of the Province of Al-Jîzah.

§ Munyat ash-Shammâs[1]. In this district there is one church.

§ The district called Aṣ-Ṣarâf lies to the west of the monastery of Ash-Shama', and here resided Anbâ John ibn Abû Ghâlib, the seventy-third patriarch, who occupied the see for twenty-eight years. To the west also of the monastery of Ash-Shama' there is a church named after the glorious martyr Theodore.

Damûh[2]. Here is the church of Cosmas and Damian, their brethren and their mother, which was restored by the Shaikh Abû Sa'îd, the scribe, who was a member of the Dîwân al-Mukâtabât. Near it there

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the time of the caliph Al-Mu'izz, great numbers perished and many episcopal sees were vacant; and that the patriarch himself was forced to remain in Lower Egypt, and was supported with his followers by a wealthy lady at a village called Maḥallah Daniel. (A. J. B.)

[1] This is one of the repetitions which prove the want of plan of the author, or the carelessness of his copyist; see above, fol. 46 b.

[2] Our author seems to imply that this place is in the province of Al-Jîzah, and Al-Maḳrîzî, who calls the place Damûh as-Sabâ', and names the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian as well as the synagogue there, actually states that it is in that province. 'Abd al-Laṭîf also states that Damûh was in the province, and near the town of Al-Jîzah. At the present day there is a Damûh as-Sabâ' in the district of Dakarnas in the province of Ad-Dakahlîyah. Could our author, 'Abd al-Laṭîf and Al-Maḳrîzî, who are not always good geographers, have made a mistake? Could the mistake have arisen from the similarity of the names Damûh and Ṭamwaih which is next named? The latter place is sometimes called Ṭamûh. See also Quatremère, *Mém.* i. pp. 137–138.

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is a garden containing a well with a water-wheel, upon the high road. The Jews have in this district a synagogue[1], enclosed by a wall, Fol. 67 a within which are lodgings for them, and a garden in which are trees and palms, and a circular well with a water-wheel. Here disputes took place between the sects of Rabbanites and Karaites concerning the lighting of lamps. It is said that the prophet Moses, in the days of Pharaoh, visited this place, and prayed in it, and slept in it[2].

Monastery and Churches of Ṭamwaih.

Ṭamwaih. This place is opposite to Ḥulwân[3], which lies on the eastern bank. The monastery which takes its name from Ṭamwaih is described in the *Book of the Monasteries* of Ash-Shâbushtî[4]. It is surrounded by an enclosing wall. Its church is named after Saint Mercurius[5], and overlooks the river, to which it is close. Contiguous to the monastery there is a keep, entered from the church; and in its upper story there are fine *manẓarahs*. The monastery commands views of the gardens and trees and cultivated lands and vineyards with trellises. It is inhabited by many monks.

This monastery was restored by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman Wazîr, metwalli of the Dîwân of Lower Egypt, and by the Shaikh Abû 'l-Manṣûr, his son, in the caliphate of Al-Âmir, and the vizierate of Al-Afḍal Shâhanshâh. The latter used to alight at this monastery,

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[1] Al-Maḳrîzî says that this had been a church.

[2] 'Abd al-Laṭîf states that Moses lived at Damûh in the province of Al-Jîzah; see *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, ed. White, p. 116.

[3] More accurately, Ṭamwaih lies about five miles lower down the river than Ḥulwân, which is to the south-east of Ṭamwaih, on the opposite bank.

[4] The passage of Ash-Shâbushtî is quoted by Al-Maḳrîzî in his article on the monastery of Ṭamwaih (دير طموية); cf. Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٦٧٥. Both of these writers quote verses by Ibn Abî 'Âsim al-Miṣrî, which speak of the pleasures of drinking wine at this monastery.

[5] Ṭamwaih itself is often omitted in maps, but a monastery of Abû 's-Saifain, i.e. St. Mercurius, is marked on Norden's Plate XXVIII, nearly facing Ḥulwân and overlooking the river. (A. J. B.)

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and spend some time there, lounging and sauntering; and he laid out a garden near it, and planted in it trees of all sorts, and palms; and dug wells over which he placed water-wheels; and he surrounded
Fol. 67 b the garden with a strong hedge. The annual rent which was received from this monastery into the public treasury amounted to ten dinars. Afterwards this rent was stopped, and with the money oil-presses were built within the enclosure of the monastery, complete in all their parts. The monastery possessed forty-seven feddâns of land, which were appropriated by the Ghuzz and Kurds and the rest, in the reign of An-Nâṣir Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, the Kurd.

In the church lies the body of Paphnutius[1], the superior of this monastery; and his festival is kept on the 15th of Amshîr. The monastery contains a painting of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Al-Afḍal took pleasure in sitting in his place in the upper story of the building.

The Shaikh Abû 'l-Yaman, who has already been mentioned, provided for this church, at his own expense, vessels of solid silver. He provided a paten[2], and a chalice, and a spoon[3], and a censer, and a cross, and a splendid veil of silk.

In this district there is also the large and beautifully planned church of the glorious saint and champion Saint George.

There is also a church named after the female martyr Mahrâbîl[4].

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[1] We were told above that the relics of St. Paphnutius had been in the monastery of Ash-Shama', but that they were stolen thence by Ḥusain, son of Al-Ḥâfiẓ. Can they subsequently have found their way to Ṭamwaih?

[2] The curious enlargement of the denotation of the word *ṣíníyah* (صينية) is remarked upon by De Goeje, in his note on Ibn Ḥankal, p. ٢٩١, where he points out that from signifying a china (Chinese) plate or dish, it grew to denote a plate or dish of any material; so that a porcelain dish had to be distinguished as صينية صيني or صينية الصين. For the use of the names of church vessels and furniture at the present day, see *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 37 ff. (A. J. B.)

[3] It is well known that the sacramental elements are administered in the Coptic church together in a spoon, as in the Greek church. The spoon is used also in the papal Mass. (A. J. B.)

[4] So in the MS. I can only conjecture that the name may be a clerical error

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And the church of Abâ Bîmah.
And a church named after the angel Michael.
And a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin.

Memphis.

Memphis[1]. Baiṣur, son of Ham, son of Noah, settled here, when he was 780 years old, with thirty of his sons and family, and therefore the place was called Manâfah[2], which means 'thirty.' His sons were Mizraim and Fârik and Bâh and Mâh. The following were the sons of Mizraim: Ḳift; Ushmûn, the meaning of whose name is 'Come not hither[3]!' and Atrîb. At this place[4] there is a great image of granite, called *Bû 'l-Hûl*, thrown down upon its side. Fol. 68 a

Afterwards Manâfah was established as the capital of the Pharaohs. When Baiṣur died he was buried here, in a place called Abû Harmîs; and he was the first to be buried in the land of Egypt. The Nile gradually changed its bed in that direction.

Other writers say that Memphis was built by Mizraim for his son Ḳift, who was called Barîm; and others say that this city was built by Manfâ'ûs, the son of 'Adîm, who made it thirty miles long and twenty miles broad, and erected around it thirty towers, each tower

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for Maharatî, a girl whose martyrdom is commemorated on Tûbah 14 = Jan. 9; see Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 67.

[1] Memphis did not cease to exist in name or to be the see of a bishop till long after the Arab conquest; see 'Abd al-Laṭîf, p. 116 ff.; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١٣٩ ff.

[2] Yâḳût, who gives the same derivation, states the Coptic form as Mâsah (ماسة), which corresponds to the Thebaic ⲙⲁⲥⲉ better than to the Memphitic ⲙⲁⲥⲓ. (*Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. 667.)

[3] The Coptic ϫⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲛ.

[4] I. e. Memphis. The image must be the great statue of Rameses II, which, after lying as it fell for so many centuries, has now been set upright by the English engineers under the command of Major Plunkett. The name Bû 'l-Hûl (ابو الهول), or 'Father of Terror,' i. e. 'Terrific' or 'Gigantic,' is more commonly given to the Sphinx; see fol. 68 b. (A. J. B.)

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containing a bath, in the days of Sârû', son of Ar'û; or that it was built by Pharaoh, surnamed the 'Lover of his Mother[1],' who was king of the Pharaohs.

Joseph the Truthful constructed a large Nilometer at Munaif[2]; and he was the first who measured the Nile in Egypt by the cubit. At Memphis there are wonders: buildings, images, tombs, treasures, that cannot be numbered. There is here a house of green granite, hard, variegated in colour, all in one piece, square, with a roof of the same piece. The church near to this is spread with mats.

Fol. 68 b At Memphis there is a church which has been restored at a place which is said to be the place where Moses lay in ambush for the Egyptian and killed him, as it is related in his history. Every [square] cubit of the land here used to fetch a price of a hundred dinars. Near the town are the pyramids, three in number. The height of the great pyramid is four hundred cubits. The pyramids were the landmarks and the dwelling-places built by Aṣghûsa, the greatest of all the kings of the earth, and by Arghâsh, the brother of Shaddâd, and by Shaddâd, son of 'Âd, and Mâlik, son of 'Âd, and Farmashât, brother of 'Âd, whose ancestor was the king Arzakûshâ. He built here eight hundred courses, and then died. In these high towers, which are the two great landmarks, [these kings] placed their treasures and their tombs. The riches contained in one of them were extracted by one of the emperors of the Romans, named Severus, or the Great; and he extracted [it], after four hundred courses, during his whole reign, until he died, in the time of the author of the treatise[3].

Near these pyramids is the great image of granite [called] the Terrific[4], sunk in the sand up to its middle.

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[1] This is, of course, a confused reference to Ptolemy Philometor, whom Eutychius also calls *Muḥibb Ummihi*. (A. J. B.)

[2] Memphis.

[3] This passage appears to be incomplete or corrupt.

[4] I. e. the Sphinx, generally called Abû 'l-Hûl; see last page. It was held by the Arabs to be a talisman, the purpose of which was to prevent the sands from encroaching upon the inhabited districts. Stories were told of its having been

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After this we will speak of the Southern Provinces of the land of Egypt.

Churches of Bûṣîr Banâ and other places.

Bûṣîr Banâ[1]. This town is named after a sorcerer, called Bûṣîr, who lived there, for which reason it was named after him. In this town is the large church which was entirely built of hard stone, and is named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; it stands within the fortress of this city. The church was erected in ancient times; but as time passed by, and the kings stood in need of the stone of which it was composed, the greater part of it was carried away; and the church is now dismantled, although its architectural features are still visible. It stands near the prison of Joseph the Truthful, son of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham, the Friend [of God]—upon them be peace! Fol. 69 a

In the district of Banâ there is a church named after the great Saint George.

Munyat al-Ḳâ'id. Here there is a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, which was restored by the Shaikh Mufaḍḍal ibn aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, a friend of the vizier Abû 'l-Faraj ibn Killis, in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâkim. He also restored a church on the banks of the blessed Nile, which stood for a time, but then the river inundated it, and washed it away, so that no trace of it remained.

Wanâ Bûṣîr. Here there is a church named after the great martyr Saint Mercurius; and a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; and a church of the holy martyr Saint George; and a church of the great angel Michael; and a church of the martyr Saint John[2], whose pure body lies within it.

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wilfully mutilated, which diminished its talismanic power. See Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. 111. It is well known that the Sphinx is hewn out of the living rock, which is limestone, not granite. (A. J. B.)

[1] The following passage is repeated from fol. 17 b f. Bûṣîr Banâ and Banâ are again wrongly placed in Southern or Upper Egypt.

[2] بجوش seems to be a clerical error for بحنوس; see above, fol. 18 a.

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Fol. 69 b Idrîjah, one of the villages of Bûsh. Here there is a church named after Saint George.

Ṭansâ. Here there is a church named after Nahâdah; and a church named after the martyr Mercurius; and a church named after Gabriel the angel; and a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin.

The Fayyûm.

Madînat al-Fayyûm[1] and its province. Al-Fayyûm was the name of one of the sons of Ḳift, son of Mizraim, who built this city for a daughter of his, who had offended, so that he banished her thither. Al-Fayyûm existed before the time of Joseph, son of Jacob, son of Abraham, the Friend [of God]—upon them be peace!—but it fell into ruin; and Joseph the Truthful restored it, and constructed the Nilometers, and built Al-Fayyûm, and Ḥajar al-Lâḥûn, which was built with wisdom, and founded with strength, and help that came from God, and was executed by the inspiration of God—to whom be praise! Joseph also dug the canal of Al-Manhî, and cultivated the land of Egypt. The number of village-districts in [the Fayyûm] amounted to 360, which is the number of the days of the year, each village corresponding to a day; and the revenue from each district amounted to a thousand dinars. The lands of this province are irrigated by [a rise of the river amounting to] twelve cubits, but they are not overwhelmed by a rise of eighteen cubits, which is a great wonder. There is here common land which is not the property of any one, but all men have a right to demand a share of it according to their circumstances; and the common land consists of seventy different sorts. The revenue in the days of Kâfûr al-Ustâdh, emir of Egypt, known as Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdî, under the dynasty of the Abba-
Fol. 70 a sides, when the province was administered by Ibn Ṭarkhân, in the year of the Arabs 355 (A. D. 966), amounted to 620,000 dinars; and this is as much as the revenue of Ar-Ramlah, Tiberias, and Damascus.

In this province there were thirty-five monasteries. The bishop,

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[1] This passage is repeated from fol. 18 a f.

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under the patriarchate of Anbâ Theodore, the forty-fifth in the succession, was named Abraham; and the land-tax paid into the public treasury upon the cultivated lands belonging to these monasteries amounted to 500 dinars.

According to the *Book of the Conquest of Egypt by 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ*, it is said that the Fayyûm was also called the Waste Land, and was an outlet for the superfluous waters of Upper Egypt; so Joseph the Truthful carried them off by digging the canal, to receive the water of the Nile, which then began to flow into it. The age of Joseph was thirty years in the reign of Ar-Rayyân, son of Al-Walîd, son of Dauma', after his interpretation of the dream which the king saw. When Joseph interpreted this dream, the king gave him a royal robe, and the signet-ring of the kingdom from his hand, and entrusted him with the administration of the kingdom, and was distinguished from him only by ascending the throne. When Joseph dug the canal and admitted the water into it, it flowed from Râs al-Manhî until it reached Al-Lâḥûn, through a break in which it flowed into the Fayyûm, which it irrigated. The canal contained a great mass of water, but was the work of no more than ninety days. When the king and his viziers saw it, they said: 'This is the work of a thousand days[1];' and so it was called Al-Fayyûm. And Joseph made the streams of two sorts, streams that ran down for the raised grounds, and streams that ran up for the depressed places, at certain times and hours of the night and day; and he framed meters, so that no man could take more water than his due. Fol. 70 b

The first city built by Joseph in the Fayyûm was Shânah[2], where the daughter of Pharaoh lived. Afterwards he measured the land and the water, and from him the science of geometry was first learnt. Joseph was the first who measured the Nile in Egypt by the cubit, and made a Nilometer at Memphis. Afterwards the old woman

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[1] *Alf Yûm*, according to the present Egyptian pronunciation.

[2] So also Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ١٢٢, where he also gives a second form Shanânah.

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Dalûk[1] founded a Nilometer at Anṣinâ[2], and a Nilometer at Ikhmîm[3]; and 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Marwân set up a Nilometer at Ḥulwân[4]. In later times the province of the Fayyûm was settled as a fief upon the Ghuzz and Kurds, in the reign of Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb, the Kurd; and so it remained until the end of the year 573 (A.D. 1178), when its revenues were 133,274 dinars. Then it was settled upon Bûrî, the brother [of Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb], and his followers, in the year 576 (A.D. 1180), when its revenues were 100,046 dinars. Then it was settled upon Taḳî ad-Dîn 'Umar ibn Shâhanshâh, and the son of his sister, in the year already mentioned, when its revenues were of the amount given above.

In Madînat al-Fayyûm[5] at present there is the church of the glorious
Fol. 71 a angel Michael, which is exceedingly large, and contains certain pillars, large and high, so perfect that few more perfect have ever been seen. This church stands near that gate of the city which is called the gate of Sûrus.

There is also a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, outside the city; and there is a church of the martyr Mercurius, restored by the Shaikh Abû Zakarî.

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[1] Generally called دلوكة. She was said to have been queen of Egypt in her own right in remote antiquity.

[2] The ancient Antinoe or Antinoupolis, founded by the emperor Hadrian in memory of Antinous. In Coptic it is called ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲟⲩ. Under the later Roman Empire, it was the capital of the Thebaid, or Upper Egypt. Upon the site of this city now stands the village of Shaikh 'Abâdah, included in the district of Mallawî, in the province of Asyûṭ, and having in 1885 a population of 1,179. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٣٨١; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٠٣; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 48–51.

[3] The Greek Chemmis or Panopolis, and the Coptic ϫⲙⲓⲛ. It is now in the district of Suhaj, and had in 1885 a population of 18,792. It was formerly famous for its ancient temple, which was reckoned among the wonders of Egypt, but of which few remains now exist. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ١١٥; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. pp. ٣١ and ٣٣٩; As-Suyûṭî, *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, i. p. ٣٨; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 18–22.

[4] See above, fol. 52 a ff.

[5] This passage is quoted by Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 411.

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There is also a church of the Melkites in the quarter of the Armenians.

Monastery of An-Naḳlûn.

The monastery called the monastery of An-Naḳlûn[1] lies to the east of the district called Nawasâ[2]. This monastery[3] contains a church named after the angel Michael, in which there is a pillar of marble, which sweats as if water were flowing from it; and also possesses a large keep, which overlooks a mountain on which there is a boulder. It is said that the foundations of this church were laid on the 13th of Hatûr, and that it was consecrated by the Lord Christ and his Apostles on the 18th of Abîb. Adjacent to the monastery there is a church named after the angel Gabriel[4], enclosed within a wall which was erected before the church on the 13th of Amshîr and was finished in this short time; and the building of the church was begun on the 26th of the same month, and finished on the 13th of Ba'ûnah, on the 20th of which month it was consecrated. It is said that the mountain called An-Naḳlûn is that which contained the place where Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham, enjoyed the shade, and worshipped; and sacrifices were offered to God there in the days of Joseph, the son Fol. 71 b

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[1] The Coptic ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲱⲛⲉ. This monastery was also called in Coptic ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲉ, and sometimes in Arabic دير الخشب, both of which names signify 'Monastery of the Log' or 'Beam.' It was situated to the south-west of Madînat al-Fayyûm, near the modern Gharaḳ, and has now been swallowed up by the sands, like the other villages of that district. Al-Maḳrîzî gives an account of the monastery of An-Naḳlûn. See also Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 133 and 273. (A. J. B.)

[2] Yâḳût mentions a place of this name, which was, however, in the province of Samannûd, and still exists; see his *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٨٢٢, and *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 264.

[3] It is related that 'Aour' or Aurâ (see a few lines below), bishop of the Fayyûm, was the founder of the monastery of An-Naḳlûn early in the fourth century; and his history translated from the Arabic, is to be found in M. Amélineau's *Contes et Rom. de l'Égypte Chrét.* p. 109 ff.

[4] This church is mentioned in the last-named work, p. 122.

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of Jacob, when Joseph superintended the building of the Fayyûm and the Ḥajar al-Lâḥûn. The church in the mountains of An-Naḳlûn was consecrated, in the episcopate of Anbâ Isaac, by Aurâ, son of the queen's daughter and of Abrâshît[1], the magician, whom she hid away from him (?) and from her parents.

Monastery of Al-Ḳalamûn[2].

§ The monastery called that of Al-Ḳalamûn. This monastery is much visited. It possesses land in several districts of Upper Egypt; and at Shubrâ it owns sixteen feddâns. It possesses[3] salt-marshes, from which it annually receives nearly three thousand ardebs [of salt]. Of the dates of the palm-trees it receives a quantity, which are sold every year.

There is here a spacious church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, which was consecrated on the 14th of Hatûr. Anbâ Samuel[4], the superior and administrator of this monastery, was

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[1] See Amélineau, *op. cit.*

[2] The hill of Al-Ḳalamûn, upon which this monastery stood, rises to the south-west of the Fayyûm near An-Naḳlûn and near Al-Gharaḳ and the Wâdî Rayân; but it does not appear that the name is still given to the place, which is now a mere desert. The monastery is described by Al-Maḳrîzî; but is barely mentioned by Yâḳût, who merely says that it was in the Fayyûm and was widely celebrated. The Coptic name is ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲙⲱⲛ. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٦٨٧; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 388 f. (A. J. B.)

[3] This passage and part of the following account of the monastery are quoted by Quatremère, i. pp. 474–475.

[4] The death of this saint is commemorated on Kîhak 8=Dec. 4. See *Synaxarium* at that day. He was the founder of the monastery of Al-Ḳalamûn, and Hatrî and Hor are said to have been monks there under him, which would fix his date in the first half of the fourth century. Fourteen monks from An-Naḳlûn are said to have come over to Samuel. He employed his monks in preparing salt from the saline pool (ⲙⲙⲁⲡⲉϩⲙⲙⲟⲩ), mentioned by our author below. See Zoega, *Cat.* pp. 545–546, where quotations from a Coptic encomium on this saint are given.

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a learned man; and God revealed to him what would happen in the future, and spoke with him; and Samuel wrote down what God said to him, and his prophecies were verified in his own time.

This monastery is enclosed within a surrounding wall, in which there is a large garden containing palms and olives and vegetables. In the monastery there are four towers; and it contains twelve churches. In the upper part there is a sentinel's cell in which a monk is stationed, to warn the other monks of the approach of visitors to the monastery, **Fol. 72 a** while the latter are yet at a distance, whether they be soldiers or emirs or wâlîs; and the sentinel strikes the wooden gong in different manners, according to the rank of the visitors; so that the monks may know, when they hear it, who it is that is approaching the monastery, and may prepare what is fitting for him before he arrives.

The church of this monastery contains twelve chapels in its upper and lower stories. There is in it a spring of salt water, flowing day and night from it into a wide pool. In the latter there are to be found at intervals [the fish called] *bulṭî*[1], of which men eat, and which are good for food, and black in colour. In winter the water sweetens a little in this pool; and the monks occasionally drink from it.

Outside the monastery there is a cave, in which lives a monk who is named Muhnâ; and he never quits it by night or by day. He fasts during the whole week. The monks go to him to receive his blessing. Around his cave there are many fruitful palm-trees. He used to have with him a hundred dinars of money; but when the Ghuzz and Kurds came to this country, he made a present of the money to the monks, and retained nothing of it. The wild beasts used to come together to him, and not one of them hurt him; but they grew so tame that he was able to feed them out of his hand. The devils also appeared to him, and stood opposite to him, face to face, but could not reach him.

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[1] Al-Idrîsî says that this was a round fish of the same kind as the 'Afar (عفر), and was also found in the Sea of Tiberias; that it had few bones and was good to eat, being sometimes of the weight of five pounds. Translated by Jaubert, i. p. 30.

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Fol. 72 b The door of this monastery is plated with iron, and is of skilful workmanship.

This monk, Muhnâ, of whom we have been speaking, made, at the beginning of his monastic life, before he shut himself up in the cave on the mountain, a church which was hewn out of the rock, and over it he made cells for the monks. It is said that the father, Anbâ Samuel, the celebrated administrator of this monastery, used to worship on the mountain, at a place called Rayân[1], opposite to the monastery. Up to the end of Amshîr, in the year 894 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1178), the number of monks in this monastery amounted to 130; and they were virtuous and devout.

Monasteries and Churches at Aflâḥ az-Zaitûn.

The monastery of the glorious martyr Theodore, on the [canal of] Al-Manhî, at Aflâḥ az-Zaitûn[2]. This Theodore was a native of the Fayyûm, and was martyred in Upper Egypt. His body was carried on a wooden chariot, over which his blood flowed; and it did not cease to carry him until it reached this district, of which he was a native.

In [this district] there is a church named after him, and containing his body; besides many other churches. There are here a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a monastery named after the apostles; a church named after the martyr Mercurius; a church of the angel Gabriel; a church named after Saint John; and the church of the Saviour[3].

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[1] I. e. the Wâdî Rayân, still so called, to the south of the Fayyûm, and, according to some, on the site of the ancient Lake Moeris.

[2] More commonly called simply Az-Zaitûn, or 'The Olives;' in Coptic ⲫⲁⲛⲓϫⲱⲓⲧ. The Acts of the martyr John of Phanijoit have been published by M. Amélineau; see *Un Document copte du xii Siècle*, 1887. The place is on the west bank, close to Dalâs and Bûsh Ḳurâ, and a little to the north of Banî Suwaif, to the province of which it belongs; and in 1885 it had 1,300 inhabitants, besides sixty-two Bedouins. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٩١٥; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ١٠; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 327–330. This passage of our author is quoted in substance by Quatremère, *Mém.* pp. 412–413.

[3] As-Suṭîr is of course the Greek σωτήρ.

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Churches of Fânû and Naḳalîfah.

The district of Fânû and Naḳalîfah[1]. In these two districts there are several churches. There are to be found here the church of the glorious Saint George; a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, restored by the Shaikh Al-Muhadhdhab Abû Isḥâḳ Ibrâhîm ibn Abû Sahl al-Mushârif, who was known as Az-Zaḳrûḳ; the church of the glorious angel Michael; the monastery of the Cross in the district of Fânû, in which the liturgy is celebrated once in the year, on the feast of the Cross; and a church of the glorious Saint George. Fol. 73 a

Sailah.

In the district of Sailah[2] there is a monastery named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin, the Virgin Mary; adjacent to which there is a keep, which has been restored, but not finished, on the public road.

The monastery known as the monastery of the Brothers. In this there is a church named after the glorious martyr Saint Mennas. In this monastery lived the priest John of Samannûd[3], who was devout, learned, and humble, and consoled by his learning all those that came to him and heard his discourse; he afterwards became patriarch of Alexandria.

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[1] This passage is quoted in substance by Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 413. Naḳalîfah is still existing, and is included in the district of Sanûras in the province of the Fayyûm, with a population in 1885 of 2,664. See *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 258. In the fourteenth century revenue-lists both places are named; see De Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, p. 633.

[2] Quoted in Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 413. Sailah was in the Fayyûm, to the west of Naḳalîfah, but is not named in the *Rec. de l'Égypte*. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. rr.; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٩.

[3] He succeeded Agatho, and was the fortieth patriarch, occupying the see from A.D. 677 to 686.

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Ḥajar al-Lâhûn.

Ḥajar al-Lâhûn[1]. Here is the monastery of Saint Isaac[2]; and the church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. This church is spacious and beautifully planned, skilfully built and designed, and resembles the church in the monastery of Al-Ḳalamûn. In the
Fol. 73 b [monastery of Saint Isaac] there is also a small church, named after the glorious martyr Saint Isaac. Round this monastery there is a triple wall of stone. It is much visited, and stands on the mountain to the north of Al-Lâhûn, at the place called Barniyûdah, in the mountain-range in the south of the Fayyûm.

Churches of Al-Bahnasâ and the neighbourhood.

§ At Al-Bahnasâ there are several churches, namely, the church of Saint Ammon[3]; the church of Mark; the church of Saint John[4]; the

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[1] The following passage is quoted in substance by Quatremère, *Mém.* i. p. 413. The village of Al-Lâhûn still exists, and in 1885 had a population of 2,416. It stands at the entrance to the Fayyûm, where the ancient lock of the canal of Al-Manhî was; and it is included in the district of Tubhar. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 232.

[2] Saint Isaac of Difrî (ⲧⲫⲣⲉ), in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, was put to death in the persecution of Diocletian, by order of Arianus, governor of the Thebaid, after horrible tortures. His martyrdom is commemorated on Bashans 6 =May 1. See *Synaxarium* at that day; Budge, *Martyrdom of Isaac of Tiphre*, with Coptic text and translation.

[3] Abamûn, Abâmûn, or more correctly Abâ Amûn or Apâ Ammon, is the name of two martyrs, of the time of Diocletian, whose deaths are commemorated respectively on Abîb 13 and 27=July 7 and 21. See *Synaxarium* at those days; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 103. Quatremère borrows from this passage, *Mém.* i. p. 255. Al-Maḳrîzî says that there were once 360 churches at Al-Bahnasâ, of which the church of Mary alone remained in his time. We shall return to Al-Bahnasâ on fol. 74 b.

[4] Since Abû Yuḥannus is not further identified, and there are several saints named John in the Coptic calendar, it is impossible to say which of them is

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church of the glorious martyr Saint George; and the church of the glorious martyr Mercurius.

§ At Bahûmalîs[1] there are several churches, namely, the church of the angel Gabriel, and a second church of the angel Gabriel; a church of the angel Raphael; a church of the glorious Saint Sinuthius[2]; and a church named after Saint Armenius[3].

§ The district of Ḳusâdah[4]. [Here there is] a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the glorious angel Michael; a church of the angel Raphael; a church of the glorious martyr Mercurius; and the church of the glorious angel Gabriel.

§ At Abṭûjah[5] is the church of Raphael the angel; the church of the angel Michael; the church of the Lady, the Holy and Pure Virgin Mary; and the church of Dioscorus.

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intended here and elsewhere. The most popular martyr of this name, however, would seem to be the John who was martyred together with his cousin Simeon, with whom he is commemorated on Abîb 11=July 5. See their Acts, edited and translated by M. Hyvernat, *Actes des MM. de l'Égypte*, p. 174 ff. See also *Synaxarium* at that day; and Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 141 ff.

[1] I cannot guarantee the form of this name, nor identify the locality.

[2] This may be the famous monk Sinuthius, founder of the White Monastery; or it may be St. Shanûdah or Sinuthius the martyr, of Al-Bahnasâ, commemorated on Barmahât 14=April 9; see *Synaxarium* at that day.

[3] Abû Harmînah is said by Al-Maḳrîzî to have been one of the earliest monks, and very famous among the Christians. Cf. Paris *Synaxarium* at Ba'ûnah 8=June 2. There was a St. Harmanûs, a champion of the monophysite doctrine, who is mentioned in the Patriarchal Biographies, *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 167, l. 1 ff. The *Synaxarium* translated by Mr. Malan commemorates a Harman, bishop of Ḳâ'û, in Upper Egypt, on Kîhak 2=Nov. 28.

[4] A little to the east of Al-Bahnasâ, and nearer the bank of the river.

[5] The Coptic ⲧⲱϫⲓ, a little to the south-west of Al-Bahnasâ, but on the same side of the river. The village is now included within the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Munyah or Minyah, and had in 1885 a population of 1,000. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 517 f. Quatremère refers to this passage, *Mém.* i. p. 258.

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Fol. 74 a

§ Jalfah[1]. Here there is a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a church named after Saint Dioscorus; a church named after the saint and glorious martyr Victor, son of Romanus; and a church named after Bû Talîhah[2].

§ At Bardanûhah[3] there are several churches, namely, the church of Abâ Kusṭûl; a church of the angel Michael; a church of the angel Raphael; a church of the angel Gabriel; the church of Mercurius, the valiant martyr; the church of the saint and glorious martyr Saint George; a church named after the valiant and militant martyr Theodore; and the church of the saint Aimîn.

§ Safṭ Abû Jirjâ[4]. Here are several churches, namely, a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; the church of Thomas; the two churches of the angel Michael and of the angel Gabriel.

§ Al-Kufûr[5]. Here there is a church named after the martyr Theodore.

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[1] The Coptic ⲡⲭⲉⲗⲃⲁϩ. It is now included in the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 647. It is probably the Jalaf, which Yâḳût says was near Al-Ḳais, in the district of Al-Bahnasâ. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ١٠٣; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 150 f. Quatremère refers to this passage of our author, *Mém.* i. p. 257.

[2] I must admit with Quatremère that I cannot identify this saint, nor even read his name with certainty.

[3] Now included in the district of Ḳalûsanâ, in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 2,670. It lies on the west bank, a few miles to the south of Al-Bahnasâ, and near Al-Ḳais and Al-Kafûr. See Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٦; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 64.

[4] A little to the south-west of Al-Bahnasâ, south of Abṭûjah and north of Abû Jirjâ. The village is now included in the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Minyah, with a population in 1885 of 2,316. There were twelve places named Safṭ in Egypt. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٩٧, and *Mushtarik*, p. ٢٣٨; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٨; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 279.

[5] On the west bank, to the south-east of Al-Bahnasâ and a little to the north of Ḳalûsanâ. It is called in Coptic ⲡⲓⲕⲁϥⲁⲣ, and is now comprised in the district of Ḳalûsanâ, with a population in 1885 of 798. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 276 f.

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Ṭaḥâ.

§ Ṭaḥâ al-Madînah[1], belonging to the province of Al-Ushmûnain. Here there are a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary[2]; a second church of the Lady; a church of the angel Gabriel; two churches of the two glorious and militant martyrs, Saint George and Mercurius; a church named after Saint Mark the Evangelist; a church named after the glorious martyr Stephen, the chief of the deacons.

Saft al-Muhallabî.

§ At Saft al-Muhallabî[3] there is a church named after the glorious angel Michael; and two churches named after the two glorious angels Gabriel and Raphael. Fol. 74 b

Mallawî.

§ At Mallawî[4] [there is a church] named after the valiant martyr Abatîr[5]; a church of the martyr Mercurius; a church of the glorious

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[1] On the west bank, a little to the north of Munyah or Minyah Banî Khaṣîb, in the province of which it is now included, being in the district of Ḳalûsanâ. It is the Coptic ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟ. In 1885 it had 1,113 inhabitants. See Al-Idrîsî, trans. Jaubert, i. p. 124; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٥١٦; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 471 f. Ṭaḥâ is again mentioned by our author on fol. 77 a.

[2] Al-Maḳrîzî mentions two churches alone at Ṭaḥâ, viz. those of Mary and the Apostles.

[3] Our copyist writes المهلى, but المُهَلَّبِيّ is the form given by Yâḳût in his *Mushtarik*, p. ٢٣٩, where he says that the village was in the province of Al-Ushmûnain.

[4] This is thought to be the place called in Coptic ⲙⲁⲗⲁⲩⲓ. It is now a town of some little importance, since in 1885 it contained 10,777 inhabitants; and it is situated in the district to which it gives its own name, in the province of Asyûṭ. Mallawî is on the west bank, a little to the south of Ushmûnain. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 239 f. Al-Maḳrîzî names the churches of the Apostles, of St. George, and of St. Michael at Mallawî, but says that the two last were in a ruined state in his time.

[5] I conjecturally read Abatîr and identify the saint with Apatîl, a soldier of the

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martyr Saint George; two churches of the two angels Gabriel and Raphael; and two churches of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, and of the glorious angel Michael.

Rîfah and Udrunkah.

§ Rîfah[1] and Udrunkah[2]. Here there is a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the glorious martyr Victor; two churches of the valiant martyr Theodore; a church named after the Saviour; a church named after Saint John; two churches named after the two martyrs Thomas and Severus; and a monastery named after the great saint Sinuthius.

Churches at Al-Bahnasâ and the neighbourhood.

§ At Najâj[3], in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, there is a church named after the martyr Saint John.

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fort of Babylon, whose martyrdom is commemorated on Abîb 16=July 10; see Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 97. There is a martyr Abadîr commemorated on Tût 28=Sept. 25; see *Synaxarium* at that day.

[1] Our author, or his abbreviator, with his usual want of plan, here takes us up to the neighbourhood of Usyût, from which he immediately afterwards returns. Rîfah is a little to the south of Usyût, on the west bank, and was called in Coptic ⲉⲣⲏⲃⲉ. In 1885 it had a population of 4,119, and is now included within the district and province of Asyût or Usyût. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 165. Al-Maḳrîzî names churches and monasteries at Rîfah and Udrunkah, but apparently not those mentioned by our author.

[2] Also called Durunkah or Derenkah. It lies a little to the south-west of Usyût, in the district and province of which it is included. It is a little to the north of Rîfah, and had 4,629 inhabitants in 1885. In the time of our author and later this was a great Christian centre; and Coptic was still spoken here in the time of Al-Maḳrîzî. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ١١٨; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 99.

[3] I cannot identify this place. It would be some distance to the north of Rîfah and Udrunkah.

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§ Idfâḳ[1]. Here there is a church of the glorious martyr Mercurius.

§ Ṭurfah[2]. Here there is a church named after Bartholomew.

As-Sâḳiyah, called Sâḳiyah Maḥfûẓ[3]. Here there are five churches, [respectively named after] the martyr Mercurius, Mark, Stephen, Theodore, and the Disciples.

§ Al-Bahnasâ. The meaning of this word is 'place of marriage[4],' and it was built for the maidens who were the virgin daughters of the kings, and were married to the sons of the kings from this city. Near it there is a place where Joseph the Truthful worshipped. Fol. 75 a

There is here a church named after Saint Bartholomew[5], who was martyred in the oasis of Al-Bahnasâ, and whose body is in the church of Ḳarbîl there. There is also the church of Theodore.

In this district there are several churches: those of the martyr

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[1] This place again I cannot identify.

[2] This village, formerly in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, is now included in the district of Ḳalûsanâ, in the province of Munyah or Minyah, and had 435 inhabitants in 1885. Its Coptic name was ⲧⲉⲣⲃⲉ. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 492 f.

[3] See Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٨. The name Sâḳiyah means, of course, 'water-wheel.'

[4] I.e. apparently ⲃⲁϩⲛⲁⲥⲁⲗⲉⲧ, which only approximates to the sound of Bahnasâ.

[5] The MS. has Bartâ'û. The Copts and Abyssinians, differing from the Latins and Greeks, agree in holding that St. Bartholomew preached in the Oases. They generally add, however, that he was martyred on the sea-coast, that is, apparently, on the Egyptian or Nubian shores. See, e.g. *The Conflicts of the Apostles*, translated from the Ethiopic by Mr. Malan, pp. 76–99.

The *Synaxarium* says at Tût 1=Aug. 29:

فيه نياحة القديس التلميذ برتلوماوس احد الاثنى عشر هذا الرسول خرج سهمة ان يمضى الى الواحات فمضى هو وبطرس اليهم وبشرهم ودعاهم الى معرفة الله بعد ان ظهر لهم من الايات الباهرة للعقول والعجائب ما ادهل عقولهم

'On this day is commemorated the death of the holy disciple Bartholomew, one of the Twelve. To this apostle it was allotted that he should go to the Oases. So he and Peter travelled thither, and he preached the gospel to the inhabitants of

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Stephen; Abatîr[1]; Bartholomew; the Disciples and Apostles; and our Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary.

The last church is in the city [of Al-Baḥnasâ], and is large and spacious.

There are also churches of the glorious angel Michael and of the angel Gabriel; of Iṣṭafûrâ[2] the martyr, who was also called Dog's Face,

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the Oases, and called them to the knowledge of God, after wonderful signs and astounding miracles had been shown to them.'

After converting the people in the Oases,

فانه مضى الى البلاد التى على شاطى البحر للذين لا يعرفون الله فنادا فيهم وردهم الى معرفة الله والايمان بالسيد المسيح فسمع به اغزبس الملك فحنق عليه وامر ان يجعلوه فى تليس شعر ويملوها رمل و يطرحوه فى البحر

'Then he went to the country on the sea-coast, to those who knew not God; and he preached among them and turned them to the knowledge of God, and to faith in the Lord Christ. But Agharbus, the king, heard of him and was wroth with him, and commanded that they should put him in a sack of hair-cloth and fill it with sand and cast him into the sea.'

[1] See note above on fol. 74 b.

[2] I. e. St. Christopher. The form of the name in the *Synaxarium* is Akhristâfârus (اخرسطافارس); and it is added

الذى كان وجهه وجه كلب

'Whose face was the face of a dog.'

In Zoega, *Cat.* p. 235, and in *Conflicts of Holy Apostles*, translated by Mr. Malan from the Ethiopic, p. 76 ff., the name is said to be Christianos. The story is that he was a 'Cynocephalus,' in Coptic ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉⲕⲩⲟⲟⲡ, who was converted by Saints Andrew and Bartholomew, and accompanied them in their missions in Nubia. He had lived near the city of Barthos, which has been supposed to mean Parthia. Barthos, however, was not far from Elwah, which Mr. Malan says is unknown, but which might be 'Alwah in Nubia. St. Christopher is commemorated by the Copts on Barmûdah 2=May 28. Cf. *Acta SS.* at July 25, where a different history of St. Christopher is given. The epithet 'dog-faced' is, however, preserved in a troparion sung by the Greek church, on the festival of St. Christopher (May 9); although the Menologion of Basil (A. D. 984) repudiates the literal acceptance of this epithet, and

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and was one of those who were with the fathers and pure disciples. This last church is on the canal, outside the city. [There are also churches of] Mark; of the martyr Mercurius, who has two churches here; of Saint George, who has two churches; and of Saint John or Abû Ḥannâ, the martyr.

§ Ashrûbah[1]. Here there are two churches of the Cross, and one of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, within the city; and there is also one dedicated to her without the city. There is also a church of Michael, the glorious angel; a church of the glorious martyr Mercurius on the borders of the lake; and a church of the glorious Saint George; and two churches of the glorious Saint Theodore; and [churches named after] Saint Paul[2] and Thomas. Fol. 75 b

§ At Saft Rashîn[3] there is a church named after the glorious martyr Theodore the Eastern, which was wrecked by the Ghuzz and Kurds, who turned it into a mosque. There is here also a church of the angel Gabriel, which fell into decay and was restored by a certain official.

Places in Egypt visited by our Lord.

§ The places which our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory! visited with the Lady, the Pure Virgin, and with the righteous old man, Joseph the carpenter, in Upper Egypt.

The church of Jabal al-Kaff[4], named after the Lady, the Pure

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explains it as being metaphorical, and significant of the character of the saint before his conversion. (A. J. B.)

[1] This place is named by Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٣; and it is now included within the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Minyah, but is a place of no importance. In the fourteenth century it still belonged to the province of Al-Bahnasâ, and is named in the revenue-list of A.D. 1375. See De Sacy, *Rel. de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, p. 685; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 22.

[2] This would be St. Paul the first hermit; or St. Paul of Ṭamwaih, a monk famous for his austerities, and commemorated on Bâbah 7=Oct. 4.

[3] A considerable distance to the north of Al-Bahnasâ, and to the south of Banî Suwaif, in the province of which it is now included. Yâḳût includes it in the province of Al-Bahnasâ; see *Mushtarik*, p. ٢٣٩.

[4] I.e. 'Mount of the Palm of the Hand.' Our author, at the beginning of

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Virgin Mary. This church is hewn out of the mountain-side, and in the rock is the mark of the palm of the hand of the Lord Christ, to whom be glory! which was made when he touched the mountain, when it bowed in adoration before him, after he had gone down thither from Syria. He grasped the mountain, when it worshipped before him, and restored it to its place with his hand; so that the mark of his palm remains impressed upon that mountain to the present day. In the impression of the hand there is a fine perforation, large enough to admit a collyrium-needle, into which the needle is inserted, and, when it is pulled out, brings up a black collyrium which makes an indelible mark.

Above this church there is a church built of stone, and named after
Fol. 76 a the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Festival is kept here on the 21st of Ṭûbah[1], which is the day of her death, when a large congregation assembles. This mountain [of Jabal al-Kaff] is opposite to the district called Al-Bîhû[2], [but is] on the eastern side of the river. It is also said to be near the city of Al-Ushmûnain[3]; and it is also called the Jabal aṭ-Ṭair[4]. On this mountain there are two stone crosses, of a red colour; one of them is a large stone and the other a small stone.

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fol. 76 a, identifies this mountain with the Jabal aṭ-Ṭair, which rises opposite to Samallût and Bîhû, and to the north of Munyah Banî Khasîb.

[1] The Death of the Blessed Virgin is commemorated by the Copts on Ṭûbah 21=Jan. 16, and her Assumption on Misrî 16=Aug. 9.

[2] This village still exists on the west bank, opposite to the Jabal aṭ-Ṭair, and is included in the district of Ḳalûsanâ, in the province of Minyah. In 1885 it had a population of 1,252. See Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٤٠; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 73.

[3] Al-Ushmûnain is in reality about thirty miles to the south of the Jabal aṭ-Ṭair.

[4] See Norden's Plate LXXI, where the 'Tshibel ell Deiir,' as he spells it, is to be seen at the northernmost point of the Nile, on the eastern bank. On Plate LXXV Norden gives a view of the monastery on the Jabal aṭ-Ṭair, which is called *Dair al-'Adhrâ*, i.e. 'Monastery of the Virgin,' or, more popularly, *Dair al-Baḳarah*, or 'Monastery of the Pulley.' The latter name is common to several monasteries, which use a pulley to hoist up both provisions and visitors; and one so named is shown on Jabal Abû Faidâ in Norden's Plate LXXX, a few miles to the north of Manfalût. The *Dair al-'Adhrâ* on Jabal

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§ In the city of Al-Ushmûnain there is a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, which is very large, and which Al-Ḥâkim changed into a mosque.

On this mountain [of Jabal al-Kaff] there is another church hewn in the rock, and supported by eight columns[1]. Opposite to this church there is a hole of a cubit's breadth in which is white sand, some of which is extracted by all those who put their hands in and take some of it, and yet it never diminishes in quantity. The hand of a sinner cannot enter into it, even as far as the tip of the finger.

It is said that when the Franks invaded Upper Egypt with their king[2], to drive Shirkûh the Kurd and his men away from the land of Egypt, they cut out the piece of rock upon which was the mark of the palm of the hand, and took it back with them to Syria, in the year 563 of the Arabs (A.D. 1168).

§ The monastery of Bîsûs[3], which is near Ishnîn[4]. It is said by some

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aṭ-Ṭair seems to be the one described by Curzon in his *Monasteries of the Levant*, ch. ix (p. 111). (A. J. B.)

[1] Curzon gives a plan of this church, p. 114, in which he specially remarks on the eight columns. (A. J. B.)

[2] Amaury or Almeric, king of Jerusalem from A.D. 1162 to 1173, was induced by bribes to lead his troops to Egypt in the first year of his reign, to assist Shâwar against Shirkûh; and again in 1163, when the Latin sovereign entered Cairo, and Shirkûh retreated. Amaury continued to assist the Fatimide caliph and his vizier, until in 1168 he took a powerful army to Al-Faramâ, which he took and sacked. This unscrupulous piece of treachery against his Egyptian allies forced Shâwar to implore Nûr ad-Dîn, his former enemy, to assist him against the Franks, and Amaury was driven to retreat.

[3] Al-Maḳrîzî calls this the monastery of Îsûs (دير ايسوس), explaining this word as equivalent to the Arabic *Yasû'* (يسوع) or 'Jesus;' and it is, of course, simply a transcription of the Graeco-Coptic ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ. Al-Maḳrîzî relates the same story which is given here of the well by which men foretell the rise of the Nile. Our author seems to take *Bîsûs* as the name of a place; but this error must have arisen from his seeing the monastery mentioned as دير يسمى بايسوس or دير اسمه بايسوس, i.e. 'A monastery which is named after Jesus.' (A. J. B.)

[4] On the west bank, a little to the north of Al-Bahnasâ, but a long way from

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that this monastery belongs to the province of Al-Ushmûnain. Christ visited this place and stayed here.

Fol. 76 b In the monastery there is a church, in the middle of which there is a well of running water. Over this well prayers are said during the rise of the Nile every year; and then the water in the well rises. In the well there are marks contrived, which show the number of cubits reached by the rise of the Nile; and when the water of the well rises and stands still at a certain mark, it is known thereby what height the rise of the Nile will reach.

Island of Al-Ushmûnain[1]. Al-Ushmûn was the name of one of the sons of Ḳifṭ, the son of Mizraim. The town was built by Pharaoh, and after it had fallen into ruin it was re-built by Nebuchadnezzar[2], king of Babylon. It is said that there was on the highest point of this town a cock, and beneath it a row of dromedaries. When a stranger approached the town the cock crowed, and the dromedaries came out to destroy that stranger. But when our Lord Christ, to whom be glory! came to this town, the cock crowed and the dromedaries went out, according to their custom; and when they saw the Lord Christ and the Lady, and Joseph the carpenter, they worshipped

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Al-Ushmûnain. There must have been a confusion on the part of some writers between Ishnîn and Al-Ushmûnain. Ishnîn was formerly in the province of Al-Bahnasâ, but is now, under the name of Ashnîn an-Naṣârâ, or 'Ashnîn of the Christians,' included in the district of Banî Mazar, in the province of Minyah. In 1885 it had a population of 1,260. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٢٨٥; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 22.

[1] Also called Ashmûnain, Eshmûnain, or Oshmûnain. Al-Ushmûnain is the Coptic ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ. It still exists in the district of Raudah, in the province of Usyûṭ, and had 2,312 inhabitants in 1885. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 167 ff.; Al-Idrîsî [p. 47] (ed. Rome); Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٢٨٣. The term 'island' is given to the district in which Al-Ushmûnain stands, because it is surrounded by water: by the Nile on the east, the Baḥr Yûsuf or Al-Manhî on the west and south, and a connecting canal on the north.

[2] On fol. 23 b and 80 a we are told that it was Belshazzar who restored Al-Ushmûnain, after it had been pillaged by Nebuchadnezzar.

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them; and on the spot they were changed into stone; and their number was five.

On this island there are three hundred villages. Our Lord Christ entered [the town] by the eastern gate. Here the dromedaries worshipped him.

In the history of Anbâ Khâ'îl, the forty-sixth patriarch[1], it is said that this is the town which was built by Alexander the Macedonian, who called it Cleopatra[2], a name which means 'the Weeping Woman;' and it was to this place that Marwân, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, came, and here he was killed on the rock; as the old monk[3] had prophesied, according to the narrative. Fol. 77 a

* * * one of the districts [of Al-Ushmûnain]. Here is the body of Saint Macarius, the martyr. There is here an ancient temple[4], near the southern gate. There are several churches contained in it; namely, a church called after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, which contains several altars, and marble pillars; one of which has been celebrated in all times, for upon it is the mark of the hand of the Lord. Outside the church there is a Syrian tree bearing [the fruit called] sebestan[5], which is of a red colour. The tree stands near the ancient temple; and when the Lord with the Lady passed by it, it bowed its head in adoration to him. The governor of the town [in later times] wished to cut it down; but the patriarch Agatho[6] was standing under the

[1] See MS. *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 179.

[2] See Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 170, 226–227.

[3] This was a monk who addressed Marwân on his march through Syria, and foretold to him his defeat and death; for which the caliph had his pillar overthrown, for he was a Stylite, and had him burnt alive. See *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 167, l. 13 ff.

[4] There are still ancient tombs in the neighbourhood of Al-Ushmûnain, but no temple at the present day.

[5] The *Mukhkhaiṭ* is a kind of *Cordia*, and is sometimes called the Assyrian plum. It is of a dark purple colour, and was formerly used in medicine in Europe, as it still is in the east.

[6] The thirty-ninth patriarch of Alexandria. He occupied the see from A.D. 658 to 677 (?). See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 172–174.

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tree, and when the woodcutter struck it with his axe, the axe flew back into his face. Thereupon the governor was afraid, and never again gave orders that the tree should be cut down; but he brought to the patriarch gold out of his treasury, and begged him to accept it, and to spend it on any sort of good work that he might wish.

§ Funkus[1]. There was here a church named after one of the martyrs, I know not whom.

§ Ṭahâ[2]. In this town there were in former times 15,000 Christians, but not a single Ḥanîf or Jew; and there were 360 churches. In the
Fol. 77 b caliphate of Marwân al-Ja'dî, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, he sent Miwadd to this town, but they drove him out and forbad him to live among them; so he returned to Marwân, and told him of what they had done. Thereupon Marwân sent some of his soldiers, who killed a large number of the people, and scattered them, and destroyed all the churches; so that only one church was left, namely, that named after Saint Mennas, the martyr, for the sparing of which alone it was decreed that 3,000 dinars should be paid. 2,000 dinars, therefore, were collected from the rich men of the city, but 1,000 were wanting, and so one-third of the church was turned into a mosque, which stood before the *kaisârîyah*.

§ Darwat as-Sarabâm[3]. Here there is a church of the Lady,

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[1] The consonants and vowels of this name are alike uncertain.

[2] This place has already been mentioned on fol. 74 a. I do not know whether our author means to imply that all these towns and villages were visited by our Lord.

[3] Yâḳût calls it Darwat (دَرْوَت) Sarabâm, and Al-Maḳrîzî Darûṭ Sarabân. The latter writer says that it is also called Darwat ash-Sharîf. The place lies to the south of Al-Ushmûnain and Mallawî, and a little to the north of Râs al-Manhî, the spot at which the Baḥr Yûsuf or Al-Manhî issues from the Nile. In Coptic it is ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧ ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲙⲁⲙ; the latter word being an abbreviation of ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲙⲁⲙⲱⲛ, and being sometimes pronounced Sarabân in Arabic. The town now gives its name to a district of the province of Asyûṭ, and in 1885 had 5,588 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ov.; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. pp. ٧١ and ٢٠٥; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 496.

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the Pure Virgin Mary; and a church named after the angel Gabriel, which is called *Maghîr ath-Thilj*[1].

Near the last-named place is the district of Ṣanabû[2], where there is a church of the Lady, built of baked bricks.

§ Jabal Ashtar or Halâlîyah[3]. Here there is a church named after Bû Nadîl[4], the martyr, which has fallen into decay.

§ Munyah Banî Khaṣîb[5]. This city was founded by a Christian named Ibn Khaṣîb, after whom it was called. He and a number of members of his family lived here, with those who took refuge with him; and he built houses here, and set up water-wheels. It is said that Munyah Banî Khaṣîb acquired the name of the family after whom it was called, because they were numerous, and possessed wealth, and slaves to serve them. The town was formerly called Munyah Bû Ḳais. **Fol. 78 a**
It lies on the western bank; and it contains several churches, namely, two churches of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the glorious Saint George, outside the city; a church of the glorious angel Michael, who has also another church; one of these two is outside, and the other within the town; two churches, one of the martyr

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[1] I. e. 'Place where snow has fallen.'

[2] Al-Maḳrîzî gives Ṣanabû (صنبو) and Yâḳût Sanabû (سَنَبُو). The place was a little to the south of Biblâ'û, and close to the Râs al-Manhî. It was famous for the manufacture of excellent horse-cloths. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ١٥٧; Al-Maḳrîzî names a monastery, but not a church of the Virgin at Ṣanabû.

[3] I cannot identify this place.

[4] This name does not occur in the *Synaxarium*.

[5] Often called simply Munyah or Minyah. It is now the capital of the province to which it gives its name, and had in 1885 a population of 15,900. The Coptic form of its name is ⲙⲉⲛⲓ, or, with the article, ⲧⲙⲉⲛⲓ. It was also called Munyat Abî 'l-Khuṣaib. In our author's time it was a flourishing and populous town; and it is one of the most ancient cities of Egypt. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٦٧٥, and *Mushtarik*, p. ٣٠٧; Al-Idrîsî, trans. Jaubert, i. p. 124; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٠٥; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 257 f. Al-Maḳrîzî mentions only six churches as existing in his time at Munyah Banî Khaṣîb, viz. the Virgin, Saints Peter and Paul, St. Michael, St. George, St. Paul of Ṭamwaih, and the Three Holy Children.

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Mercurius, and the other of Abû Ḳais[1]—these two; and also in the ancient temple a church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the martyr Mercurius; a church of the angel Michael; and a church outside the town on the road to Daljah[2].

There is a monastery named after the martyr Theodore, outside Nahûr, on the eastern bank.

It is said that Munyah Banî Khaṣîb is also called Munyah Bû Ḳais, after the saint, son of Ḳift, son of Mizraim; and it possesses the body of Bû Halbas[3], the martyr.

The church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, at Al-Muḥarraḳah[4], in the province of Al-Ushmûnain. It was from this place that Christ returned to Miṣr, and thence to Syria. It is the first church that was founded and consecrated in the southern provinces.

This town is called Ḳûṣ Ḳâm[5] in the desert; and the meaning

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[1] See a few lines lower down.

[2] This town is at some distance to the south-west of Munyah Banî Khaṣîb; and lies remote from the river at the foot of the hills. It is now in the district of ar-Raudah, in the province of Asyût, and in 1885 it had 8,209 inhabitants. It seems to be the same as the Coptic ϵⲧⲗϰϵ, mentioned in one of the papyri of the Archduke Rainer; and its Arabic name is said now to be written 'Daljâ,' دلجا. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٥٨٣; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 175 f.

[3] A martyr of Ahnâs, named هلياس, is commemorated in the Paris *Synaxarium*, on Barmahât 15=March 11.

[4] The monastery of this place was and is the largest and one of the most celebrated in Egypt. It stands close to Ḳûsaḳâm, and is in the district of Manfalût, in the province of Asyût. The convent contained in 1885 a population of 1,110 inhabitants, consisting of monks, peasants, and Bedouins. Yâḳût has an article on *Dair al-Muḥarraḳ*, which he praises for the beauty of its situation, mentioning the tradition of Christ's visit to it. Al-Maḳrîzî also mentions the monastery in a few words. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٦١٣; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 264. Our author makes a mistake in placing Al-Muḥarraḳah in the province of Al-Ushmûnain.

[5] The Coptic ⲔⲞⲤⲔⲁⲙ. Yâḳût writes it as one word, قُوصَقام, 'Ḳûṣaḳâm;' see his *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٢٠١. It is also found in the forms قسقام and قزقام.

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of this name of Ḳûṣ Ḳâm is 'one who makes shrouds of reeds for the poor[1].' It was built by Ḳûs, the son of Ḳift, the son of Mizraim. Our Lord Jesus Christ stayed here with the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary, his mother in the flesh, and the righteous old man, Joseph the carpenter, at the time when they fled from Herod, the unbelieving king, who slew the infants. They stayed in a chamber in the upper story of this church, which is reached by mounting a flight of steps. In this chamber there is a window which was opened in the wall by the breath of the Lord; it was not opened by the hand, nor by any tool. In the church there is one altar, which was consecrated by the descent upon it of our Lord Christ[2], with the great disciples, in the clouds, according to the testimony of the homily[3] of Philotheus, the Fol. 78 b

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M. Amélineau omits the form given by our author. Some writers have made it the same place as Al-Muḥarrakah, and our author seems to be of this opinion. In fact, however, the monastery of Al-Muḥarraḳ was built at the foot of the western mountain, which is not far from the town of Ḳûsaḳâm, and is named after it Jabal Ḳûsaḳâm. Vansleb stayed at Ḳûsaḳâm for a month, in A.D. 1664, and says that the town was then in ruins, and that nothing remained but the monastery of Al-Muḥarraḳ. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 398. Ḳûsaḳâm is identified with Apollinopolis Parva. (A. J. B.)

[1] The Coptic ⲕⲱⲥ means to prepare for burial, by enshrouding, swathing, or embalming; and ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲗ means 'reed.'

[2] The Paris *Synaxarium* says, at Hatûr 6=Nov. 2:

اجتماع المخلص الاهنا وملكنا ربنا يسوع المسيح مع تلاميذه الاطهار بقسقام وهى المحرق واول قداس فيها كما يشهد به القديس فيلوتاوس والقديس كيرلس

'[On this day is commemorated] the meeting of the Saviour, our God and our King, our Lord Jesus Christ, with his pure disciples at Ḳusḳâm, which is the same as Al-Muḥarraḳ, and the first liturgy which took place there, according to the testimony of St. Philotheus and St. Cyril.'

[3] ميمر is, as Professor Margoliouth points out, the Syriac ܡܐܡܪܐ. M. Amélineau says, 'Les moines du monastère de Moharraq m'ont raconté que la Sainte Vierge avait conduit l'enfant Jésus à l'emplacement où s'élève maintenant leur monastère; et il existe dans la littérature copte un discours attribué à Théophile, le patriarche d'Alexandrie, sur la visite de la sainte famille à Moharraq. Ce discours n'existe

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twenty-third patriarch[1]. Hence came the form of consecration [of churches which has since been employed]: the vessels filled with water[2]; and the prayers recited over the water, to consecrate it; and the odoriferous plants[3] and the leaves; and the lamps upon their stands; and the sprinkling of the walls of the church; and [Christ] commanded Peter to cause all churches to be consecrated according to this form: the form of the first consecration, which took place at Al-Muḥarrakah, in the province of Al-Ushmûnain.

The church of the Lady, the Pure Virgin[4], is the first church which was built in Egypt. Hence Christ went down to Miṣr, and thence he returned to Syria. This church is called Ḳûs Ḳâm, and is very small.

[Christ and his parents] were accompanied by Moses, son of the brother of Joseph the carpenter. Our Lord Christ bid Moses place a stone beneath his head; this he did, and immediately he died; and he was buried in this place. Opposite the door of the church there is a well of running water. In the church there is a tank full of water,
Fol. 79a which at a later time was turned into wine. The form of consecration employed for this church became the customary rule for all future times; and the consecration took place on the 6th of Hatûr[5].

After [his stay here], our Lord Christ blessed the water of the aforesaid well, because he and his mother and their companions had drunk of it; so that every one who went to it in faith, and drank of it or bathed in it, was healed of his pains; and many were cured of their

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plus qu'en arabe, et se trouve dans un MS. de la Vaticane, dans un autre de la Bibliothèque Nationale, et dans la bibliothèque de Moharraq.' (*Mém. pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte Chrét.* p. 80, note.)

[1] Also called Theophilus; he sat from A.D. 385 to 412 (?). See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 103–108.

[2] For an account of these ceremonies see *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 338 ff.

[3] The plant used for sprinkling the water was a kind of beetroot, in Arabic *silḳ* (سلق); see Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 215. (A. J. B.)

[4] I.e. at Al-Muḥarrakah, near Ḳûsakâm; see a few lines above.

[5] So in *Synaxarium*; see note above.

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diseases; and the water became, in the mouth of those that drank of it, sweet like the water of the Jihon; I mean the Nile of Egypt. Pilgrimages have been made by many multitudes from all districts to this church from ancient times, because it has been celebrated on account of signs and wonders and the healing of various diseases; and the time of pilgrimage is at Easter, every year. The Lord Christ commanded that the original size of this church should not be added to; but that it should remain as it was. The mark of the hand of the Lord is on the eastern and on the western mountain.

Adjacent to this church there is a large and ancient keep, which had fallen into decay, but was renewed and restored to its original condition by the Shaikh Abû Zakarî ibn Bû Naṣr, the administrator of Al-Ushmûnain; may God have mercy on him and grant rest to his soul! this was in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiẓ.

In this district there lived in ancient times Kharbatâ, son of Mâliḳ, the hard-hearted giant; but a thunderbolt was hurled at him from heaven, so that he was burnt up, and not a trace of him could be found; on this account the place was called Al-Muḥarraḳah[1]. Fol. 79 b

This Khartabâ, son of Mâliḳ, the giant, possessed much treasure and wealth; but he loved to do evil deeds, and did not fear God or dread his chastisements; and so God hurled a thunderbolt at him, which burnt him up, so that not a trace of him remained. On this account the place was called Al-Muḥarraḳah, as it has already been said.

To the west of this church there is a vaulted chamber, hewn out in the mountain-side; and here the Lady used to dwell; and the Christian people began to come to this chamber, and obtain blessings from it. It is said that at Easter, in the year 891 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1175), the water in the well was turned into wine, according to the testimony of an assembly of priests, bishops, and laity, who wrote down an account of the event.

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[1] I.e. 'The burnt village,' قرية being understood. When the form is masculine (Al-Muḥarraḳ), دير is understood.

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Monastery at Anṣinâ.

§ The great monastery on the mountain, founded by Matthias the monk, near Anṣinâ[1]. Many monks entered upon the monastic life here. This monk [Matthias[2]] performed many wonders; one of which was

[1] Whether this should be Anṣinâ, as our MS. has it, or Isnâ (Esneh) I cannot say. See following note.

[2] This Matthias, or Matthew, is mentioned in the *Life of the Patriarch Alexander* (A.D. 704–737?); and the following story is to be found there. See *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 136, l. 10 ff., where the saint, however, is said to have lived near Isnâ. A Coptic life of this saint, who is there called ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲧⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϩⲕⲉ, 'Saint Matthew the Poor,' is quoted in Zoega, *Cat.* p. 534 ff., in which it is said that this saint founded a monastery named after St. Pachomius, near Isnâ (Esneh), where he lived a most ascetic life, fighting with devils, who appeared to him in the form of serpents. A girl was brought to him, possessed by a devil, and he bade her parents anoint her with oil from the church lamp, so that she was healed. The Mahometan governor of Isnâ used to consult Matthew on matters of importance, and send him presents of grapes, figs, pomegranates, myrtle, and jasmine.

The festival of St. Matthew the Poor is kept on Kîhak 7=Dec. 3; and the *Synaxarium* has the following notice on that day:

فى هذا اليوم تنيح القديس متى المسكين هذا القديس كان رئيس دير جبل من اسوان وكان يعمل فضائل عظيمة ويخرج الشياطين واستحق نعمة الشفا وحتى ان كل مريض ياتوا به الى عنده يصلى عليه ويشفيه الرب بصلواته

'On this day died St. Matthew the Poor. This saint was the superior of a monastery on a mountain in the neighbourhood of Aswân. He used to perform many wonderful works, and cast out devils; and he was counted worthy to possess the gift of healing, so that he used to pray over every sick man who was brought to him, and the Lord healed the sick man in answer to his prayers.'

The *Synaxarium* then relates the story of the girl who was swallowed up, in somewhat different terms from those of our author, and concludes thus:

وبلغ من فضائل هذا الاب انه كان يطعم الوحوش بيده فلما اكمل سعيه تنيح بسلام واخذه الرب اليه صلواته المقبولة تكون مع جميع بنى المعمودية امين

'Among the wonderful acts recorded of this Father was his habit of feeding

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the following. A certain maiden had two brothers, who were tempted by Satan to commit sin with her, so that she became pregnant; and this fact became apparent, but none knew the cause. So her parents brought her to this monk; and he questioned her as to how the thing had happened; and she confessed all to him. Then he raised his hands to heaven and prayed; and the earth immediately opened and swallowed her up, in the sight of her parents. This is attested by the *History of the Church* in the *Life of the Father Alexander*, the priest of the monastery of *To Henaton*[1], who became forty-third patriarch. Fol. 80 a

Other Churches and Monasteries in Upper Egypt.

In the district called Mîr there are three churches.

In the district called Sanabû[2] there are twenty-seven churches.

In the district called Mansara there are three churches.

§ Belteshazzar, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, restored the land of Egypt after its desolation during forty years. The first district which he restored was that of Al-Ushmûnain[3].

There is a monastery named after the glorious angel Michael, in

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wild beasts with his own hand. So when he had finished his course, he went to his rest in peace, and the Lord took him to himself. May his acceptable prayers be with all those who are baptized! Amen.'

Renaudot (*Hist. Patr.* p. 119) calls this saint 'Domitius,' following a corrupt reading (دمتيوس) in one passage of the patriarchal biography. If he had read a little more carefully, he would have found the name written a few lines lower متيوس, 'Matthew.'

[1] The word is not easy to read in the MS., and I do not know whether I have correctly reproduced the form intended by our copyist. But that Alexander came from the monastery of *Az-Zajáj*, on the sea-shore, nine miles to the west of Alexandria, and therefore called in Greek *To Henaton* (τὸ ἕνατον), and in Coptic ⲡⲓϩⲉⲛⲁⲧⲟⲛ, is testified by the patriarchal biography. Al-Maḳrîzî also informs us of the identity of the *Dair az-Zajáj* with the *Dair al-Hanaṭûn*. See also Zoega, *Cat.* p. 337; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 532.

[2] See fol. 77 b.

[3] This piece of information has already been given us above, fol. 23 b.

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the city of Ḳûṣ; and a monastery of Saint Sinuthius likewise; and also a monastery of Saint Pachomius.

It was to a monastery at Aḳfahs that Anbâ Sanhût, bishop of Miṣr, fled[1], in fear of Anbâ Michael of Sanjâr, the sixty-eighth patriarch, against whom he was in schism; and he lived in the monastery three years.

§ A monastery in the desert, in Upper Egypt. It was here that Benjamin[2], the thirty-eighth patriarch, lived in concealment, in the reign of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, who was a Chalcedonian [heretic], and while George, son of Mennas, the Muḳauḳis, was ruling in Egypt, until the end of ten years, through fear of both of them, according to the warning of the angel. This was the period during

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[1] See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 476.

[2] The patriarchal history compiled by Severus of Al-Ushmûnain states that when the monothelite patriarch Cyrus came to Alexandria, an angel warned the Jacobite patriarch Benjamin (who occupied the see from A.D. 622 to 660?) to flee and lie hid for ten years, since the church would be much troubled during that period, and to bid the other bishops of Egypt also flee and conceal themselves. With regard to Benjamin, the biographer proceeds:

خرج من طريق مريوط وهو ماشى على رجليه ليلا ومعه اثنين من تلاميذه حتى وصل الى المنى ومن هناك مضى الى وادى هبيب وكان الرهبان هناك قليل لانه عقيب الخراب الذى كان فى ايام دميانس البطرك وكان البربر لا يدعوهم يكثرون هناك ثم انه خرج من الديارات بوادى هبيب ومضى الى الصعيد واقام مختفى هناك فى دبر صغير فى البرية الى كمال العشرة سنين التى كان فيها هرقل والمقوقز مسلطين على ديار مصر

'He set out by the road to Maryût, walking on foot, by night, accompanied by two of his disciples, until he arrived at Al-Munâ, whence he travelled to Wâdî Habîb. There the monks were few in number, for it was not long after the ravaging of those monasteries, which took place under the patriarch Damian; and the Berbers did not allow the monks to multiply in the Wâdî Habîb. Then Benjamin quitted the monasteries of Wâdî Habîb, and went to Upper Egypt, and lived in concealment there in a small monastery in the desert, until the completion of the ten years during which Heraclius and the Muḳauḳiz (sic) ruled the land of Egypt.' (Brit. Mus. MS. *Or.* 26,100, p. 103, line 26–p. 104, line 4.)

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which the emperor oppressed the orthodox people, and required them to conform to his creed, which was contrary to the truth. From these two men the Christians suffered great persecution, yet they would not deny their faith. But in their time the Hanifite nation appeared, and humbled the Romans, and slew many of them; and took possession of the whole of the land of Egypt. Thus the Jacobite Christians were freed from the tyranny [of the Romans]. When the Muslims had ruled for three years, and the patriarch Benjamin was still in concealment, 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî heard of that which had happened to him; so he wrote a decree of protection for the patriarch and all his people; saying in the decree: 'Let the shaikh and patriarch come forth in confidence, with regard both to himself and to all the Copts, who are in the land of Egypt and elsewhere, for they shall be safe from all violence and treachery;' and so on. So this decree of protection reached the father Benjamin the patriarch, who, in consequence, came forth from his concealment, confident in his own immunity and in that of his people, and returned to Alexandria. Fol. 80 b

The first appearance of the Muslims was [in the time of] Andronicus the Chaste, the scribe who became the thirty-seventh patriarch[1]; it was in the twelfth year of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, which was the year 933 of Alexander[2].

§ There is a monastery in Upper Egypt to which the priest Ya'kûb[3] fled, that he might serve God there. He had formerly been in the monastery of Saint Macarius, when it was sacked, with the other monasteries of Wâdî Habîb, by the marauders. He afterwards became patriarch. Fol. 81 a

Bulyanâ and Bahjûrah.

§ City of Bulyanâ[4]. This lies to the west of the Nile, in Upper Egypt. Here is the monastery known as the monastery of Banî Mûsâ,

[1] Occupied the see from A. D. 616–622 (?); Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 154–155. Our author means, of course, the first preaching of the Mahometan religion at Mecca.

[2] I. e. of the Seleucian era.

[3] The fiftieth patriarch; sat A. D. 826–836?

[4] To the south-east of Jirjâ (Girgeh), on the west bank. It is here that

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which was restored at the expense of Aṣ-Ṣafî, who was its abbot. It lies to the west of the city, and its correct name with that of its church is said to be Saint Moses[1]. The plan of construction to be found in this monastery is unlike any that can be seen elsewhere. It is enclosed within a wall. Its gate is plated with iron and studded with nails. It contains a water-wheel, which irrigates a plot of vegetables. The pure body [of the saint] is buried in the monastery.

The biography of Anbâ Christodulus, the sixty-sixth patriarch, relates that the pillars of this monastery all transpired, until the drops ran down like water; and shortly after this the small-pox broke out among the children of Egypt, so that 21,000 of the young people died in less than a month; and wheat was sold at Cairo at eighty dinars the sack, and at Alexandria at seventy-two dinars[2].

At Bahjûrah[3] there is a church of the glorious Saint George, which is beautifully constructed, well-lighted and spacious.

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travellers land for Abydos. The Coptic name is ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛⲏ. It is now in the district of Bardis, in the province of Jirjâ, and in 1885 had 3,854 inhabitants. There was formerly here a talisman, which served as a protection against crocodiles. See Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٧٢٥; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 62; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 93 f.

[1] The festival of Abû Mûsâ, or Mîsîs the Black, is kept on Ba'ûnah 24= June 18. He is said to have been a converted robber, who became a monk, and was the author of several works. See Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* p. 55; Paris *Synaxarium* ad diem. St. Moses is represented in Venetian paintings.

[2] This dearth was in the year 359 of the Hegira (A. D. 960–961), and in the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir.

[3] Al-Maḳrîzî mentions a church of the apostles at this place, but not the church of St. George. Bahjûrah was formerly in the province of Ḳûṣ, but is now in the district of Farshût, in the province of Ḳanâ; and in 1885 it had a population of 4,654. It is at some distance from the bank, and was the centre of a sugar district. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٧١٧; Revenue-list in De Sacy, *Abd-Allatif*, p. 702; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 60.

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Ḳûṣ.

§ The town of Ḳûṣ[1]. The meaning of this word is 'to enshroud[2],' and some of the inhabitants used to enshroud the kings for burial. The town is enclosed within a wall. It was built by Ḳûṣ, son of Ḳift, so that he might travel thence to the Oases in the west, and in the east to the mines of gold and emeralds[3], and to the Hedjaz.

§ The monastery known by the name of Saint Pisentius[4], bishop of Ḳift. Its church is named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. This monastery stands to the west of Ḳûṣ; and it contains the tomb of Saint Pisentius. Outside the monastery, and to the west of it, there Fol. 81 b

[1] Also called Ḳûṣ Wârwîr (قوص وارويز, ⲕⲱⲥ ϩⲉⲣϩⲓⲣ). Formerly the capital of a province, but now in the province of Ḳanâ (Ḳeneh), with 10,282 inhabitants in 1885. At the time of our author it was a place of much commercial importance. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٢٠١; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 48]; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٣١; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 400 f. Al-Maḳrîzî says that in his time only one church remained at Ḳûṣ.

[2] The Coptic ⲕⲱⲥ means 'to prepare for burial.'

[3] See above, fol. 20 a.

[4] A famous bishop of Ḳift in the seventh century. See Amélineau, *Un Évêque de Keft au VIIème Siècle.* The *Synaxarium* says at Abîb 13 = July 7:

تنيح الاب بسندة اسقف قفط هذا القديس ترهب من صغره وصنع عبادات عظيمة جدا وحفظ كتب كثيرة من جملتها المزامير والاثنى عشر نبى الصغار

'On this day died the Father Pisentius, bishop of Ḳift. This saint became a monk in his youth, and was exceedingly devout, and learnt by heart many books, among which were the Psalms and the Twelve Minor Prophets.'

He had a power of performing miracles; and a woman was healed of her sickness by swallowing dust from his footprints. When he celebrated the liturgy he is said to have been conscious of the presence of the Lord and his angels in the sanctuary, and even to have seen them with his bodily eyes. On one occasion a priest, celebrating the liturgy in the presence of St. Pisentius, was guilty of the irreverence of spitting, for which he was severely reproved by the saint, who told him that he had actually defiled the wing of a cherub, who was standing beside the altar; and on hearing this the priest was stricken with remorse, was carried home sick and died.

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is a well of water which was visited by our Lady and the Lord Christ with the righteous old man Joseph. At this place there is a church named after the holy man, Saint Coluthus; and a church named after the glorious Saint Mercurius; and the church of Saint John; and a church named after Saint Theodore; and a church of the glorious martyr Saint Mennas; and a church named after the glorious martyr Saint George, outside Al-'Abbâsah; and a church named after the glorious martyr Stephen, chief of the deacons; and a church of the fathers and disciples, Peter and Paul; and a church of the great martyrs and champions, Cosmas and Damian, their brethren and their mother; and the church of the glorious angel Michael; and the church of the two great and glorious martyrs Peter and Paul, outside the city, restored by the blessed Shaikh 'Izz al-Kufât, son of the Shaikh Muṣṭafâ 'l-Mulk Abû Yûsuf, under the rule of the Ghuzz and Kurds.

There is a church called Al-'Abbâsah outside this city, named after the saint and martyr George, which has already been mentioned. It was visited by Shâwar as-Ṣa'dî, the vizier, while he was governor of Ḳûṣ, and he made a vow which he promised to fulfil when he should
Fol. 82 a become vizier; and God allowed him to obtain his desire, for he was made vizier to the caliph, Al-'Âḍid li-dîni 'llâh, at Miṣr, in the month of Muḥarram of the year 558 (A.D. 1162); and he sent that which he had vowed continually up to the time of his death on the 18th of Rabî' the Second, in the year 564 (A.D. 1169); when the Ghuzz and the Kurds, led by Shîrkûh the Kurd, conquered Egypt.

§ The meadow known as that of Banî Hûmaim, the Arab tribe, lies to the east, in the district called Iḳnû. There was on the estate of Marâ, an Arab, a church named after the glorious saint and martyr George, which he founded on the bank of the great river. Marâ built it with his own money; for he loved this saint, who appeared to him in a dream, and said to him: 'Build a church to my name.' But the Muslims were indignant with Marâ on this account, and brought charges against him, because of which he was seized by Al-Mâjîd Fâris, son-in-law of Shâwar, when the latter was wâlî of Ḳûṣ, who placed him in fetters, and intended to put him to death. But he offered to the wâlî much money, and the Christians assisted him with a large

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sum of money; and so he was released out of the hands of the governor. Afterwards Marâ was killed by Arabs[1] in the desert; and he was brought to the side of this church and buried there. It is said that before he was killed, Saint George appeared to him during his imprisonment, and spoke with him, and loosened the fetters from his feet. In this church, Marâ replaced the roof of timber by a new roof; and Fol. 82 b he had pictures of the martyrs, of the saints, and of the angels painted in the church. Other restorations were undertaken by Fakhr ad-Daulah Abû 'l-Makârim ibn al-Fath, the Alexandrian scribe, when he was in this place in the year 892 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1175–6).

The White Monastery.

§ The monastery of the great saint Sinuthius[2], near Ikhmîm. In this monastery there is a very large church, spacious enough to contain

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[1] The form عُرْبَان, applied especially to the desert Arabs, is, of course, well known in later Arabic.

[2] See p. 194, note 2. This is the famous White Monastery (الدير الابيض) near Sûhâj, and not far from Ikhmîm, though on the opposite side of the Nile to that town. See Norden's Plate LXXXIX, which shows Dair al-Abiaḍ, or the White Monastery, and Plate XC, which shows Ikhmîm: also Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*, ch. xi (p. 128), and the description and references given in *Coptic Churches*, vol. i. p. 351 seq. I take this opportunity of remarking that neither the measurements nor the description which I borrowed for the latter work from Denon and from others have proved accurate. Pococke's plan and section face p. 246 of vol. i. The site of the church is now so encumbered with houses which cover the greater part of it—a whole village in fact lies within the walls of the church—that to make an accurate plan will require a great expenditure of time and labour, and probably of money. Ikhmîm, the Χέμμις (Χεμμώ) of Herodotus (lib. ii. 91) and Diodorus (lib. i. 18), was famed for its linen according to Strabo (lib. xvii)—a fame which has been abundantly confirmed in the last few years by the discovery of the rich textiles now in the South Kensington Museum.

The designation 'White Monastery' was already given in the time of our author, for Yâḳût speaks of the foundation of St. Sinuthius under that name (*Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٧٣١), mentioning also another 'White Monastery,' which overlooked Edessa.

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thousands of people, and within it are the bodies of the two pure

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The following is M. Amélineau's account of the monastery of St. Sinuthius as it is at present:

'L'œuvre de ces braves gens [i.e. St. Sinuthius and his monks] reste aujourd'hui. Pas une pierre n'a bougé. Quand de loin on la voit se détacher en avant de la montagne, elle se présente comme un bastion carré: de fait c'est plutôt une forteresse qu'un monastère. La construction est rectangulaire, faite à la manière des anciens Égyptiens, par assises froides. Les blocs de pierre fournis par les temples de la ville ruinée ont dû être coupés et taillés de nouveau: cependant ils montrent encore leur emploi primitif. Les murs d'une grande profondeur n'ont pas moins de 120 mètres de longueur sur cent en largeur. La hauteur en est très-grande; et tout autour règne une sorte de corniche peinte qui rappelle les chapiteaux de certaines colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak. On distingue encore quelques restes des couleurs dont les pierres étaient revêtues. On entrait au monastère par deux portes qui se faisaient face, et dont l'une a été murée depuis. Celle par laquelle on entre aujourd'hui est d'une profondeur de plus de 15 mètres; quand on y passe l'obscurité fait la frisson. Les moines qui la traversaient étaient vraiment sortis du monde. À droite de cette porte se trouve la "grande église"; à l'entrée on voit encore deux colonnes de marbre dont on n'a pu trouver l'emploi ... L'église elle-même a la forme de toutes les églises coptes avec ses cinq coupoles. La coupole du fond est ornée de peintures encore bien conservées, avec des inscriptions coptes en l'honneur du fondateur: elles sont sans doute postérieures à Schnoudi. L'obscurité de cette église empêche de reconnaître les peintures et de lire les inscriptions; il faut se trouver au monastère avant 2 heures du soir ... Le long des murs se trouvaient des cellules, et les grandes salles de réunion; tout a disparu aujourd'hui, car les huttes actuelles sont récentes. Au-dessus de l'église dans l'épaisseur des murs, on avait pratiqué une rampe qui conduisait à la terrasse; à gauche de cette rampe en terre on avait construit des chambres ... Les constructions du côté gauche de l'église sont seules demeurées debout: celles du côté droit n'offrent plus que des ruines où l'on ne peut se risquer.' (*Vie de Schnoudi*, p. 88.)

It should be added that the first monastery on the site of the present 'White Monastery' was founded by Abâ Bajûl, the teacher of St. Sinuthius, who built the much larger one which still exists. (*Op. cit.* p. 47.) (A. J. B.)

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disciples, Bartholomew[1] and Simon the Canaanite, two of the twelve Apostles. The body of the great saint Sinuthius, the archimandrite[2]—a word which means 'superior of the superiors'—is in a monastery at the top of the mountain called Atrîbah[3]; it was contained in a chest until the invasion of Egypt by Shirkûh and the Ghuzz who accompanied him, and who broke open the chest; and the body was taken out of it, and concealed in the ground in an unconsecrated chamber near the altar. In this monastery there is a keep; and there is around the keep and the monastery also a wall of enclosure, within which there is a garden full of all sorts of trees.

That part of the history of the church, which describes the patriarchate of Anbâ Khâ'îl, the forty-sixth patriarch, relates[4] that Al-Ḳâsim ibn 'Ubaid Allâh, wâlî of Egypt, was an unenlightened and wicked man. He employed large boats[5] to carry his odalisques [up and down the river] to all parts of the country as far as Uswân, together with his body-guard and troops. In one of his journeys he came to this monastery, accompanied by one of his odalisques, whom he greatly loved; and both of them were riding upon horses. Now there was in this monastery an aged monk who was the superior of the monks. **Fol. 83 a**

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[1] This apparently contradicts the statement above that St. Bartholomew's body was in the Oasis of Al-Bahnasâ; but perhaps relics said to be his existed at both places. Quatremère quotes this passage, *Mém.* i. p. 14 f.

[2] So the Coptic and Arabic panegyrics on this saint call him:

ⲁⲡⲁ ⲯⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓⲙⲁⲛⲇⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ

ابا شنودة الارشمندريدس بجبل ادربة

[3] There was a mountain and also a village of this name, called in Coptic ⲁⲧⲣⲏⲡⲉ or ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲡⲉ, and in Arabic اتريبة, ادريبة, and below on fol. 87 a even اندريبا. On the mountain the 'White Monastery' was situated, so that it was called 'The Sinai of St. Sinuthius' (Amélineau, *Mém. pour servir*, p. 392; cf. *Géogr.* p. 70 f.)

[4] This story is related in the biography of the patriarch Michael or Khâ'îl; see *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 142, line 20 ff.

[5] The expression used in the patriarchal history is مراكب مثل قصور الملوك, 'boats like royal palaces.'

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So the monks went forth to meet Al-Ḳâsim and brought him into the monastery, together with the odalisque who was with him; and they passed through the first door, and through the second which leads into the enclosure of the church; and they went as far as the door which forms the entrance into the church, still riding upon their horses. But as they were about to enter into the church, this old man, the superior of the monastery, cried out, saying: 'Alight [from thy horse], O emir, and enter not with such pride into the house of God, above all in the company of this woman; for never from the beginning has any woman entered into this church! I fear for this woman therefore, if she shall enter into this church!' But the emir paid no heed to the words [of the old man], but entered on horseback, together with his odalisque and the soldiers who were with him. So when he came to the middle of the church, his horse plunged with him, and he fell to the ground; and through his fall the horse which
Fol. 83 b the woman was riding also plunged, so that she fell to the ground and died on the spot; and the horse that was under her died also. And as for Al-Ḳâsim, the aforesaid governor, there descended upon him the spirit of an unclean devil, which buffeted him, so that he foamed at the mouth, and his teeth gnashed like the tusks of a wild boar. But when he had recovered a little, he understood the evil that he had done, and repented of his rashness, and that he had not listened to the bidding of the aged superior. Then he called the superior and said to him: 'To-day I have sinned, because I did not listen to the counsel which thou didst address to me. But now the mysteries of this place have been manifested to me so that I do not doubt them. I desire therefore, O shaikh, that thou shouldest accept this gift of money, and pray for me that God may forgive me, and may not deal with me as I deserve, because I ventured into the house of God, and entered it riding on horseback together with my companions.' Then the aged monk consoled him, and would not accept anything from him; but the emir adjured him and forced him, and showed humility towards him, and at last induced him to take four hundred dinars, saying: 'I ask God to pardon thee, O shaikh, that thou mayest ask him to pardon me this sin which broke from me.'

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Now there was in the church a wooden chest of *sâsam*-wood inlaid with ivory[1], and containing three shelves, which Saint Sinuthius had made to contain books, and he used to inscribe there the amount of votive offerings accruing to the monasteries. And a certain shaikh accompanying the emir, named Ar-Rayân, who had been wâlî of Egypt before Al-Ḳâsim, and was his friend, begged that he might take this chest away with him. But he was informed that the chest was the property of the church, and that it was impossible that it should be removed; but he would not listen to that, although the great miracle that had happened was told him. And he commanded a body of men to carry it out of the church; but they were not able to do so. So when he saw this other wonder, he asked pardon of God most high, and made a gift of three hundred dinars of his money. Then they departed. And they were filled with doubts and dismay; and the unclean spirit did not cease to possess Al-Ḳâsim, chastising him at all times until the hour of his death. Fol. 84 a

§ Bahrâm[2], the Armenian Christian, who had been vizier in the caliphate of Al-Ḥâfiẓ, became a monk in this monastery after he was banished from his office. Then he desired to go to Cairo, although he was exceedingly ill and weak; so he was carried to Cairo and arrived there still living.

§ Nestorius the heretic, who had been patriarch of Constantinople, was buried in the city of Ikhmîm, after he had been in banishment there for seven years, in the year 543[3]. Now when rain falls, it does

[1] The Copts were famous for their skill in ivory inlaying, for examples of which see *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 66, &c. (A. J. B.)

[2] See above, fol. 6 a.

[3] If this date is reckoned from the era of the martyrs, it is very inaccurate; and if, which is unlikely, it is reckoned from the birth of Christ, it is still wrong by nearly a hundred years, since the date of the death of Nestorius is A.D. 450 or 451, and that of his banishment A.D. 435. His death anticipated the Council of Chalcedon, which, according to Zacharias the rhetorician, he had been invited to attend; see Land, *Anecd. Syr.* iii. p. 118; Evagrius, lib. ii. c. 2; Assemani, *Bib. Or.* ii. pp. 40 and 55. Eutychius states that the banishment lasted for seven years (*Annales*, ii. p. 12); and relates, as Abû Ṣâliḥ does, that rain never falls on the tomb of Nestorius. (A.J.B.)

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not descend upon his tomb, because he was the cause of the Council of Chalcedon.

Story of Febronia.

§ At Al-Jîmûdât[1], in the province of Upper Egypt, there is a convent, to the east of that district, in which there were nuns, of virginal life, to the number of thirty. Marwân al-Ja'dî, the last of the Omeyyad
Fol. 84 b caliphs, summoned the Bashrûd or Bashmurites[2] to assist him in his war, when he fled from the Abbaside; and he allowed them to plunder and take prisoners and slay [as they would]; so they set about doing so. Among the places which they attacked was this convent, which they afterwards plundered; and among the nuns there was a young maiden[3], named Febronia, who had come from Syria to this convent, when she was three years old, and had grown up within its walls; and she was of great beauty. So when the Bashmurites saw her, they were astonished at her, on account of her beauty; and they said one to the other: 'Never was such beauty seen in the world!' So they took her and brought her out from the convent, and separated her from her sisters the virgins, and consulted with one another as to what they should do with her; and some of them said: 'Let us cast lots for her;' but others said: 'Let us take her to the prince.' But while they were consulting upon these and similar proposals, she said to them: 'Where is your chief, that I may tell him of a great secret,

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[1] I cannot identify this place.

[2] On the Bashmurites see Zoega, *Cat.* p. 139 ff.; Quatremère, *Recherches*, p. 147 ff. (*'Sur le Dialecte baschmourique'*), &c. (A. J. B.)

[3] This story is related in full by John the Deacon in his life of the patriarch Khâ'îl, included among the patriarchal biographies collected by Severus of Al-Ushmûnain; see *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 170 ff.; cf. Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 226 f., and Quatremère, *Recherches*, p. 155. The events are also stated in a few words by Al-Makîn, *Hist. Sarac.* (ed. Erpenius), p. 99, and by Al-Maḳrîzî. The name Febronia (Fibrûnîyah) is well known to the Copts through the commemoration of the martyr of Nisibis of that name on Abîb 1 = June 25. (A. J. B.)

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worth a great sum of money? And then you will let me return to my sisters in the convent in which I was brought up; for I am a virgin, and have lived in retirement in the convent, apart from men, and serving God, to whom be praise!' Then the leader of the band answered her and said: 'Here I am! What is it that thou wilt tell me, and what is the secret which thou saidst was worth much money?' So she said to him: 'My ancestors were wise, valiant, and warlike; **Fol. 85 a** and they possessed a secret which they inherited from their ancestors, and disclosed to no one else. They engaged in great wars, and they returned in safety, without a wound to any one of them; and the cause of this was that they knew certain names which they repeated over the oil with which they anointed themselves; then they went out to the wars, and neither the sword nor the arrow nor the spear did any harm to them. Now this is what you stand in need of. If therefore thou wilt let me go back to my convent, I will confer this benefit upon thee, and show thee this great secret, and I will give thee what I have of this oil; and if thou dost not believe my word, then anoint with it whomsoever thou pleasest, and behold the truth of my words.' Then he said to her: 'Anoint thyself with this oil; for no one else will be easily persuaded to do so; nor will I make the experiment upon any of my comrades.' So she said to him: 'Wilt thou swear to me, before I reveal this secret to thee, that thou wilt let me go, and restore me to my convent and the place in which I was brought up?' Then he swore to her, saying: 'I will let thee go, and will not allow any of my comrades to take thee captive.' Then she said to him: 'Let me go back to my place with thee and no other, that I may take the oil and anoint myself with it in thy presence.' So he went with her into the convent; and she approached the picture of the Lady, and prayed before it, and begged the Virgin to assist her to obtain deliverance; and then she anointed herself on the neck with oil of the lamp. **Fol. 85 b** Then he said: 'I will not make the experiment except in the presence of my comrades.' So he returned to them with her, and told them all that had happened, and said to them: 'Know that I have sworn to this maiden, that if her words prove true I will let her go, and will allow none of my comrades to have power over her. Do you then

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agree with me in this matter?' Then they said to him: 'We will not oppose thee; and if this secret be true we shall obtain much advantage from it.' Then he said: 'This maiden said, "Try it on whomsoever thou mayest wish," so I said to her, "It is fittest to try it on thee;" and she consented; and she anointed her neck with it; but I did not think fit to try it except in your presence.' Then he commanded one of his comrades, who had a sharp-edged sword with him, and said to him, 'Come, strike her upon the neck with this sword that thou hast with thee; and if we see the result to be successful, you will agree with me to let her go.' So they consented to his bidding. Then that man arose and drew his sword, and the maiden bent her knees and displayed her neck; but they did not know that which was in her heart. Then she covered her face, and said: 'If there is any strong man among you, let him strike with his sword upon my neck, and you will see the power of God in this great secret.' So that man whom their chief had appointed went forward to her, and struck with all his might; and her head immediately fell from her body; for it was her purpose by
Fol. 86 a this means to preserve her maidenhood, that she might appear before Christ a pure virgin, as she had been created, without earthly stain. So when the ignorant Bashmurites saw what had befallen the maiden, they knew at last what had been her intention; and they repented and were exceedingly sad, and did no injury henceforth to any of those virgins, but let them go, and refrained from the undertakings which they had planned, and restored to the nuns all that they had pillaged from their convent.

Ikhmîm and the neighbourhood.

§ In the city of Ikhmîm there were seventy churches until the end of the year 552 of the Arabs (A. D. 1157).

In the district of Dimnû[1] there is a church, on the western bank of the river, named after the glorious saint Abû Baghâm.

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[1] Yâḳût mentions a large and much frequented church at Dimnû, which is on the west of the Nile, opposite to Ikhmîm, and is now included in the district

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There is also the monastery of Saint Pachomius[1] at Barjanûs, in the district of Ṭaḥâ.

There is the monastery of Abû Ḥalbânah[2], to the east of Ikhmîm, near which there is a spring of water which runs from the mountain into a reservoir there.

The monastery of Saint Paul, the superior of the monastery in Upper Egypt.

The monastery of Saint Pachomius, the superior of the monastery of Ikhmîm.

§ The *Book of the Monasteries* by Ash-Shâbushtî relates that there is in the district of Ikhmîm a large monastery to which visitors come from all parts; and it is near the mountain called *Jabal al-Kahf*[3]. At a certain place on this mountain there is a fissure; and on the day when that monastery keeps its festival, all the birds of the species called *Abû Ḳîr*[4] come to this place; and it is a great wonder to see the multitude of the birds, and to hear their cries and to behold their assembling around that fissure. Then, one after the other, without ceasing, they insert their heads into the fissure, and place their beaks in the cavity of the mountain, and utter a cry and come away; and this they do until the head of one of them is caught in the fissure, and Fol. 86 b

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of Sûhâj, in the province of Jirjâ, with a population in 1885 of 369 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٦٠١; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 138 f.

[1] This famous abbot of Tabennesi or Tabenna is commemorated by the Copts on Bashans 2=April 27, but by the Roman church on May 14. He seems to have died in A.D. 348 or 349 at an advanced age, after establishing a set of rules for the monastic life. See *Acta SS.* at May 14; Amélineau, *Hist. de S. Pakhôme et de ses communautés.*

[2] It is apparently this convent which Pococke describes (vol. i. p. 78) as lying 'to the east of Akhmîm' and 'being one of the most dismal retirements he ever saw.' Pococke mentions the spring and the well called 'Bir Elaham.' In Pococke's name for this monastery 'Dermadoud' (Dair Madûd?) there is no correspondence with that given by Abû Ṣâliḥ, which is, of course, a name of dedication, not of locality. (A. J. B.)

[3] Al-Maḳrîzî says that this is part of the Jabal aṭ-Ṭair.

[4] See above, fol. 19 b.

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he hangs there, beating with his wings until he dies; and after that all the birds fly away until not one of them is left there.

That monastery is celebrated for its wonderful miracles.

Anṣinâ and the neighbourhood.

§ At Anṣinâ[1] was the house of Mary the Copt[2], who was born and grew up at this place. She it was whom the Muḳauḳis sent as a gift to Mahomet, who married her; and the purpose of the Muḳauḳis in sending Mary the Copt, was that through her he might be connected by affinity[3] with Mahomet. The house of Mary was afterwards turned into a mosque.

The district known as Anṣinâ. This was the name of one of the sons of Ḳifṭ, son of Mizraim, who built it for certain sorcerers. [There is here] the monastery of a saint called Abû Tabîh[4], whose body is contained within it.

There is a monastery named after the saint Coluthus, who was a priest, and suffered martyrdom by burning while he was still alive; he was of a beautiful countenance; and he obtained the crown of martyrdom; and his body is contained within the monastery.

Fol. 87 a At Anṣinâ there is also a church named after the saint and great martyr George; and a church of the valiant martyr Theodore the Eastern; and a monastery of the great saint Sinuthius, on Mount Andarîbâ[5], in which many holy monks have lived, especially the holy champion and ascetic, the blessed Anbâ Yasîb.

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[1] We now return northwards to Anṣinâ or Shaikh 'Abâdah, the famous 'Red Monastery' opposite to Ikhmîm being disregarded. The want of plan and completeness in the work of Abû Ṣâliḥ is here again conspicuous. (A. J. B.)

[2] Mary the Copt, the concubine of the prophet Mahomet, was a native of Ḥafn, in the neighbourhood of Anṣinâ. See Ibn Hishâm, *Sîrah Muḥammad* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. pp. ٥ and ١٢١; cf. Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٢٩٥.

[3] Rather, that the Egyptians might be connected with Mahomet by affinity.

[4] So Quatremère, who makes use of this passage of Abû Ṣâliḥ; see *Mém.* i. p. 41.

[5] I take this to be another form of Atrîbah or Adrîbah (see above, fol. 82 b),

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At Anṣinâ there is also the monastery of Al-Khâdim, and the church named after Manasseh, which was built over the tomb of that Yasîb on account of the number of miracles and the healing of diseases which were manifested at it.

At Anṣinâ also there is a church called the 'Church of the Water,' in which festival is kept in memory of the great martyrs and champions of the name of Christ, whose number is forty-one[1].

There is also a church named after Saint Theodore Basrâdîlâdus outside Anṣinâ.

The monastery of Matthew on the mountain, which was restored by the blessed priest, the fisherman[2] of Anṣinâ. This blessed priest used to make fishing-nets, while he was keeping the monastic rule; and many became monks in this monastery for his sake. Matthew was a native of Asḳît[3], and he used to pray over the oil, and whatever sick person was anointed with it was healed of his disease through the power of God which dwelt in him; and he used to cast out devils in the name of Christ, from those who were possessed by unclean spirits.

Usyûṭ and its neighbourhood.

District of Shuṭb[4], in the province of Sûyûṭ[5]. This town was Fol. 87 b

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and the allusion to be to the White Monastery, opposite to Ikhmîm, which has already been spoken of. The MS. has اندرينا, and Quatremère transcribes it by 'Andrina;' see his *Mém.* i. p. 42, where this passage is quoted in substance.

[1] The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.

[2] I.e. St. Matthew the Poor, who has already been named above, p. 228.

[3] I.e. the desert of Scyathis or Scete, afterwards called Wâdî Habîb.

[4] A little to the south-east of Suyûṭ, Usyûṭ, or Asyûṭ, on the same side of the river. It is the Coptic ϥⲱⲧⲡ; and in 1885 it had 4,008 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٢٩٠; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 423 f.

[5] Suyûṭ, Asyûṭ, or Usyûṭ is the largest town in Upper Egypt, and has been a place of great importance from remote antiquity. The Coptic ⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩⲧ, and the Greek Lycopolis, it is now, as it was in the time of our author, the capital of a province, and in 1885 it had 31,398 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٢٧٢; Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 126; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 464–466.

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built by Manfâ'ûs, the king; and its name means the 'Beloved.' The *Raṭl*[1] is here equivalent to 1,000 dirhams. From this town there is a road to the Oases. There were formerly in the town cooks belonging to the king. There is no finer bed of river-slime on the face of the earth than that found here, nor any that has a sweeter smell; it is enclosed by mountains and is deposited by the water of the Nile; its extent is 30,000 feddâns, all in one plain; and if a little of it were rubbed in the fingers it would spread out evenly, and some of it would extend beyond the sides; in it they sow flax and wheat and clover and other crops. It is said that there is nowhere in Egypt anything like this level unbroken expanse of cultivated fields[2], or any more delightful place where the beauties of the country can be better enjoyed than this, when its crops are in full luxuriance, and when the flowers appear; they say there is nothing more admirable to be seen. The whole of it on the west is enclosed by a mountain, white in colour, and of the form of a *ṭailasân*[3], which looks as if it were a cascade of silver; and not a word spoken can be heard there on account of the great noise of the birds.

At Usyûṭ no Jews live; nor does a single Jew travel that way, unless he is taking a journey and passes it on the road.

The city is surrounded by a brick wall and has seven gates, namely, Bâb al-Jabal on the north; Bâb Wardîs; on the east Bâb al-Arman;

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[1] The Egyptian pound weight.

[2] Referring to the mountains just mentioned, the writer in Murray's *Egypt* says, in curious agreement with Abû Ṣâliḥ, 'The view from these hills over the town of Asyoot (sic), and the green plain in the early part of the year, is the prettiest perhaps to be seen in Egypt. The brightness of the green is perfectly dazzling, and of a tint such as probably can be seen nowhere else in the world: it stretches away too for miles on either side "unbroken," as Dean Stanley so graphically says, "save by the mud villages which here and there lie in the midst of the verdure like the marks of a soiled foot on a rich carpet."' (Vol. ii. p. 424.) (A. J. B.)

[3] The *ṭailasân* is an ecclesiastical vestment described in *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 120. It signifies also a sort of veil or scarf worn by lawyers, doctors, and others. (A. J. B.)

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a gate called Al-Ḳanṭarah; Bâb Umm Harîz; Bâb as-Sûdân; Bâb al-Miḳyâs. Fol. 88 a

The monastery of Abû 's-Sirrî. This monastery contains the body of Saint Theodore, the military commander and martyr, and the body of the bishop Harûfus; these two bodies lie upon a wooden stand in the altar-chamber.

The monastery called the monastery of Abû Sâdir[1], whose body arrived at Shuṭb on the 5th of Hatûr. Near the monastery is the mountain of Aṭ-Ṭalîmûn[2], the length of which is twelve posts on the eastern side.

At Al-Kharibah at Suyûṭ there is a ruined bath[3].

There is a church of the martyr Abû Baghâm, whose body lies within it; and he has another church at Al-Kharibah.

There is a monastery at Samallûṭ[4], in the district of Al-Ushmûnain,

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[1] Al-Maḳrîzî also speaks of the church of Abû Sadrah (ابو سدرة). Sâdir and Sadrah both seem to be forms of the name 'Theodore.' The Paris *Synaxarium* does not commemorate the bringing of his body to Shuṭb; but that translated by Mr. Malan has at Hatûr 5, 'Bringing of the body of St. Theodore to Shutab.'

[2] Al-Idrîsî names this mountain under the form *Ṭailamûn* (طيلمون); see the Roman edition [p. 48]. Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٣١.

[3] The mention of the ruined Roman bath at Usyûṭ recalls the incident of the suffocation of a number of men in a bath, during the reign of Theodosius I, by the members of the rival faction, at the time of the games in the circus, and the threatened punishment of the city by the emperor, whose wrath was averted through the intercession of the saintly monk, known as 'John of Lycopolis' or Usyûṭ. The reputation of John of Lycopolis was so great that Theodosius consulted him, as if he were an oracle, before his war with Eugenius. See Gibbon, ch. xxvii, who quotes D'Anville, *Description de l'Égypte*, p. 181, and Abû 'l-Fidâ (ed. Michaelis), pp. 14, 25, 92, for an account of the town of Usyûṭ, and, for the life of John the monk, Rufinus and Palladius, in Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum;* also Sozomen, lib. vii. 22, and Claudian, *in Eutropium*, lib. i. line 312 f., for the embassy of Theodosius. (A. J. B.)

[4] On the west of the Nile, opposite to the Jabal aṭ-Ṭair. It is now in the district of Ḳalûsanâ (Ḳulusna), in the province of Minyah, and had 3,855 inhabitants in 1885. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ١٣٠; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 288.

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and here there is a church named after the martyr Abû Baghâm[1], enclosed within a surrounding wall, within which there is also a mill, and an oven, and an oil-press[2]. Adjacent to the church is a keep, which is large and high, towering above the walls; and there is a garden containing palms and other trees. This monastery owned property, the gift of the caliphs, consisting of twenty feddâns of black soil. The monastery was seized by one of the Ghuzz or Kurds in the year 569 (A. D. 1174), and he turned it into a mosque, and seized the garden and the oven, and made the keep his dwelling-place; but in the same year he died, without carrying out his purposes.

Monastery of Al-ʿAsal.

Monastery of Al-ʿAsal[3]. This is near Munyah Banî Khaṣîb. It
Fol. 88 b contains the church of Saint George, and is enclosed by a surrounding wall. It has two keeps and a garden; one of the former being to the south of the church and containing a mill and the cells of the monks; and the other being to the north of the church. It also has a press for olive-oil. It is said that there are here fourteen churches. There is a church of the saint Sinuthius; a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the glorious angel Michael; a church named after Saint Claudius the martyr; a church named after the saint Bû Hadr[4] of Al-Ushmûnain; and a church named after the

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[1] Mentioned by Al-Maḳrîzî.

[2] The mill and oven are used for preparing the eucharistic bread, the oil-press for the secondary oils—*galilaeon* and 'oil of the lamp.' A wine-press in addition is a common possession of the monasteries, and is used for making the eucharistic wine. (A. J. B.)

[3] I.e. 'Monastery of Honey.' Yâḳût speaks of it as charmingly situated, and containing a large number of monks; see his *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ١٨٠.

[4] This is apparently the same as Hadrî (ⲉⲁⲧⲣⲏ), the monk and friend of Saint Or (ⲟⲩⲣ), in the fourth century. Abû Hadrî (ابو هدرى) is commemorated according to the Paris *Synaxarium* on Kîhak 12=Dec. 8, but he is there said to be from Aswân. Cf. Zoega, *Cat.* p. 299.

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saint and martyr George, in which the liturgy is celebrated every day of the year.

It is said that there was in the monastery of Al-'Asal a monk named Simon the saint, who became bishop. At his cell there were fruit-bearing palms, in which the ravens used to build their nests; and, through his gentleness and kindness, the shy raven grew so tame that it ate from his hand. And the sinners among his people left off their sins, and listened to his life-giving doctrines, and repented of their sins, and began again to attend the church in order to hear his exhortations and teachings, and to bring him, out of their earnings, tithes and money in payment of vows.

The neighbourhood of Usyûṭ.

District of Al-Khuṣûṣ[1], in the province of Suyûṭ, on the eastern bank. Here the Copts have twenty-five churches, and the Armenians have a monastery within the town, and two churches outside the town, and two churches within the town. The restorers of these churches will now be mentioned. There is a church of Abû Fânah[2], restored by Ar-Rashîd Abû 'l-Faḍl; the church of Abû Hakandâ, named after a relation of Ṣafî ad-Daulah, and restored by Hakandâ Abû Zakarî Mînâ ibn Kafrî, known as Ibn Bûlus, together with An-Najîb, his brother; the church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; the church of the glorious saint George; the church of the glorious saint and martyr Mercurius; and the church of Bandalûs. The convent of Hanâdah, which is inhabited by nuns, is at Rîfah, in the province of Suyûṭ. Fol. 89 a

[1] Al-Khuṣûṣ, opposite to Asyûṭ, seems to be no longer in existence. It is named, however, in the *Synaxarium* and in the revenue-list of A.D. 1375. M. Amélineau omits a reference he might have made to Abû Ṣâliḥ. See his *Géogr.* p. 222 f. Yâḳût says that the inhabitants of Al-Khuṣûṣ were all Christians (*Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٣٩٩).

[2] The Coptic ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲃⲁⲛⲉ, a monk, and contemporary of the emperor Theodosius I; see Zoega, *Cat.* p. 356. The *Bib. Nat.* of Paris possesses an Arabic life of Abû Fânah; see *Cat.* No. 153, *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 149. Al-Maḳrîzî mentions a monastery of Abû Fânah in the district of Munyah or Minyah.

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At Suyûṭ, on the western bank, there are sixty churches; and on the mountain there are churches hewn in the rock[1] with the pickaxe, and all of them have a keep.

There is a monastery named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, which is known as Ḳarfûnah[2].

There is a monastery named after Saint Severus[3], outside the town. It is hewn out of the top of the mountain and stands out from the mountain. It possesses a keep, and a cistern which contains a thousand pitchers of water, and is filled from the blessed Nile. On the upper part of this mountain there is a place where there are [chambers in] three stories, hewn in the rock. And there are in this monastery rope-ladders, and there is a place whither, if there be great cause for fear, the monks ascend by these ladders, and when they have arrived at
Fol. 89 b the top they draw up the ladders after them. The monastery contains a mill and several ovens, and a press for olive oil. There are thirty monks here. Beneath the monastery there is a garden, full of trees and tall fruit-bearing palms and olives and pomegranates, and verdant plots, and beds of vegetables; and from these the monastery gains much money, which pays for its needs year by year, besides that which God sends them through alms and also through payment of vows. This monastery is independent, and its inmates are leaders among the monks, holy men, ascetics, champions of the faith, and learned. The monastery was free of taxation; but when the Ghuzz and Kurds conquered Egypt they seized upon this and the other gardens in the possession of the monasteries, and also seized their endowments.

In the monastery of Saint Severus there lived an aged monk, an ascetic, who fasted continually week after week; at the end of the

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[1] See Norden's Plate LXXXIV. (A. J. B.)

[2] See Al-Maḳrîzî's mention of this monastery near Usyûṭ, which he calls *Karfûnah* (كرفونة), *Arfûnah* (ارفونة), or *Aghrafûnâ* (اغرفونا), adding that the name means 'writer,' i.e. γράφων.

[3] The *Dair Abû Sawîris* at Usyûṭ is mentioned by Yâḳût (*Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٦٣١) and by Al-Maḳrîzî.

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week he communicated on the Saturday, and then he fasted and communicated again on the Sunday, after which he broke his fast. This was the manner in which this old man served God and fought against sin, until he died; may the Lord have mercy upon us through his intercessions! News of this old man, before he died, had reached Ṭalâ'ï' ibn Ruzzîk[1], through the wâlî of Upper Egypt; so Ṭalâ'ï' visited the old man, and witnessed his mode of life, and made enquiries of him, and found that the report was true; and the old man announced to Ṭalâ'ï' that he would rise in rank and would become vizier; and indeed the most high God did grant him the vizierate; and so he presented to the monastery, in addition to that which it already possessed, a tract of fertile soil.

Now this holy old man used to fast even during the Fifty Days [between Easter and Pentecost], every day until the ninth hour; and then he broke his fast with a few lupins only. Fol. 90 a

There is a monastery of Saint John, which is also called Ibshâ'î.

There is a monastery named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, which is called the monastery of Azîlûn. Beneath it there is a garden, full of palms and other trees.

There is another monastery named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, which is called the monastery of Abû 'l-Ḥârith.

There is a monastery called Dair at-Tînâdah[2], named after the martyr Abû Baghâm.

There is the monastery of the martyr Saint Victor, with a church which contains his body and that of the martyr David.

The body of the martyr Coluthus is in his monastery at Suyûṭ, with the body of the martyr Baghâm.

The monastery of Saint Victor is at Al-Khuṣûṣ, to the east of Suyûṭ, on the mountain; and it contains his pure body.

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[1] See above, fol. 7 a.

[2] Yâḳût gives us the pronunciation of this name, and adds that the monastery was a celebrated one near Usyûṭ, attractive as a resort for pleasure, and inhabited by many monks (*Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٦٣٩).

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A monastery called Ibsidîyâ[1] stands between Rîfah[2] and another place[3].

There is a church named after Saint Sergius[4], which is called Dair Abû Maḳrûfah, and lies to the east of Suyût.

Ṭunbudhâ.

Ṭunbudhâ. Within and without this town there are [respectively] a monastery and a church named after the saint and martyr Tarnîmah; and his pure body lies in the monastery.

There is a church named after the martyr Basmantah, which contains his pure body.

There is a church named after the Saviour, who is our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory!

Various Churches and Monasteries.

Fol. 90 b The monastery of Abâ Nûb the martyr, which contains the bodies of sixty-three monks who were martyred. It stands to the north of the town of Al-Ushmûnain. The monks were put to death by a black, named Ḥaffâz, in the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir bi'llâh, at the time of the disturbances in Upper Egypt, during the patriarchate of Christodulus, the sixty-sixth in the succession, in the year 781 of the Righteous Martyrs (A.D. 1065–6). This monastery contains a keep, which is a lofty structure.

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[1] M. Amélineau, who notices this passage of Abû Ṣâliḥ, quotes a mention of Ibsidîyâ in the *Synaxarium*, in the account of St. Victor there, and says the place must have been to the south of Usyût; see *Géogr.* p. 202.

[2] The churches and monasteries of Rîfah, a little to the south of Usyût, are mentioned by Al-Maḳrîzî. The Coptic name of the place is ⲉⲣⲏⲃⲉ. It still exists, and had in 1885 a population of 4,119. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 165.

[3] The name is omitted in the MS.

[4] This martyr, so celebrated in the Eastern churches, suffered in the persecution of Diocletian about the same time as his friend St. Bacchus. The Copts keep the festival of St. Sergius on Babah 10=Oct. 7. See *Synaxarium* at that day; Eutychius, *Annales*, i. p. 412.

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There is a church named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary.

There are two churches named after the angel Gabriel, one of which was wrecked by the mob of Muslims in the year 580 (A. D. 1184), under the rule of the Ghuzz and Kurds. There are also two churches named after the angel Michael; two churches named after the martyr Abâ Lûkûm; a church named after the Fathers and Disciples; a church of the martyr Saint Mennas; two churches of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; a monastery named after the glorious martyr Theodore; a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; a church named after the angel Gabriel; a church named after the martyr Abâ Falûkh; the church of the angel Raphael; and a church named after the great martyr George.

§ At-Sumusṭâ[1], in the nearer part of Upper Egypt, there is the church of Abû Harûdah, the martyr, whose body lies within it.

§ Bûtîj[2]. The body of Saint Pachomius and the body of Sinuthius lie in two chests in a church to the south of Bûtîj. Fol. 91 a

§ Town of Al-Ḳais or Dafû. Here is a church which contains the body of the martyr Saint Isaac.

Ishnîn, both within and without. Here is a large church of the glorious angel Michael. This church is beside the stream of the blessed Nile, and contains four chapels, namely, a church of our Lady the Pure Virgin Mary; a church of the valiant martyr Theodore; a church of the martyr Ptolemy; and a church of the glorious martyr Saint John.

There are also six churches, namely, a church of the angel Raphael,

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[1] Sumusṭâ or Samasṭâ is on the west bank, and is now in the district of Bibâ, in the province of Banî Suwaif, with a population in 1885 of 2,135. There are three small hamlets of the same name in the same district beside this larger village, which is distinguished by the name of Samesṭâ al-Waḳf. The MSS. of Al-Maḳrîzî write ⟨illegible⟩. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ad voc.; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ١; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 288.

[2] Bûtîj or Abû Tîj is the Graeco-Coptic ⲦⲀⲠⲞⲐⲎⲔⲎ. It is now the capital of a district in the province of Asyûṭ, and in 1885 had 10,770 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٧٠٠; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 11 f.

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a church of the martyr Saint Mercurius; a church of the martyr Claudius; a church of the valiant martyr Theodore; a church of the glorious prophet Daniel; and a church of Abâ Fû, besides a second church of the angel Michael.

§ Aḳfahs[1]. Here there are six churches, of which the following is a list: a church named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; the church of the glorious angel Michael; a church of the glorious angel Gabriel; a church of the martyr Theodore; a church of the martyr Abâ Siyûn; the church of Julius[2], the scribe and martyr of Aḳfahs. [There is also] the monastery of Saint Philemon[3], the martyr, which contains several monks. Adjacent to it there is a keep and a garden. This monastery lies to the south of the district.

Dalâṣ[4] was founded by Dalâṣ, for a man who separated himself
Fol. 91 b from intercourse with the world; and it contained three hundred smiths, who forged the bits of Dalâṣ[5]. [Here is] the church of Saint Coluthus,

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[1] This town, the Coptic ⲕⲃⲁⲍⲥ or ϫⲃⲉⲍⲥ, is on the west bank, a little to the north of Ṭunbudhâ and opposite to Fashn. It is included in the district of the last-named town, and in the province of Minyah, and in 1885 had 1,614 inhabitants. Aḳfahs is well known in Coptic hagiology on account of Julius of Aḳfahs, the biographer of the martyrs. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٣٣٨; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٣; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 56–58. Al-Maḳrîzî, who gives Aḳfâs (اقفاس) as an alternative form, speaks of a ruined monastery there.

[2] This is the famous author of so many of the Coptic lives of saints now existing. He became himself a martyr, and his death is commemorated on Tût 22=Sept. 19. His body was taken to Alexandria, where the emperor Constantine afterwards erected a church to his name. See *Synaxarium* ad diem; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 123 ff.

[3] St. Philemon is said to have been a musician, and to have been martyred in the persecution of Diocletian. His festival is on Barmahât 7=March 3. See *Synaxarium* at that day; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 63.

[4] On the west bank, in the district of Az-Zawîyah in the province of Banî Suwaif, and in 1885 containing 1,665 inhabitants. The Coptic name is ϯλοϫ. In the time of our author the place was in the province of Al-Bahnasâ. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٥٨١; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 136–138.

[5] Al-Idrîsî says (trans. by Jaubert): 'Delass est une petite ville où l'on

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the physician, who was also a priest, and was burnt alive in the fire.

§ The district called Shinarâ[1]. This district was settled upon a colony of Armenian Christians; and it contains seven churches in good order, with priests and congregations. These are the church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; the church of the glorious angel Michael; two churches of Saint Maximus; two churches named after the angel Gabriel; a church named after Bastîdar; and a church named after the glorious martyr Saint George.

§ Ṭûwah[2]. This was the name of a horse of Pharaoh, which grew up and became of great size, and was named 'Possessor of columns.'

§ City of Al-Ḳais. This town was built by Manfâ'ûs for a man who fabricated brocades and embroideries. The *Book of the Conquest of Egypt* relates that at Al-Ḳais lived Ḳais ibn al-Ḥârith, when 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî was governor of Egypt; and so the place was named after him.

§ The district called Daljah. Here there is a monastery and a church named after the saint and champion Onuphrius, which possessed

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fabrique des mors de cheval et divers ouvrages en fer. Du temps des anciens Égyptiens elle était comptée au nombre des villes les plus florissantes; mais les Berbers, par leurs violences, et les Arabes par leur méchanceté, l'ont réduite, ainsi que ses environs, à un état misérable.'

[1] On the west bank, opposite to Fashn, in the district of which it is included, being also the province of Minyah. In 1885 Shinarâ contained 1,847 inhabitants, besides 847 Bedouins. The Coptic name is ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲣⲱ. The Arabic name is sometimes written شنرا; and Al-Makrîzî mentions a شنرة, which is probably the same place. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 429 f.

[2] There are several places of this name in Egypt, but the one here mentioned is doubtless that which stands a little to the south of Ahnâs on the west bank, and is now included within the province of Banî Suwaif. In the time of our author it must have been a place of very little importance, since Yâḳût does not name it, although he speaks of a Ṭûwah in the province of Manûf. The Coptic form of the name is ⲧⲁⲧϣⲁϩ, ⲧⲁⲧⲁϩ, or ⲧⲟⲧϣⲁϩ. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 521 f.

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a hundred feddâns of black fertile soil, scattered among several districts. It is said that the district contains twenty-four churches; and one of
Fol. 92 a them resembles the church of Saint Sergius[1] at Miṣr. It is also said that there were 12,000 Christian inhabitants of this district, and that they slew every year at the feast of the angel Michael 12,000 sheep; but now, at the end of the year 569, which is equivalent to the year 890 of the Martyrs (A. D. 1174), only 400 sheep [are slain] at the annual festival.

§ District of Al-Ḳalandimûn, near Anṣinâ, in the province of Al-Ushmûnain. Here there are nine churches: [the church] of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; the church of Saint Claudius; the church of Saint Victor; the church of Theodore; the church * * * of the angel Michael; the church of the glorious martyr Saint George; the church of Saint John; the church of Saint Mercurius; the church of Abû Baghâm.

District of Athlîdim[2]. Here is a church of the Lady and Virgin; a church of Saint George, the great martyr; a church of the angel Michael. At Sâḳiyah Mûsâ there is a church of Saint Victor.

§ District of Shinarâ[3]. It is said that in this district there are twenty-four churches, one of which resembles that of Saint Sergius at Miṣr.

§ At Ahnâs[4] there is a church which contains the body of Abû Halbâ, the martyr.

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[1] That is the well-known church of Abû Sirjah, which still exists at Old Cairo, and is fully described with a plan in *Coptic Churches*, i. p. 181 ff. (Ą. J. B.)

[2] Athlîdim was just to the south of Al-Ushmûnain. It is to be found in the revenue-list published by De Sacy, who transcribes it in the form Itlîdim. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ad voc.; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. 11; De Sacy, *Abd-Allatif*, p. 693.

[3] See above, fol. 91 b.

[4] The Coptic ϩⲛⲏⲥ. It still exists, under the name of Ahnâsîyat al-Madînah, in the district and province of Banî Suwaif, with a population in

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The monastery of An-Nûr is in the territory of Al-Ahnâs, on the bank of the Nile. Its church is named after the angel Gabriel. The monastery possesses a keep in five stories, lofty, and of skilful construction. Around the monastery is an enclosing wall, within which there Fol. 92 b
are 400 palm-trees.

§ District of Al-Marâghât[1]. Here is a monastery named after the angel Michael, without the town. At Ḳalûsanâ there is a church of the Copts and a church of the Armenians.

Bûṣîr Ḳûrîdus[2]. In this town lived a sorcerer, in the service of Pharaoh, named Bûṣîr, who possessed magical powers. It was here that Marwân ibn Muḥammad al-Ja'dî, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, was killed. 'Alyûn the heretic was killed here also. In this district there is a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, and a monastery called the monastery of Abîrûn[3], to which Marwân, the 'Ass of War,'

1885 of 2,484, besides 148 Bedouins. In the Roman period the town was named Heracleopolis Magna. In the time of our author it was in the province of Al-Bahnasâ. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٣٠١; Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 128; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٥; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 196–198.

[1] Or Al-Marâghah, in the singular. There is now a place of this name in the district of Ṭahṭah, in the province of Jirjâ, which in 1885 had 8,658 inhabitants. Our author is probably in error in supposing that there was a place of this name near Ḳalûsanâ, although Al-Idrîsî mentions a village called Al-Marâghah, five miles from Anṣinâ. The Al-Marâghât of the revenue-list was in the district of Ikhmîm, and so might be that now existing. See Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p 124; De Sacy, *Abd-Allatif*, p. 701; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 210. Al-Maḳrîzî mentions a Coptic church at Al-Marâghah, meaning the place of that name which now exists, since he sets it near Ṭahṭâ.

[2] See fol. 17 b. This place is also called Bûṣîr al-Mal'ak, and stands at the entrance to the Fayyûm, being included in the district of Zawîyah in the province of Banî Suwaif, with 1,886 inhabitants in 1885, besides 511 Bedouins. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٧١٠; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٢; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 10.

[3] An Arabic form of the Coptic Pirôou (ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ), the name of a martyr of the time of Diocletian, who, with his brother Atûm (ⲁⲑⲱⲙ), is commemorated on Abîb 8=July 2. The name also appears in Arabic as Abîrû (ابيرو) or Abîrûh (ابيروه). See their Coptic Acts in Hyvernat, *Actes des Martyrs*, p. 135 ff.

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who has already been spoken of, came. He was the last of the Omeyyad caliphs; and he was pursued by the Khorassanians, the followers of As-Saffâḥ, the Abbaside; and they caught him, and crucified him, with his head downwards; and they also killed his vizier.

§ The town of Al-'Uḳâb[1]. This was built by 'Aun 'Abd al-Walîd ibn Dauma', one of the descendants of Ḳift, the son of Mizraim, the son of Baiṣur, the son of Ham, the son of Noah.

Account of the spring which is in the Wâdî 'l-'Ain, to the east of Ikhmîm. When the aforesaid spring is touched by a person in a state of uncleanness, the water ceases to flow into its cistern, until the latter has been cleansed and the polluted water within it removed.

Story of the cistern which is named the Pure. It is said that a man saw a cistern which was cut out of a great stone, into which water was flowing from a spring at the foot of the mountain in this
Fol. 93 a district, near a church. The water flows in a continuous stream and is sweet in taste and in smell; but if a man or woman in a state of uncleanness touches it, it ceases to flow at that moment, as soon as it reaches the cistern; and the people of the place know this, and so they draw out the water which is already there and wash the cistern with other water; and then the water begins to flow again from the spring according to its custom.

The Oasis of Al-Bahnasâ.

§ The Oases. In the Oasis of Al-Bahnasâ[2] there is a church named after Saint George; and his pure body is said to be contained in it,

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[1] For Al-'Uḳâb see Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ٢٩٠.

[2] Otherwise called the Little Oasis (Oasis Parva). The Coptic name ⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲭⲉ is translated by واح البهنسا. Another Arabic name is واح البحرية, given because it lies to the north of the Oases of Al-Khârijah and Ad-Dâkhilah. The Oasis of Al-Bahnasâ, to which there is a road from the town after which it is named, is reckoned a part of the province of the Fayyûm, and consists of four districts: that of Al-Buwîtî with 1,675 inhabitants; that of Al-Ḳasr, the chief town, with 1,387 inhabitants; that of Mudishah with 1,506 inhabitants; and that

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but without the head[1]. On the festival of his martyrdom, the body is brought out from the shrine, and a new veil is put over it; and it is carried in procession all round the town, with candles and crosses and chanting; and then it is carried back to the church. Formerly the people feared lest the Romans might steal it, and take it to their church; and so it was removed to the mountain with great precautions, and placed in a cave, which was blocked up with stones and concealed. But a certain man who had a devotion to Saint George, saw him in a vision, and he said: 'Why have you imprisoned[2] my body? Bring me out from this place.' Then the bishop and the people did not cease to search until they found the body, and they brought it out and restored it to the church. Ibn al-Khafîr, the wâlî of the Oases, came here in the caliphate of Al-Hâfiẓ; and he sent Fol. 93 b some men who carried off the body of Saint George and brought it to the wâlî's house; and he said: 'I will not restore it to the Christians, until they pay me a large sum of money.' So the bishop and the chief men among the Christians brought him money from time to time, but it did not satisfy him, and he would not restore the body to them. Then God sent a cloud and a violent wind and rain and lightning and heavy thunder, during many successive days, such as had never been witnessed in that country; and it was said to the wâlî: 'Perhaps this misfortune has happened solely because thou hast detained this body.' Then the wâlî sent for the bishop, and gave the body up to him; and immediately the calamity ceased altogether. It is said that this bishop held his see for thirty-eight years, and yet he only placed the shroud upon this body twice during the whole of that time, on account of that which he had witnessed with regard to it; and he said to the priests: 'Take charge of this; for I cannot explain or speak of what I have seen.'

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of Az-Zabû with 808 inhabitants; the total being 5,436 inhabitants. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 290 f.

[1] The principal relics of St. George were, as it is well known, in the famous church named after him at Lydda; see below.

[2] The form سجنتمواا is worth noticing on account of the final vowel sound, expressed by the اا.

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It is said that the limbs of this body were not separated from it, but that it was found entire, and without any change. It is commonly reported among men that the body of this martyr is at the town of Lydda[1] in Syria. Some say, however, that the head is there, but that
Fol. 94 a the body was brought to this country [of Egypt], because the governor of Egypt and the governor of Syria were two brothers, and, as Syria was filled with troops and marauders, the governor of that country feared that some outrage might be committed on the body; and so the trunk, without the head, was brought to the Oases, because they are free from the incursions of troops and depredators; and the proof of this is that the pilgrims who went to Syria to visit Lydda, that they might receive a blessing from the body of the martyr Saint George, said that they saw the head without the body; and this was during the Fast of the year 890 of the Righteous Martyrs (A. D. 1174).

The monastery of the Leper is in the Oasis.

Nubia.

At Bujarâs, the capital of the province of Al-Marîs[2], which is a well-populated city, there is the dwelling-place of Jausâr, who wore the turban and the two horns and the golden bracelet. A certain traveller came to [the caliph] Al-'Azîz bi'llâh and informed him that he had

[1] The church of St. George at Lydda was restored by our own king Richard I. For an account of the relics of the saint and all information with regard to him see *Acta SS.* at April 23.

[2] This passage with the following account of Nubia is to be found translated in substance in Quatremère, *Mém.* ii. p. 31 ff. Marîs (ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲥ, 'the South') was the most northern province of Nubia, bordering upon Egypt. The south wind was likewise called Marîsî. Yâḳût names Marîsah 'an island in Nubia from which slaves are exported.' See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٥١٥; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١٩٨; 'Abd al-Laṭîf, p. 12. Al-Mas'ûdî gives, as the chief divisions of Nubia; Dunḳulah (Dongola), Muḳurrah, 'Alwah, and Marîs; see *Murûj adh-Dhahab* (ed. Barbier), iii. p. 32. It is well known that the northern extremity of Nubia between Syene (Aswân) and Pselcis (Dakkah), and later up to Hiera-Sycominos (Muharrakah), was a dependency of Egypt under the Ptolemies and the Roman Empire, and was called Dodecaschoenus.

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visited a certain city, and had seen a great wonder, passing man's understanding; namely, that on the seventh day of Barmûdah a city appears, with a wall, and a water-wheel going round near the city gate, and sycamore-trees, and cattle drinking from the cistern fed by the water-wheel; and that this lasts for two hours in the day, and the horses go and drink from that cistern; then after that the city disappears, and nothing is seen where it stood; and no one can reach it, although it seems close to him while it is far off; and that city is called among the people of that district the city of Alfî; and it is not seen again until the same day in the next year[1]. Fol. 94 b

§ The first place in the province of Muḳurrah[2] is the monastery called that of Safanûf, king of Nubia, which is in the country below the second cataract[3].

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[1] A mirage of the same sort is described by Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١٩٩, in his article on Aswân. (A. J. B.)

[2] Yâḳût writes this name مُقْرِى (*Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٦٠٥), and says (iv. p. ٨٦٠) that the king of Nubia called himself

ملك مُقُرّى ونوبة

'The king of Muḳurrâ and Nubia.' At the end of the seventh century of our era, the Coptic patriarch Isaac is said to have received letters from the king of Muḳurrah (ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙ̀ⲧⲣⲁⲁⲕⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁ), who requested that a bishop might be sent to him. See the Coptic life of this patriarch, edited by M. Amélineau. Vansleb states that there were seven episcopal sees in the province of Muḳurrah, viz. 'Korti, Ibrim, Bucaras, Dongola, Saï, Termus, Suenkur,' and refers for them to a letter published by the Père Bonjour, entitled *In Monumenta Aegyptiaca Bibliothecae Vaticanae brevis exercitatio.* M. Amélineau says that Makorrah extended from the modern Korosko to the ancient Napata (above Korti).

The patriarchal biography in the compilation of Severus of Al-Ushmûnain does not mention any letter from the king of Muḳurrah, but states that the patriarch Isaac himself wrote to the kings of Nubia and Abyssinia (ملك الحبش وملك النوبة), bidding them live at peace together, and abstain from conflict with one another; and that the wâlî of Egypt, 'Abd al-'Azîz, suspecting the object of the letters, caused them to be intercepted (Brit. Mus. MS. *Or.* 26,100, p. 126, l. 25—p. 127, l. 5).

[3] I. e. the Cataract at Wâdî Khalfah. Muḳurrah, or Makorrah, extended about sixty miles to the north of the Second Cataract. (A. J. B.)

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The monastery of Michael and Cosmas is large and spacious, and possesses a sycamore-tree, by which the rise and fall of the Nile are ascertained every year.

There is a monastery called that of Dairâ, near which there is an ancient temple, between two great mountains.

A city called the city of Bausaḳâ. This is a large and handsome city, full of people and of all commodities, and possessing many churches. Here dwelt the Lord of the Mountain, whose eyes were put out by George, son of Zacharias Israel. Here is the monastery of Saint Sinuthius, in which Abû Rakwah al-Walîd ibn Hishâm[1] was taken prisoner in the month of Rabîʿ the First, in the year 397 of the Arabs (A. D. 1006). Near the town there is a gold-mine.

Mountain of Zîdân. Here is the monastery of Abû Jarâs, in a town on the west, which possesses a bishop. It is a beautiful town on the mountain. At night a light as of fire is seen in this town from a distance, but if the beholder comes near to it he cannot find it; yet it is continually seen as if there were many lamps in the town. In the same way, at Bagdad, in the district of 'Ukbarâ[2], many lamps are seen on a certain night of the year, but they are not real.

Fol. 95 a In the land of Nubia, near the cataract, there is a town called the Upper Maks. No one is allowed to pass by the inhabitants of this place, without being searched, even if he be a king; and if any one

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[1] The surname of Abû Rakwah was given to this man because in earlier life he used to carry a pitcher on his shoulder in the prosecution of his trade. He managed to collect a body of armed men, with whose help he took possession of Barḳah. The first troops sent against him by the caliph Al-Ḥâkim were routed, and having made himself rich by plunder, Abû Rakwah next occupied Upper Egypt. Al-Ḥâkim then sent against him a body of Syrian and Egyptian troops under Al-Faḍl ibn 'Abd Allâh; who engaged Abû Rakwah in a hard-fought battle, which ended in the flight of the rebels. Abû Rakwah escaped, but was afterwards taken prisoner in Nubia, as our author tells us, and conveyed to Cairo, where Al-Ḥâkim condemned him to be impaled. See Abû 'l-Fidâ, *Annales*, ii. p. 616.

[2] Yâḳût mentions a place of this name, which, he says, was eleven parasangs from Baghdâd; *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٧٠٥.

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pushes on and refuses to be searched, he is put to death. The people carry on their trade in kind; and selling and buying among them is done by exchange; thus they exchange woven stuffs and slaves; and all that is bought and sold is exchanged.

At this place is found emery[1], with which precious stones are polished. The people dive for it; and the touch of it is found to be different from that of other stones, and so those who search for it recognize it; but if they are in doubt, they breathe upon it and then it is covered with drops, and they know that it is emery. Emery is found nowhere in the whole world except in Ceylon[2] and at this place.

There is near this town a hill on which there is a spring of warm water like that at Tiberias. Here also is the mountain of thirst, where no one can reach the water that is there, on account of the distance and the height; and even if a man ascends to the top of this mountain he cannot reach the water, but can only look at it, although it seems to be near to him; and when he tries to arrive at it he cannot do so.

Town of 'Alwah[3]. Here there are troops and a large kingdom with wide districts, in which there are four hundred churches. The town lies to the east of the large island[4] between the two rivers, the White

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[1] Emery is a species of corundum found in gneiss, limestone, and other crystalline rocks. Abû Ṣâliḥ is mistaken as to its rarity, for it occurs in many places—Sweden, Saxony, Spain, Greenland, &c.; but the principal source of the supply lies in the island of Naxos. (A. J. B.)

[2] The name of Ceylon (Sarandîb) was familiar to the Arabic-speaking world at the time of our author, through the reports of Arab travellers and the commerce of Arab traders. Precious stones and spices were exported from Ceylon to Al-'Irâḳ, Syria, and Egypt. See Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 42]; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٨٣; Reinaud, *Rel. des Voy. faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde*, &c. The name Sarandîb is said to be of Sanskrit derivation.

[3] Yâḳût writes the name علوا, and says it is to the south of Muḳurrâ. Al-Idrîsî writes علوة as our author does. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٨٢.; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [pp. 19, 20].

[4] I. e. the 'island' enclosed on two sides by the two branches of the Nile, the White Nile and Blue Nile (Baḥr al-Azraḳ), for so it is now called. The town of Khartûm stands at the junction of these two branches. The existence of four

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Fol. 95 b Nile and the Green Nile. All its inhabitants are Jacobite Christians[1]. Around it there are monasteries, some at a distance from the stream and some upon its banks. In the town there is a very large and spacious church, skilfully planned and constructed, and larger than all the other churches in the country; it is called the church of Manbalî. The crops of this country depend upon the rise of the Nile, and upon the rain. When they are about to sow their seed, they

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hundred churches in the province of 'Alwah seems surprising, but it is clear that at this period Nubia was almost exclusively Christian.

Nearly four centuries later Francisco Alvarez, in his story of the Portuguese mission to Abyssinia, expressly records the existence of ancient Christian churches in this same part of Nubia. His words are worth quoting (Lord Stanley's Tr. p. 352):—'I heard from a man, a Syrian, a native of Tripoli in Syria, and his name is John of Syria . . ., that he had been to this country, and that there are in it a hundred and fifty churches, which still contain crucifixes and effigies of our Lady and other effigies painted on the walls, and all old. These churches are all in old ancient castles which are throughout the country; and as many castles, there are so many churches. While we were in the country of the Prester John, there came six men from that country to the Prester himself, begging of him to send them priests and friars to teach them. He did not choose to send them: and it was said that he said to them that he had his Abima [sic: but read *Abûna*, i. e. Metropolitan] from the country of the Moors, that is to say from the patriarch of Alexandria, who is under the rule of the Moors: how then could he give priests and friars, since another gave them? They say that in ancient times these people had everything from Rome, and that it is a very long time ago that a bishop died whom they got from Rome, and on account of the wars of the Moors [Saracens in Egypt] they could not get another, and so they lost all their Christianity. These Nubiis border upon Egypt, and they say they have much fine gold in their country. This country lies in front of Suaquem [Suâkin], which is close to the Red Sea.' (A. J. B.)

[1] All the Arab historians and geographers who mention Nubia state that the natives of the country were Jacobite, i. e. monophysite Christians. See e. g. Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٨٢.; Al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-Dhahab*, ii. p. 329; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 19]; Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١٩٨; Eutychius, *Annales*, ii. p. 387.

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trace out furrows in the field and bring the seed and lay it at the side of the field, and beside it they place a supply of the drink called *mizr*[1], and go away; and afterwards they find that the seed has been sown in the ground, and the *mizr* has been drunk. So again at the time of harvest they reap some of the corn, and leave beside the rest of it a supply of *mizr;* and in the morning they find the harvest completed; and they say that this is done by beings of a different order from ours.

City of Dongola[2]. Here is the throne of the king. It is a large city on the banks of the blessed Nile, and contains many churches and large houses and wide streets. The king's house is lofty, with several domes built of red brick, and resembles the buildings in Al-'Irâḳ; and this novelty was introduced by Raphael, who was king of Nubia in the year 392 of the Arabs (A.D. 1002). In that year[3] Abû Rakwah, who is also called Al-Walîd ibn Hishâm al-Khârijî, rebelled against Al-Imâm al-Ḥâkim bi-amri 'llâh, and attempted to ravage his country; but Al-Ḥâkim defeated the rebel; and his troops wintered at Takhûm, in Nubia. Fol. 96 a

It is said that the Nubians formerly worshipped the stars, and that the first of them who was converted[4] to the knowledge of the truth

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[1] *Mizr* is a kind of beer made by the fermentation of grain. (A. J. B.)

[2] Yaḳût says:

مدينة النوبة اسمها دمقلة وهى منزل الملك على ساحل النيل

'The capital of Nubia is called Dongola (Dumḳulah), and this is the residence of the king. It stands upon the bank of the Nile.' (*Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٨٢٠.)

Al-Idrîsî says that Dongola was five days higher up the river than 'Alwah (ed. Rome) [p. 29]. The town is now called Old Dongola to distinguish it from New Dongola or Ordî.

[3] The words ملك النوبة are inserted by mistake of the scribe.

[4] It seems clear from Olympiodorus, Priscus, Procopius, and Barhebraeus that Christianity was not exclusively accepted among the Nubians before the reign of Justinian I; but there were Christians there in the fifth century, as the statement of Cosmas Indicopleustes would prove, and probably as early as the reign of Constantine (Abû 'l-Faraj, ed. Pococke, p. 135), and perhaps even from the time

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and the religion of the law of Christ was Baḥriyâ, son of the king's sister, who was learned in the science of the sphere, and was wise and skilful. When he was converted to the religion of Christ, all the blacks of Nubia followed him; and he built for them many churches, throughout the land of Nubia, and many monasteries, which are still flourishing, and some of them are at a distance from the river and some upon its banks.

In the land of Nubia is the city of Ibrîm[1], the residence of the Lord of the Mountain, all the inhabitants of which are of the province of Marîs; it is enclosed within a wall. Here there is a large and beautiful church, finely planned, and named after our Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Above it there is a high dome, upon which rises a large cross[2]. When Shams ad-Daulah[3], brother of Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb the Kurd, brother of Shirkûh, marched into Upper Egypt, in the caliphate of Al-Mustaḍî, the Abbaside, after the

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of the Apostles. See the discussion of this question by Letronne in his *Matériaux pour l'histoire du Christianisme en Égypte, en Nubie et en Abyssinie*, p. 42, &c. It is said that the empress Theodora sent a mission to spread the monophysite doctrine in Nubia; see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 47. (A. J. B.)

[1] The Latin and Greek Primis. It stands a few miles above Derr and Korosko, and must have been near the borders of the province of Marîs. In the sixth century it seems to have formed the southern limit of the country of the Blemmyes, according to Olympiodorus and the Greek inscription of Silco at Kalabshah (see Letronne's Memoir quoted above). There are still some Roman remains there, although it was never part of a Roman province, and can only have been an advanced post. (A. J. B.)

[2] It is only in remote and desert places that the Copts venture even now to erect a cross over the cupola of a sacred building. Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, is said to have been the first to set a cross upon a dome, according to Al-Maḳrîzî. (A. J. B.)

[3] Al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam Shams ad-Daulah Tûrân Shâh, surnamed Fakhr ad-Dîn, was an elder brother of Saladin. In A. H. 569 he was sent to subdue a rebellion in Yaman. In A. H. 571 he was appointed Saladin's lieutenant at Damascus; and in Ṣafar A. H. 576 = June A. D. 1180 he died. See Ibn Khallikân (trans. De Slane), i. p. 284 ff.; Ibn Shaddâd (ed. Schultens), p. 39.

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extinction of the Fatimide dynasty, the last caliph of which was Al-'Âḍid li-Dîni 'llâh, in the month of Jumâdâ the First, of the year 568 (A. D. 1173), under the government of the Ghuzz and Kurds, he invaded this district[1] with his troops who accompanied him, and with Fol. 96 b
those who gathered together to him [as he proceeded], and he collected the boats from the cataract. In this town [of Ibrîm] there were many provisions and ammunitions and arms, and the [troops of Shams ad-Daulah] marched thither; and when they had defeated the Nubians, they left the town in ruins, after conquering it; and they took the Nubians who were there prisoners. It is said that the number of Nubians was 700,000 men, women, and children; and seven hundred pigs were found here. Shams ad-Daulah commanded that the cross on the dome of the church should be burnt, and that the call to prayer should be chanted by the muezzin from its summit. His troops plundered all that there was in this district, and pillaged the church throughout; and they killed the pigs. And a bishop was found in the city; so he was tortured; but nothing could be found that he could give to Shams ad-Daulah, who made him prisoner with the rest, and he was cast with them into the fortress, which is on a high hill and is exceedingly strong. Shams ad-Daulah left in the town many horsemen, and placed with them the provisions and the weapons and ammunition and tools. In the town a quantity of cotton was found, which he carried off to Ḳûṣ and sold for a large sum. Before this time, Muḥammad al-Khâzin had captured Ibrîm, in the days of Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdî, under the dynasty of the Abbasides.

§ In the history of the holy church and in the biographies of the fathers and patriarchs it is said concerning Anbâ Khâ'îl, the forty-sixth patriarch, that when money was extorted from him, in the caliphate of Marwân al-Ja'dî, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs, by the emir of Egypt, Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn Yûsuf the Kurd[2], and the patriarch went up to Upper Egypt, to beg for assistance from the people there, and when Cyriacus, king Fol. 97 a

[1] Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. p. ٢٢٣.

[2] This is an anachronism due to the carelessness of a copyist. The emir in question was 'Abd al-Malik ibn Mûsâ ibn Nâṣir.

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of Nubia, heard of this, he was angry and filled with indignation because the patriarch was thus humiliated and pressed for money; so he assembled his troops and marched towards Egypt[1], accompanied by 100,000 horsemen and 100,000 camels; now Nubian horses are small[2], like the largest of the Egyptian asses, but have a great power of enduring fatigue. When the Nubians entered Egypt, they plundered and slew, and took many prisoners, and laid waste many inhabited places in Upper Egypt, as they marched towards Miṣr. Now when the ruler of Egypt heard what was the cause of their coming, and was told as follows: 'When the patriarch of Egypt went up to ask assistance of the Christians in Upper Egypt, news of this reached the king of Nubia, and the king of Abyssinia, and [another] king subject to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Egypt; and [the first-named] was indignant at the news;' then [the governor of Egypt] released the patriarch from his obligations and ceased to extort money from him, and begged him to write to the king of Nubia and bid him return [to his own country]. So the patriarch wrote to the king as he was requested, and the king returned, and no longer acted as he had done, but departed to his own country.

§ According to the history of the church and the biography of

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[1] This account is borrowed from the biography of the patriarch Khâ'îl in the compilation of Severus of Al-Ushmûnain; see *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 162 f. Cf. Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. ١٩٨.

[2] The patriarchal biographer says (*loc. cit.*):

ولقد شاهد من اخبرنا بعينه ان الخيل الذى تحتهم كانت تقاتل بايديها وارجلها فى الحرب كما تقاتل فرسانها فوقها وكانوا خيل قصار مثل الحمير

'It was stated to me by one who witnessed it with his own eyes that the horses on which the Nubians rode used to fight in battle both with their forefeet and with their hindfeet, just as their riders were fighting upon their backs. They were small horses, no higher than asses.'

Al-Mas'ûdî also testifies to the smallness of the horses; see *Murûj adh-Dhahab*, ii. p. 382. Yâḳût says that the Nubian king had thoroughbred horses (خيل عتاق), but that the commons (العامة) had slow, heavy horses, of no particular breed (براذين); see *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٨٢٠.

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Anbâ Joseph[1], the fifty-second patriarch, Ibrâhîm, brother of Al- Fol. 97 b
Ma'mûn, the Abbaside [caliph], sent a letter to Zacharias, king of Nubia, asking him to send a tribute[2] of slaves equivalent to the amount for fourteen years. But as the king could not do this, he sent his son George[3] to Bagdad, to Ibrâhîm. So Ibrâhîm rejoiced when he saw him, because, although the king had been prevented from carrying out the request that had been made to him, yet he had sent his son, than whom he possessed nothing dearer; and Ibrâhîm also admired the submission of the son, who exiled himself in obedience to his father; and therefore Ibrâhîm conferred upon the king all the favours that he asked for, and sent his son back to Miṣr, where he was lodged at the house of the emir, who was governor of Egypt. Now [George, the son of the king of Nubia,] desired to visit the father and patriarch; and therefore went to see him, with great respect, and received his blessing, and asked him to consecrate an altar for him, that he might carry it to the palace of the emir where he was lodged. So the patriarch granted the request [of the king's son] and sent him a consecrated altar[4], and sent bishops and priests and deacons to him, who celebrated the liturgy upon the altar, and gave the communion to the king's son and to those who were

[1] Or Yûsâb. He occupied the see from A.D. 831–850 (?); see Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 277–294.

[2] From the time of the caliph 'Uthmân, the Nubians were allowed to live at peace with their Muslim neighbours, on condition of paying a yearly tribute (هدنة) of 400 or 360 able-bodied slaves to the caliph. In the time of Al-Ma'mûn this custom fell into desuetude, and for that reason Ibrâhîm demanded the arrears of fourteen years, which would have deprived Nubia of a considerable number of men in the prime of life. See the article on the *Baḳṭ* in Al-Maḳrîzî, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. pp. ١٩٩–٢٠٢; cf. Al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj adh-Dhahab* (ed. Barbier), iii. p. 39; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٨٢٠.

[3] This narrative is taken from the biography of the patriarch Yûsâb in the compilation of Severus of Al-Ushmûnain; see Paris MS., *Anc. Fonds Arabe* 139, p. 250 ff.

[4] This would probably be a portable slab, such as is fitted on the top of Coptic altars by a sinking in the masonry. Such slabs are carried about for the communion of the sick, and are taken by pilgrims to Jerusalem. (A. J. B.)

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with him. The governor of Egypt also commanded that the wooden gong should be struck on the roof of [George's] lodging, that his friends might assemble at his house for prayers and the liturgy, as in his own country. This went on until George, the king's son, returned to his father in safety and with honour.

§ And when the king's son returned to his father, the latter founded
Fol. 98 a a large church, which he caused to be skilfully planned, in thanksgiving to God for the safe arrival of his son. This church was [afterwards] consecrated by Anbâ George, bishop of Naṭû[1], who was sent by Anbâ Christodulus, the sixty-sixth patriarch. This patriarch also asked for assistance from the king, on account of the exactions from which he suffered at the hands of the government and of the Lawâtîs, in the year 737[2] of the Righteous Martyrs (A. D. 1020–1). At the consecration of the church, the Holy Ghost descended upon one of the vessels of water, prepared for the ceremony, and the people saw a light shed upon that water; so the king took that water in his hand, and carried it to his house; and he gave to the bishop money to take to the patriarch, that he might be relieved from the extortion from which he suffered.

§ Church of Al-Wâdî. This is called after Saint Onuphrius. [The place where it stands] is called the desert of ***[3], and is at a distance of three days' journey from the extremity of Nubia, and at a distance of ten days' journey from Uswân. Solomon, king of Nubia, spent his time in worshipping God at this church[4], after he had abdicated. He said: 'Who is there among the kings that can be saved by God while he still governs among men; and that is not swayed by his passions,

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[1] Close to the modern Sahrajt, which is in the district of Mît Ghamr, in the province of Ad-Dakahlîyah in the Delta. It is the Coptic ⲛⲁⲉⲱ, and the Greek Leontopolis. M. Amélineau has not noticed that, in the Copto-Arabic lists which he himself publishes, Leontôn corresponds to Naṭû, as well as to نتى, as he proposes to read the word. See his *Géogr.* pp. 269–70, 409, and 571–5.

[2] Incorrect date; see p. 121, note. [3] There is a word omitted in the MS.

[4] This is related in the history of the patriarchs; cf. Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 451 f.

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and does not shed blood unjustly, and does not force men to do that which is not right for them?' The condition of this king was reported Fol. 98 b to the governor of the southern part of Upper Egypt, Sa'd ad-Daulah al-Ḳawâsî, in the caliphate of Al-Mustanṣir bi'llâh, and the vizierate of Amir al-Juyûsh Badr; and so the last-named sent men to take the king away from that place, and to bring him to Cairo. And when he came to the gate, he was received with great honour and state, with a band of music, and a fine horse which he should mount; and [the vizier] ordered the chief men of the state to attend upon him; and afterwards he lodged him in a fine house, abundantly decorated with marble and wood-work and brocades of many colours interwoven with gold. In this house the king lived for one year, and [the vizier] visited him constantly, and conversed with him on many subjects, and listened to his words; and found that he sought God, to whom be power and glory, with all his heart and mind, renouncing all that men desire. So when the king had lived here for the space of one year, he died and was buried in the monastery of Saint George at Al-Khandaḳ[1], in the patriarchate of Cyril, the sixty-seventh patriarch. This king's tomb is within the wall that encloses the church, and is near the door, on the right hand as you enter. It is said that among his letters there was found a letter written in his own hand, and in Nubian characters[2], which proved his learning and his religion and his asceticism; and he was designated the 'holy king.'

§ The kingdom of Nubia is composed of Nubia with its provinces, Fol. 99 a and the land of 'Alwah and Al-Muḳurrah and the neighbouring tribes. It is said to be the custom among the Nubians, when a king dies and leaves a son, and also a nephew, the son of his sister, that the latter

[1] The monastery of Al-Khandaḳ, the suburb of Cairo, is mentioned by Al-Maḳrîzî, who says that it was built by Jauhar.

[2] According to the *Kitâb al-Fihrist*, quoted by Quatremère, *Mém.* ii. p. 37, the Nubians employed Syrian, Coptic, and Greek characters in writing, having borrowed them from the nearest Christian nations, as being themselves Christians. Eutychius, however, speaks of six kinds of writing among the 'Hamites,' and one of these is the 'Nubian' (نوبى), see his *Annales*, i. p. 55. At the present day, of course, the Nubians employ the Arabic character. (A. J. B.)

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reigns after his uncle, instead of the son; but if there is no sister's son, then the king's own son succeeds.

The land of Nubia is under the jurisdiction of the see of Saint Mark the Evangelist, which consecrates [their bishops] for them; and their liturgy and prayers are in Greek[1]. The number of kings in Nubia is thirteen[2]; and all these rule the land, under the supremacy of Cyriacus, the Great King; and all of them are priests, and celebrate the liturgy within the sanctuary, as long as they reign without killing a man with their own hands; but if a king kills a man, he may no longer celebrate the liturgy. And this privilege of celebrating the liturgy is never restored to such a king; but when he enters within the veil of the sanctuary, he takes off the royal crown, and stands bareheaded until all the people have communicated, and not one of them is left who has not communicated; and then the king communicates after the people, if he wishes to communicate.

Fol. 99 b § The town of Darmus[3], in the land of Nubia. Here there is a church of elegant proportions, beautifully planned, and looking on the river; and within it there is a picture of the Great King, and a picture of the governor of Darmus. [The former picture represents] George, son

[1] This would be a proof that Christianity was introduced among the Nubians before the translation of the Egyptian liturgy into Coptic. That this liturgy was originally in Greek is proved by the Greek sentences which are still preserved in the midst of the Coptic versions, and by the existence of the Greek liturgy of St. Mark, which is apparently the original of the Coptic St. Cyril. (A. J. B.)

[2] This and the following passage are probably based upon a confusion of Nubia with Abyssinia; see below, fol. 105 b. In the same way our author on fol. 105 a speaks of the king of Muḳurrah as an Abyssinian prince. The number of chieftains under the Negus or supreme king of Abyssinia, on the other hand, was formerly considerable. In the sixteenth century there were seven kingdoms under the supremacy of the Negus, besides ten provinces smaller than kingdoms; and in earlier times there are said to have been twenty-eight kings who owned obedience to the Negus; see Tellez, *Historia geral de Ethiopia a alta*, &c., p. 9.

[3] 'Termus,' in the province of Maracu (i. e. Muḳurrah), is named by Vansleb as the see of one of the bishops of Nubia in former times; see his *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 30.

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of Zacharias, king of Nubia, as an old man, sitting upon a throne of ebony, inlaid with ivory, and overlaid with pure gold; his age is eighty years; upon his head is the royal crown, set with precious stones, and surmounted by a golden cross, which has four jewels in its four arms.

In the same town there is an ancient temple of great size, dedicated to the star of the Sun[1], within which there is an idol resembling * * *[2], which has on its breast the figure of the moon, and is all of one piece. In this temple there are most wonderful and astonishing pictures and immense pillars, so that the beholder is filled with wonder and stupefaction because men have been able to construct such works of so great difficulty. In this temple there is also a gigantic hall, which seems to the spectator to be all of one piece; it is roofed with slabs of hard, black, polished stone, each of which is fifteen cubits in length, five in breadth, and five in thickness; and of these there are twenty-five, so closely fitted together, that they seem to be one piece. In the same temple there is a well of great width, which is descended by steps; and if a man descends to the lowest step, he finds vaulted passages, with turnings in different directions, the end of which is unknown; so that, when he ventures into them, he loses himself, and will perhaps perish, if he do not quickly return.

§ Near the fourth cataract[3], on the eastern bank, there is a large monastery, upon a high mountain which overlooks the blessed Nile. Fol.100a

Town of Tâfah[4]. It is said that the prophet Moses, before he went out from the face of Pharaoh, was sent by the latter upon an expedition into the land of the Soudan, to make his way to the extremity of it. Now in this land into which Pharaoh commanded Moses to make his expedition, there were many adders and noisome beasts. But the

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[1] The Sun was regarded in ancient times as one of the seven planets.

[2] Here there is a lacuna in the text.

[3] The fourth cataract of the Nile is a little above Meroe.

[4] Tâfah still exists, on the west bank, seven miles to the south of Jartassî, in northern Nubia. It must have been in the province of Marîs. The ancient temple here was turned into a church in the reign of Justinian I, like several others; see Letronne, *op. cit.* p. 37.

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prophet Moses was wise and was assisted by God in all his actions; so he marched into the Soudan with his army, accompanied by birds such as cocks and owls, and entered into the uninhabited deserts where the ancient and noisome beasts and reptiles dwelt; and when they heard the voice of the cocks and of the owls sounding by night and by day, they fled away and remained no longer in their habitations, but vanished from the path of Moses; and so he marched onwards and saw none of them. Then Moses came to the city of Tâfah, and halted before this city; and the king's daughter saw him, and the birds with him, and she loved him; and so she sent messengers to him offering to open the city to him, and pointing out to him the road which he should take in order to conquer the city, and thus she made the capture of the city easy to him. Other writers state that she was the daughter of the king of Abyssinia. So Moses captured the city by offering general quarter; and he granted immunity to the inhabitants, and they brought him money.

Fol.100b In this city of Tâfah, there is a monastery called the monastery of Ansûn, which is ancient, but so skilfully constructed and beautifully planned, that its appearance has not changed in spite of the lapse of ages. Near it, in front of the mountain, there are fifteen hamlets.

There is a church of the glorious angel Michael, which overlooks the river, and is situated between the land of Nubia and the land of the Muslims; but it belongs to Nubia. Near it there is a mosque which has been restored; and also a castle which was built as a fortress on the frontier between the Muslims and the Nubians, and is at the extremity of the Nubian territory.

Philae and Uswân.

Island of Philae[1]. Between the land of Nubia and the land of the

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[1] The Arabic بلاق preserves the Coptic ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲕⲉ. The island is mentioned by Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٧١٠; by Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 37]; by Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ١٩٩; cf. Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 347. We are now returning to Egypt with our author.

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Muslims there are two stones upon a hill in the midst of the blessed river Nile; and the Muslims possess, opposite to them, a strong and lofty fortress called Philae. This was built by Barûbâ and Sarâdîb, and contains fortified dwellings, and the ruins of well-built edifices, the work of the ancients. Philae is five miles distant from Aswân.

Next to Philae comes Uswân[1], the large frontier-town and the great caravan-station, and the last post of the Muslims [before you enter Nubia]. In its neighbourhood are the gold mines[2]. In the town there is an ancient temple, containing the figure of a scorpion, which the children are brought to touch every year on the 12th of Barmûdah[3]; and no scorpion will approach a family which includes a child that has touched that figure of a scorpion. The meaning of the name of Uswân is 'Swallow,' for it was built by the king for a body of Abyssi- Fol. 101a
nians whom he made a guard for himself, and since they were voracious in eating, he said to them 'Swallow!' From Uswân to Al-'Ulâ[4] it is a distance of eighteen days; and to 'Aidhâb a distance of four days.

The monastery called Ibḳâḥ is on a high mountain overlooking the river. Its church is named after the glorious angel Michael; and it has a single dome of great size. It stands between Uswân and Ḳûṣ. If any one steals whether little or much of the money which is brought to this church in payment of vows, his boat, if he came in one, will not put off from the shore until he has restored the stolen money; and this is well known among the natives of that district, so that no one now makes any attempt to rob that church.

There is also a church named after the Lady and Pure Virgin

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[1] Uswân, Aswân, or Suwân is, as it is well known, the Greek Συήνη, the Latin Syene, and the Coptic ϲⲟⲩⲁⲛⲏ, and is mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel (xxix. 10; xxx. 6) as סְוֵנֵה. It is now the chief town of a district in the province of Isnâ (Esneh), and in 1885 had 6,421 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٢٥٦; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 21]; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ١٩٧; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 467.

[2] See above, fol. 20 a.

[3] I. e. April 7.

[4] On the confines of Arabia and Syria. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٧٩٩.

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Mary, which was founded by the king. It was consecrated by Anbâ George, bishop of Naṭû, when he was sent by the patriarch Christodulus to Nubia, to ask the king for assistance on account of the extortion from which he suffered at the hands of [Marwân] al-Ja'dî, the last of the Omeyyad caliphs.

It is said that the Mountains of the Moon[1], where the Nile rises, are of a red colour, and are in the land of Al-Karûbîs; and the country
Fol. 101 b where these mountains are is burnt up with heat, and supports neither plant nor beast.

§ In the land of the Soudan there is a river called the White River, which, when it overflows for a certain length of time, runs into a river called the Black River, which flows into the Nile from the east; and when the White River, which runs into the Nile, rises, then the health of the people of Egypt improves; but when it falls, and the Black River flows [into the Nile], then the people of Egypt fall sick. This Black River rises in a black mountain, and flows over black stones, in an exceedingly black stream. Near the Black River there is a Yellow River, which rises in a mountain as yellow as saffron.

§ The district of Uswân is inhabited by Arabs of the tribe of Rabî'ah and others. In this district there are springs of white naphtha in the mountains, which were found by the son of 'Ain as-Saif, the governor, when he was at Aswân in the year 400 (A. D. 1010). In this neighbourhood is found also the clay called 'clay of art[2];' and there is the gold-mine; and there is red and yellow ochre.

§ [There is in this district] a church named after the saint Abû Hadrî[3], whose body is preserved within it, but it is in ruins. It stands on the island of Uswân[4]. Near this church there is also a monastery, in which there were three hundred cells for monks, which are now ruined. The church was large and beautiful. There was also the church of Saint Mennas, which was solidly built of stone.

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[1] See above, fol. 26 b.

[2] See above, fol. 20 a.

[3] He was a native of Uswân; see Paris *Synaxarium* at Kîhak 12 = Dec. 8.

[4] I. e. Elephantine.

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[There is also] a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, which is exceedingly large; but it was turned by Al-Hâkim into a mosque.

[There is also] a ruined church of the glorious angel Michael outside Uswân, to the east, upon the mountain; and the church of the saint and glorious martyr George. Fol.102a

[There is also] a monastery of the saint Abû Hadrî on the mountain on the west; and it is inhabited by monks. The monastery of Saint Anthony is built of stone. It possessed several gardens, but the Arabs seized them and wrecked the monastery.

There is here a church, named after Saint Ibsâdah[1], which stands in the citadel of Uswân, upon the bank of the blessed river Nile; and it is said that this saint used to walk upon the water.

In this district there is a black mountain of granite, of which was constructed a bridge[2] of great length, which was to be placed over the river from one side to the other; but it has never been completely disengaged [from the quarry], from the time of the giants[3] until now; and it still remains in the form in which they left it.

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[1] The Coptic Psôti (ⲡⲥⲱϯ), who was bishop of Ptolemais at the time of the persecution of Diocletian, and suffered as a martyr for his faith. Ptolemais is the Coptic Psoi (ⲡⲥⲟⲓ), named in Arabic Abṣâ'î (ابصاى), or, by its modern designation, Munshîyah, and still exists a little to the north of Jirjâ. The festival of St. Psôti or Ibsâdah is kept on Kîhak 27=Dec. 23. See *Synaxarium* at that day; Zoega, *Cat.* p. 237; Amélineau, *Actes des MM.* p. 30, and *Géogr.* pp. 381–383.

[2] I. e. the well-known obelisk in the ancient granite quarry near Uswân, which although partly hewn into shape has never been detached from the rock. Yâḳût mentions the same object, and says it was called the Ṣaḳâlah (الصقالة), adding that there is a narrow part of the Nile near the quarries, and that it was related that the intention had been to bridge over the river by means of this obelisk, while others said that it was the fellow to the obelisk of Alexandria. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٣١٩.

[3] The admiration excited in the minds of the contemporaries of our author by the works of the ancient Egyptians is well expressed by 'Abd al-Laṭîf, who says:—

واذا رأى اللبيب هذه الاثار عذر العوام فى اعتقادهم على الاوائل بان اعمارهم كانت طويلة وجثثهم عظيمة او انه كان لهم عصا اذا ضربوا بها الحجر سعى بين ايديهم وذلك ان

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Isnâ.

District of Isnâ[1]. The meaning of this word is 'Tree[2],' and there was here a tree from India. There is here a church named after Matthew, the pious monk. It is said that when he was appointed bishop of this town of Isnâ, and came to the district, a certain Muslim provided a horse to carry him from the outskirts of the town, until he brought him to the cell where he was to live. And at the weddings and other rejoicings of the Muslims the Christians are present, and chant[3]
Fol.102b in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, and walk before the bridegroom through

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الاذهان تقصر عن مقدار ما يحتاج اليه فى ذلك من علم الهندسة واجتماع الهمة وتوفر العزيمة ومصابرة العمل والتمكن من الالات والتفرغ للاعمال

'When a man of sense beholds these ruins he finds himself able to excuse in the vulgar their belief with regard to the ancients that their lives were longer than ours and their bodies stronger, or that they possessed a magic rod with which when they struck the stones they leapt towards them. For the modern mind feels itself unable to estimate how much was required in these works of knowledge of geometry, and concentration of thought, and ardour of study, and patience in labour, and power over tools, and application to work,' &c. (ed. White, p. 130).

[1] Generally written in English as 'Esneh.' It is now the capital of a province, and in 1885 had 9,422 inhabitants. It was the Coptic ⲥⲛⲏ and the Greek Latopolis. Yâḳût says that the only places of importance in Egypt to the south of Isnâ were Udfû and Uswân, and that in his time Isnâ was a flourishing place with much trade. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٢١٥; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 172–175.

[2] Our author seems to derive the name from the Coptic ϣⲛⲏ.

[3] The Coptic church tones correspond to some extent to the Greek and Latin tones, and are called respectively the tones of Adam, of Wâṭus, Sanjârî, Kîhak, Atrîbî, the tone of the Great Fast, the tone for the Dead, the tone Istâsîmûn. The tones most commonly used are that of Adam (ⲏⲭⲟⲥ ⲁⲇⲁⲙ, لحن آدم) on the three first days of the week, and that of Wâṭus (ⲏⲭⲟⲥ ⲃⲁⲧⲟⲥ, i.e. ⲃⲁⲑⲟⲥ, لحن واطس) on the other days. Cf. Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 58.

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the market-places and streets; and this has become a recognized custom with them, [and has continued] up to our own day. And on the night of the Feast of the holy Nativity, every year, the Muslims, as well as the Christians, burn candles, and lamps, and logs of wood in great numbers.

Armant and its neighbourhood.

§ Armant[1]. This place was called in ancient times Armanûsah[2]; and the name means 'Blessed spot.' The town was founded by Bûsîm the king, son of Caphtorim, son of Mizraim, son of Baiṣur, son of Ham, son of Noah. There is here a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; and when an altar was consecrated here in the year 801 of the Righteous Martyrs (A. D. 1084–5), some fragments of the vessels which had contained the water of consecration were taken and thrown into the well within the church; and the water rose until it filled half of the well; and the priests marked the limit of the rise of the water, and the mark of it remains until now.

Near this district there is a church, at Al-Khazârah, named after Peter, the chief of the Fathers and Apostles; and it is written of this church that, when it was consecrated, the water overflowed from the vessels, until it overspread the courtyard of the church.

Near Damâmîl[3] there is a church named after the saint Anbâ Michael.

§ Dandarah[4] in Upper Egypt is a large town; it was built by one

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[1] Now in the district of As-Salmîyah, in the province of Isnâ. It is the Coptic ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ and the Greek Hermonthis, and was, in the early days of Christianity, a place of importance and the capital of a nome. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٢١٨; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 165–167.

[2] This is perhaps a corruption of the Greek Hermonthis.

[3] Yâḳût and the revenue-list write this name 'Damâmîn,' but Al-Idrîsî employs the same form as our author, and this is the form used at the present day. Damâmîl is now in the district of Ḳûṣ, in the province of Ḳanâ, and had 568 inhabitants in 1885. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٥٨٥; Al-Idrîsî (ed. Rome) [p. 49]; De Sacy, *Abd-Allatif*, p. 703; *Rec. de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 94.

[4] Yâḳût gives 'Andarâ' as an alternative form. The place is now in the

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of the daughters of the Copts in the days of Manfâ'ûs. There is here a well, square in form, the opening of which measures one hundred cubits on each side; the entrance into it is by steps, which can be
Fol. 103 a descended by camels, oxen, horses, sheep, and all other beasts which drink the water of the well. In this district there is a most wonderful ancient temple, such as has never been seen elsewhere; and it is said that the giants who built this temple also planned the construction of the well.

Ḳift and Ḳanâh.

§ The town of Ḳift[1] is the first town that was built in the land of Egypt; it was founded by Ḳift, the son of Mizraim, who lived 400 years, and was buried with his treasures in the Oases. From Ḳift there is a road to 'Aidhâb[2], and a road to the mine of emeralds, and a road to the Sea of Na'âm[3]. There is here a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, in which is preserved the body of the saint Abû Shâj. There is also another church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; and there is a church of Saint Severus.

There is here a monastery of the Virgin, and a monastery of Saint Sinuthius, and a monastery named after Saint Anthony; and there is a convent of nuns named after Saint George; and a monastery named after the martyr Saint Victor, and two monasteries named after the glorious martyr Theodore.

There is a church named after the angel Gabriel at the top of the mountain in this district. In the middle of [the town] there is a pillar

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district and province of Ḳanâ, and in 1885 contained 4,492 inhabitants besides 1,383 Bedouins. It is the Coptic ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲣⲓ and the classical Tentyris or Tentyra. The village of Denderah is well known to tourists, who here meet with the first great Egyptian temple which is to be seen on the voyage up the Nile, and which was as celebrated in the time of our author as it is now. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* ii. p. ٧١٠; Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 125; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٢٢٢, cf. p. ٢١; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 140–142.

[1] Quatremère quotes part of this passage in *Mém.* i. p. 150.

[2] See above, fol. 21 a and note.

[3] Apparently part of the Red Sea.

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standing by itself, exposed to the sun, and marked with a scale to measure the rise of the Nile, a work of skill, and the result of divine guidance. The 26th of Ba'ûnah[1] is the day on which the sun stood still for Joshua the son of Nun, by God's permission, until he had Fol.108b vanquished the unbelieving Gentiles and giants in battle, through the changing of the sun into various colours and the double halo which appeared round it; and on that day when the sun shines on this pillar, it is known, from the measure indicated by its rays, to what height the Nile will rise that year.

At the top of the hill is Ḳanâh[2]. In this district there are two monasteries which were restored by the Mu'allim Isḥâḳ, called Al-Azraḳ, the merchant, who was a native of the town of Ḳift. One of these monasteries is named after Coluthus, and the other after the glorious angel Michael. They were then in ruins; but the aforesaid merchant spent a large sum upon them, and set them in excellent order, so that the monks came and lived there, to the number of fifty; and he planted near them many trees and vines, and endowed them with property in land, irrigated by water-wheels, and producing vegetables, flax, wheat, and other crops; and the extent of this property was marked out by palm-trees, planted in various places. He also presented forty yoke of oxen for working the water-wheels; and he distributed much money in alms before he died; may God rest his soul!

Fâ'û.

§ The district called Fâ'û[3] is in the southern part of Upper Egypt.

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[1] This day corresponds to June 20, and the Paris *Synaxarium*, as well as that translated by Mr. Malan, commemorates the death of Joshua on this day.

[2] Ḳanâh is now the capital of a province, and in 1885 had 15,402 inhabitants. Its Coptic name seems to have been ⲔⲰⲚⲎ, and the Copto-Arabic lists give the corresponding Arabic name as قونة. The more usual form, however, would seem to be قنا, Ḳanâ; and in English it is generally written 'Keneh.' In the time of our author the place was in the province of Ḳûṣ. The Greeks appear to have called the town Καινὴ πόλις. See Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 393 f.

[3] Yâḳût names both this place and the monastery of Abû Bakhûm which it

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Here there is a monastery and a church named after Saint Pachomius. This church is large and spacious, being one hundred and fifty cubits
Fol.104a long and seventy-five cubits broad[1]; but it has now fallen into ruin. All the pictures in this church were composed of tessellae of glass, gilded and coloured[2]; and its pillars were of marble; but it was wrecked by Al-Ḥâkim.

Ḳamûlah.

§ Ḳamûlah[3]. Here there is a church named after the glorious martyr Theodore. The glorious martyr Mercurius also has a church here; and there are two churches of the two glorious angels Michael and Gabriel. There are also two churches of the two glorious martyrs Saint George and Saint Victor, son of Romanus. There are also two churches of the glorious saints Sinuthius and John Abû Ḳarḳâs. There are also here two monasteries of the glorious martyrs Abâ Nûb and Theodore.

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possessed. Another Arabic name of the town is Bâfû (بافو), which is nearer to the Coptic ⲫⲃⲱⲟⲩ. The Coptic life of St. Pachomius describes the foundation of the great convent here which bore his name. Fâ'û is now in the district of Dashnâ, in the province of Ḳanâ, and in 1885 had, if its northern and southern divisions are added together, 4,743 inhabitants, besides 990 Bedouins. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٨٣٩; Amélineau, *Géogr.* pp. 331–333; cf. his *Hist. de S. Pakhôme*, p. 70 f.

[1] These measurements are interesting if they can be relied upon. After so frequent mention of 'large churches, spacious and nobly planned,' these figures give at least Abû Ṣâliḥ's idea of a grand building. Taking his cubit at 1 ft. 6 in., the church of St. Pachomius would measure 225 ft. in length by 112 ft. 6 in. in breadth,—truly noble proportions, surpassing all ancient church buildings now remaining in Egypt, except possibly the White Monastery. (A. J. B.)

[2] Another instance of glass mosaic. See above, on the mosaics of Al-Ḳuṣair, fol. 50 b. (A. J. B.)

[3] The Coptic ⲕⲁⲗⲗⲟⲗⲓ. It was celebrated for its palms and vegetables. It is now in the district of Ḳûṣ, in the province of Ḳanâ, and in 1885 had 1,020 inhabitants. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٧٧٦; Al-Idrîsî (trans. Jaubert), i. p. 127; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 391 f.

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Al-Ushmûnain.

City of Al-Ushmûnain [1]. Here there are two churches [respectively] of the holy fathers Peter and Mark; and two churches [respectively] of the glorious martyrs George and Mercurius; and also three churches of the pure and lofty angels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael.

Uswân and its neighbourhood.

§ The district called the frontier-district of Uswân, which is contiguous to the former district. Here, near the fortress, and on the east side of it, there is a church of the Four Living Creatures, beneath which there is a pool of water; and beside this, it is said that Diocletian, the unbelieving emperor, shed the blood of many martyrs. Around this pool there was a wall, the greater part of which is now ruined. Fol.104b

§ The island of Baḳîḳ, to the west of [Uswân]. Here there is a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, containing several chapels, the greater part of which are ruined. There is also a church of the saint and glorious martyr Theodore.

§ Island of Philae. Here there are many idols and temples. The island contains two churches, one of which is named after the glorious angel Michael, and the other after the patriarch Athanasius; these churches are beside the cataract.

The House of Sanîs stands on the bank of the river, to the west of [Philae]; and near it there are several churches overlooking the river, but now in ruins.

§ It is said that at Bashâwah there is a garden, the property of Ibn Kâmil, which contains a wonderful palm-tree, such as has never been heard of elsewhere; and its peculiarity is that it casts off unripe dates, of which the kernel is eaten, and makes the most delicious food, while the outside is thrown away; and this is well known, and is related in the book of An-Nasr ibn Zûlâḳ.

Ḳamûlah.

§ At Ḳamûlah [2] there is a monastery named after the glorious angel

[1] We have already heard of this place on fol. 76 a and b, &c.

[2] We return once more to Ḳamûlah after the peculiar manner of our author.

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Michael, and known as the monastery of the Well, because in its neighbourhood there is a well of excellent water, from which travellers drink when they pass through this district. The monastery contains a keep, and is surrounded by an enclosing wall; and it is said to possess the body of Saint Pisentius, superior of the monastery in Upper Egypt.

§ Bû Harûkah. Here there is a monastery named after the glorious angel Michael, which contains a keep.

Luxor.

§ Luxor[1]. Before the gate of this town there are idols standing like castles[2]. Some of them have the forms of lions or rams, and are
Fol. 105 a standing upon their feet in two rows, on the right and on the left. They are [carved] out of hard black stone which is polished. Within the town there are also great idols of hard black stone without number.

Abyssinia.

§ Abyssinia. This country is under the jurisdiction of the see of Mark the Evangelist[3]. Abyssinia is the same as the kingdom of

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[1] The Arabic form *Al-Aḳṣurain*, the dual of *Al-Aḳṣur* (الأقصر), was often used as the name of the place, e.g. in the *Synaxarium*, and the Copto-Arabic lists of places. The form *Al-Aḳṣur*, however, is used by Yâḳût and Al-Maḳrîzî, and is now vulgarly pronounced *'l-Aḳṣur* (Luxor). The Coptic name of the place is ΠΑΠΕ; and the modern village, as it is well known, occupies part of the site of the ancient Thebes. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٣٣٨; Al-Maḳrîzî, i. p. ٢٠٣; Ibn Duḳmâḳ, v. p. ٣٠; Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 234 f.

[2] The text has 'like that,' apparently referring to the signification of *Al-Aḳṣur*, which may be taken, as Yâḳût remarks (*loc. cit.*), as a 'plural of paucity' of the word *ḳaṣr* (قصر) 'a castle.' The following passage is obviously intended for a description of the avenue of sphinxes which leads to the temple of Karnak.

[3] As Tellez remarks:

'Depois que os Abexins tiveram noticia da Fé de Christo nunca tiveram mays que hum só bispo em toda Ethiopia, ao qual elles chamam Abuná, que quer dizer Padre nosso. O primeyro de todos foy Sam Frumencio, de quem acima falamos; & assim como este Santo foy mandado de Alexandria por S. Athanasio, assim

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Sheba [1], from which the queen of Al-Yaman came to Jerusalem, to hear words of wisdom from Solomon; and she offered him splendid gifts. When the king of Abyssinia wishes to make the tour of this country, he spends a whole year in going round it, travelling on all days except Sundays and the festivals of the Lord, until he returns to his capital city.

Abyssinia is contiguous to India [2] and the adjacent territory. A metropolitan is sent from the see of Mark the Evangelist to Abyssinia [3], from the patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt; and this

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dali por diante todos os mays bispos ou Abunás foram mandados a Ethiopia da mesma Cadeyra Patriarchal até os nossos tempos, em que Roma mandou alguns Patriarchas como a diante veremos.'

'Since the Abyssinians have had knowledge of the Faith of Christ, they have never had more than a single bishop in all Ethiopia, whom they call *Abûnâ*, which signifies "Our Father." The first of all was Saint Frumentius, of whom we have spoken above; and as that Saint was sent from Alexandria by Saint Athanasius, so, from that time onward, all the other bishops or Abûnâs have been sent from the same patriarchal see, down to our own times, in which Rome despatched certain patriarchs, as we shall see further.' (*Hist. geral de Ethiopia a alta . . . composta na mesma Ethiopia pelo Padre M. d'Almeyda . . . abreviada pelo Padre B. Telles*, &c., Coimbra, 1660, p. 93.)

[1] Our author here seems to look upon South-west Arabia as identical with or forming part of Abyssinia or Ethiopia, an error akin to the confusion of Abyssinia with India which appears lower down. It is true, of course, that the ruling race of Abyssinia, the Geez, came from Arabia, and brought with them the Ethiopic alphabet.

Josephus speaks of the queen of Sheba as 'queen of Egypt and Ethiopia' (*Ant.* viii. 6); and Origen, St. Augustine, and St. Anselm, among others, believed that she was an Ethiopian sovereign.

[2] Compare below, fol. 108 b, where it is said that Abyssinia and India are identical.

[3] There are several references to this practice in the patriarchal biographies. In A. H. 596=A. D. 1200, and therefore in the lifetime of our author and not long before the composition of the present work, an envoy came from Abyssinia to

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metropolitan of the Abyssinians ordains priests and deacons for them. The king of Al-Muḳurrah[1], who is an Abyssinian, and is an orthodox king, is the Great King among the kings of his country, because he has an extensive kingdom, including distant regions in the north of the country, and has many troops; and he is the fourth of the kings of the earth, and no king on earth is strong enough to resist him; and at a certain place in his country he possesses the Ark of Noah[2].

Fol. 105 b All the kings of Abyssinia are priests, and celebrate the liturgy within the sanctuary, as long as they reign without slaying any man with their own hand; but after slaying a man they can no longer celebrate the liturgy; and the conditions by which they are bound after they have killed a man have already been spoken of in this book[3].

If any of the Abyssinians commits a sin, he takes a handful of incense of the kind which is burnt within the sanctuary; it is composed of frankincense, of sandarach, of styrax, of ladanum, of mastic, of aloes, and of cassia; then he confesses his sin over [this mixture], and throws it into the censer[4], together with dried rose-leaves.

All the kings of Abyssinia are crowned with the royal crown[5] in

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announce the death of the metropolitan, and to request that his successor might be appointed. This is related by 'Abd al-Laṭîf, who says:

وورد فى شوال رسول ملك الحبشة ومعه كتاب يتضمن موت مطرانهم ويلتمس عوضه

'In the month of Shawwâl an envoy arrived from the king of the Abyssinians, bearing a letter which contained the announcement of the death of their metropolitan, and requested the appointment of his successor' (ed. White, p. 196).

[1] See above, fol. 94 b.

[2] The common legend in the East is that the Ark of Noah still exists on Mount Jûdâ in Mesopotamia; see below, fol. 111 b.

[3] This proves the confusion in the mind of our author of Nubia with Abyssinia; see above, fol. 99 a.

[4] Cf. above, fol. 8 a and 9 b, with notes.

[5] The caliphs and sultans of Islam were never crowned like Christian sovereigns, but the tradition is that a gold crown was worn by the ancient kings

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the church of the angel Michael, or the church of Saint George, beneath their pictures. After that the king does not wear the crown, but the metropolitan blesses him, and lays his hand upon his head, and fastens a band over his head and beneath his chin, and clothes him in a robe of brocade.

The Abyssinians possess also the Ark of the Covenant[1], in which are the two tables of stone, inscribed by the finger of God with the commandments which he ordained for the children of Israel. The Ark of the Covenant is placed upon the altar, but is not so wide as the altar; it is as high as the knee of a man, and is overlaid with gold; and upon its lid there are crosses of gold; and there are five precious stones Fol. 106a

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of South-west Arabia, from the time of Hamyar, the supposed ancestor of the queen of Sheba; see Wright, *Christianity in Arabia*, p. 15. (A. J. B.)

[1] The legend among the Copts and Abyssinians is as follows. On her coming home from the court of king Solomon, the queen of Sheba gave birth to a son, of whom he was the father. The son, named Menelek, was educated at home until he reached his twentieth year, when the queen sent him to his father to be taught the wisdom of Solomon, and besought the latter to anoint and proclaim his son king of Ethiopia before the Ark of the Covenant, so that henceforth there might be a line of kings instead of queens in Sheba. Solomon readily granted the queen's request, and after adding to the youth's name of Menelek that of David, and training him in the study of law and other branches of learning, resolved to send him home in state with a retinue of princes and noble pages. Among the rest he ordered Azarias the priest, son of Zadok the high-priest, to accompany Menelek David to Ethiopia, and Azarias before starting secretly prepared a counterfeit Ark of the Covenant. This during sacrifice he contrived to substitute for the original, which he and his companions carried off with them to Ethiopia. Such is the story told with variations by Alvarez (Lord Stanley's translation), pp. 78–79; by Tellez, *Hist. geral de Ethiopia a alta*, p. 63; by Zagazabo in Danhauer's *Ecclesia Aethiopica*, cap. iv; and in the Arabic history translated by M. Amélineau in *Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrét.* i. pp. 144–164. Zagazabo's account makes the young prince carry off not the Ark itself, but only the Two Tables of Stone. With the Ark or the Tables, the rights of sovereignty of the house of David were held to have passed to the royal family of Abyssinia. (A. J. B.)

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upon it, one at each of the four corners, and one in the middle. The liturgy is celebrated upon the Ark four times in the year, within the palace of the king; and a canopy is spread over it when it is taken out from [its own] church to the church which is in the palace of the king: namely on the feast of the great Nativity, on the feast of the glorious Baptism, on the feast of the holy Resurrection, and on the feast of the illuminating Cross. And the Ark is attended and carried by a large number of Israelites descended from the family of the prophet David[1], who are white and red in complexion, with red hair. In every town of Abyssinia there is one church, as spacious as it can possibly be.

It is said that the Negus[2] was white and red of complexion, with red hair, and so are all his family to the present day; and it is said that he was of the family of Moses and Aaron, on account of the coming of Moses into Abyssinia. Moses married the king's daughter[3].

The eucharistic loaves of the Abyssinians are disks of leavened bread, without stamp[4].

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[1] I.e. the royal family, who as descended from Menelek David, son of Solomon, are descended from king David his father. On the subject of Abyssinian Christianity, the reader is referred to Tellez, *op. cit.*, and to La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme d'Éthiopie* (1739), and Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, London, 1696. (A. J. B.)

[2] It is, of course, well known that the word Negus is the Ethiopic ንጉሥ: The form ነጋሢ has been borrowed in Arabic as نَجَاشِي.

[3] This sentence is out of its place in the text.

[4] The Coptic eucharistic loaf, which is also leavened, is on the contrary stamped with a design of crosses, each enclosed within a square border. The part in the middle is called the *Isbodikon* or *Spoudikon* (ⲓⲥϧⲟⲇⲓⲕⲟⲛ or ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲓⲕⲟⲛ a corruption of δεσποτικόν), and the former appears in the Arabic *Isbūdīḳān*, e.g. in the modern (1886) Cairo edition of the Coptic Liturgy in the rubric before intinction. Round the central design of the wafer are the words Holy, Holy, Holy Lord (ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ) or the like. See Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* p. 99 f.; Butler, *Coptic Churches*, ii. p. 278 seq.

Tellez says of the Abyssinians:

'Detraz da Igreja para a banda do Oriente esta sempre hũa cazinha, a qual he a casa das hostias, & nella ha apparelho para se fazerem; & vem a ser a

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§ The Abyssinians use vinegar with water for their communions, or water[1] alone; yet this is not from want of wine, but is a custom inherited from their ancestors.

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hostia hum bolo fermentado, o qual se nam guarda d' hum dia pera o outro, & se espantam de nós nam fazermos as hostias pera cada dia.'

'Behind the church, at the east end, there is always a chamber which is the bakehouse for the eucharistic loaves, and in it there is the apparatus for making them; and the eucharistic loaf when it is made is a leavened cake, but is not kept from one day to another; and they are scandalized at our not making fresh hosts every day.' (*Hist. geral de Ethiopia a alta*, p. 97.)

The *cazinha* of which Tellez speaks corresponds to the bakehouse (بيت عجين) attached to the Coptic churches, as we have seen above, fol. 30 b, &c. (A. J. B.)

[1] Tellez says:

'O vinho que preparam pera a missa vem a ser d' esta maneyra; trazem quatro ou sinco passas como ja toquey, que tem guardadas, as quays desfazem, quebrando as com os dedos em hum pucaro de agoa, mayor ou menor, conforme á quantidade da gente que ha de commungar; porque todos commungam *sub utraque specie;* & o mays certo he que *sub neutra*, porque evidentissimo he que a materia aqui nam he vinho, senam agoa, poys hum pucaro de agoa nam se pode tornar em vinho só com sinco ou seys passas.'

'The wine which they prepare for the Mass is made in the following manner: they bring four or five raisins, as I have already mentioned, which they keep in store, and these they crush by squeezing them with the fingers in a cup of water, larger or smaller according to the number of communicants; for they all communicate *sub utraque specie*, or more probably *sub neutra*, for it is abundantly clear that the element here used is not wine but water, since a cup of water cannot be changed into wine by the mere addition of five or six raisins.' (*Hist. geral de Ethiopia a alta*, p. 97.)

Alvarez states the same fact; see Lord Stanley's translation, pp. 25, 28, and 412. The statement of Tellez is repeated by Ludolphus; see his *History of Ethiopia made English by J. P. Gent*, Bk. III. ch. 6. Danhauer also states that the Abyssinians used a chalice of raisin wine (vinum ex uvis, defectu vini ex recentibus uvis expressi, passis mira arte expressum), quoting Zagazabo as his authority.

Our author agrees with Tellez that such a chalice is in reality one of water, not wine. (A. J. B.)

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In Abyssinia there are many Muslims, each of whom pays a tax of three *aftkhalts*[1] of iron, and these are like a broad spit, and have at the end the impression of the king's seal.

Fol. 106 b The king possesses, among his treasures, the throne of king David, upon which he sat to give judgment; and upon it, all round it, and upon all its sides, there are crosses of gold.

The fathers and patriarchs used to write letters to the kings of Abyssinia and Nubia, twice in the year; and the last of them who did so was Zacharias, the sixty-fourth patriarch; for Al-Ḥâkim forbad the practice, which ceased from that time until now. Nevertheless when a letter comes from any of these kings to the caliph at Miṣr or his vizier, he bids the patriarch write a reply to the letter, with all the respect and reverence due from Christians, and all the compliments which are customary among them. The patriarch charges the king of Abyssinia to avoid association with the Muslims, who are under his government. Formerly it was customary with all the kings of Abyssinia as well as their subjects to have several wives[2]. This continued until the patriarchate of Anbâ Sinuthius, the sixty-seventh patriarch[3]; who commanded the metropolitan to bring them back from this mode of life to the mode of life existing among the Christians of Egypt and Syria, and not to authorize

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[1] Apparently a word of Greek origin.

[2] Danhauer's testimony on this point agrees with Abû Ṣâliḥ's: 'reges olim sex aut septem habuerunt uxores, aulici communiter duas aut tres, ceteri pro lubitu prout res domestica fert, alteram priori addunt aut superaddunt tertiam.' The priests, however, were never allowed more than one wife (*Eccl. Aethiop.* cap. v. § 3). Alvarez (Lord Stanley's trans. p. 45) seems to say that in places polygamy was common, and was not forbidden by the 'king or magistrates,' but only by the church. Yet 'every man who has more than one wife does not enter the church nor receive the sacrament; and they hold him to be excommunicated.' But the ban is easily removed. (A. J. B.)

[3] This is an error. The sixty-seventh patriarch was Cyril (see above, fol. 44 b, &c.), who ordained Severus metropolitan of Abyssinia; and it was this Severus who by exhortation and threats put down polygamy. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* p. 453. The date referred to is about A. D. 1086. Sinuthius (Sanutius), the

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the king and his subjects to do as they were then doing; and after this the Abyssinians refrained from following their former custom, and began to have each of them one wife only.

[This patriarch] also established that in the rite of consecration of churches the same customs should be followed as in all the churches of Egypt; and he bade the metropolitan direct the Abyssinians to slay at the completion of the building of a church twelve beasts[1], namely four oxen, four sheep, and four goats, three at each side of the church; and that they should distribute [the flesh] of all [of them] on the day when they ceased from the building of the church, as a gift to God who had helped them to complete a house in which offerings should be made to him and in which his name should be commemorated, and supplications and prayers and praises should be offered. Fol. 107a

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sixty-fifth patriarch, occupied the see in the first half of the eleventh century. (A. J. B.)

[1] This custom of sacrificing animals at the consecration or completion of a church is quite unexampled in Coptic church history and quite against the Coptic canons. It can only mean, I think, that the patriarch sanctioned the maintenance of a purely Abyssinian practice. From the earliest times there were large Jewish settlements in Abyssinia, and it is probable that the custom of religious sacrifice derived from the Jews remained after the conversion of the people to Christianity, just as it remained and remains among the Arabs after their conversion to Islam. It must be admitted, however, that the Copts also retained the custom of slaying if not of sacrificing animals on certain solemn occasions. Lane instances the killing of a sheep or lamb at the bridegroom's house on the evening of a wedding, when the animal is slaughtered at the door and the bride steps over its blood; and he mentions that at Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter, when the Copts pay regular visits to the tombs of their relatives, a buffalo or sheep is commonly slain and given to the poor as an act rather of charity than sacrifice. (*Mod. Egyptians*, ii. pp. 292, 296.) But the Muslim sacrifices are far more numerous and more distinctly ritual in character (*op. cit.* i. pp. 67, 116, 302; ii. 221, 259, 268). The present writer has seen Muslim sacrifices with a propitiatory purpose both in Egypt and in Asia Minor. (A. J. B.)

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Saint Thomas.

§ The church of Thomas the Disciple and his holy hand, with which he touched the Lord's side, and which is still living, as a witness to the resurrection of the living Christ from the dead, and of his ascension into heaven. This hand is part of the body of Saint Thomas, which lies in a church upon one of the Indian[1] islands in the salt sea, which has been described by travellers among those things that are celebrated among men down to our own day.

North-western Africa.

§ Western Africa. The gospel was preached in this country by Philip the Apostle[2], whose name means Lover of Horses. [There is in

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[1] I. e. at Mailapur or São Thomé, the suburb of Madras. It is not strictly an island, but there is water to the north and south of it and a great lake behind the town, and at the time of the monsoons the place becomes almost an island; see Germann, *Kirche der Thomaschristen*, 1877, p. 272 ff. It has of course been much disputed whether St. Thomas was buried in India or at Edessa. Assemani says that all old Syriac and Arabic writers agree that St. Thomas was buried at Calamina and translated to Edessa; see *Bib. Or.* ii. pp. 387–391. The question is fully discussed in Germann, *op. cit.* This author suggests as an explanation of the name Calamina, that it arose from the answer to the question, 'Where was St. Thomas martyred?' to which the reply in the Malayalim language was: 'Mailapur Calurmina,' i. e. 'On a rock near Mailapur' (*op. cit.* p. 43).

[2] The statement that St. Philip preached in north-western Africa, especially at Carthage, is in agreement with some of the apocryphal Acts of that Apostle; see *Acta SS.* at May 1; Lipsius, *Die apocr. Apostelgeschichte*, iii. p. 32 ff.; Wright, *Apocr. Acts of the App.*; Coptic *Synaxarium* at Hatûr 18 = Nov. 14; *Conflicts of the Holy App.*, translated from the Ethiopic by Malan, pp. 66–76. The Greek accounts make St. Philip die at Hierapolis in Syria, and the Syriac account merely describes his mission to Carthage and says nothing of his death there. The Coptic *Synaxarium*, however, is more explicit, and states that the Apostle was put to death in Africa, and that an angel carried his body away to Jerusalem; but that subsequently the people all became Christians, and prayed to God that he would restore the sacred relics to them, which was miraculously accomplished.

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this country] the church of Saint John, and a church named after the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary, which was founded by a travelling merchant in the year 931 of Alexander (A. D. 618–619). The country still further west is inhabited by Romans; and much snow and hail falls there, and men and beasts die there.

Carthage. Here is buried the body of the aforesaid Philip.

Spain.

Spain is the seat of the dominion of the Muslim Berbers of the west; and at its extremity is the seat of the kingdom of the Roman Franks. Fol.107b

§ The book of *Al-Khiṭaṭ bi-Miṣr*[1] relates that when 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî[2], the emir of Egypt, captured the fortress of Toledo in Spain, in the month of Rajab of the year 93 of the Arab dominion (A. D. 712), through the agency of Mûsâ, he found there a crown[3] which was said to be the crown of Solomon the son of David, and also his table which was of gold encircled with gems, and was worth alone 200,000 dinars; and besides this he found money and valuable treasures and precious jewels and vessels and arms beyond all price.

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[1] By Al-Kindî.

[2] This is an error, probably of the copyist and abbreviator. Mûsâ was not despatched to Spain by 'Amr, who had in fact died more than fifty years earlier.

[3] The capture of these treasures of Solomon by the Arabs on the conquest of Toledo is related by several historians. See e. g. Al-Makkarî ed. Dozy, &c. i. p. ١٨٢; Al-Makîn, *Hist. Sarac.* p. 85. Yâḳût says that Toledo (Ṭulaiṭulah or Ṭulaiṭalah) had been visited by Solomon, Alexander, and Jesus Christ. The treasures of Solomon were famous in Europe before the Arab conquest of Spain. Procopius (*De Bello Goth.* Bk. 1) says that among the spoils carried away from Rome by Alaric were the ornaments of Solomon, the king of the Hebrews, remarkable for the brilliancy of the sapphires with which they were incrusted. They had, he says, been captured at Jerusalem by the armies of Titus, and they were taken by Alaric from Rome to Carcassonne. From this city they must have been carried off by the Visigoths to Toledo. Cf. Gibbon (ed. 1838), iv. p. 129. (A. J. B.)

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The Miraculous Olive-tree.

The place called *Anẓar wa-A'jab*[1] is near Marea[2], there being a distance of three days' journey between them. Here is the church of the Pure Lady and Virgin Mary. The biographies [of the patriarchs] relate that at the door of this church there stands an olive-tree which has no green leaves upon it[3]; but that on the day of the festival of that church, at sunrise, this tree becomes green while all the people are looking at it, and its branches spread, and its leaves unfold, and fruit appears upon it; and the fruit deepens in colour and grows and multiplies until the middle of the day when the tree is covered with
Fol.108 a olives. Then the priest in charge of the church comes out, and takes some of the olives, which he presses, and with the oil of which he lights the lamps. And the people who are assembled pray, and receive the communion, and disperse to their own homes. Afterwards the priest in charge of the church collects that which is left of the olives, and has them pressed; and they supply the church with sufficient oil for lighting the lamps during the whole year. This [story which has been related] was written by the sheikh Abû 'l-Barakât Mauhûb ibn Manṣûr ibn Mufarraj, the Alexandrian deacon, in the biography of Anbâ Christodulus, the sixty-sixth patriarch.

North-western Africa.

The City of Darkness. Between this and the town of Al-Iḳrân there is a river called the Jarjar, the width of which is 300 miles [or] 100 parasangs[4].

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[1] I. e. 'Most remarkable and most wonderful.' The ب has been omitted before أنظر.

[2] Marea (Μαρεία) is well known from the Greek and Latin geographers as a town near Lake Mareotis. It existed for some time after the Arab conquest, but few traces now remain of it.

[3] This story may be compared with the English legend of the 'holy thorn,' which blossoms at Christmastide. (A. J. B.)

[4] We seem here to be in the region of pure legend. The statement is taken by our author from the *Book of Clement* (see below), which speaks of the river Jarjar near the City of Darkness, and says that it was 100 parasangs in width; see MS. *Bodl. Or.* 294, p. 302.

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§ The town called Al-Lûzarîḳû[1] is in North-western Africa, near Carthage; and Paul[2] the Apostle preached and founded several churches there. One of the latter is a church named after the Pure Lady; it is 3,000 great cubits in length, and 1,153 cubits in breadth. The river [Jarjar] was divided at this [town of Al-Lûzarîḳû], and thirteen different paths were made through it. This [town] was seen by Peter, chief of the apostles, when he visited it, according to the testimony of the *Book of Clement.* The people of this town used to keep the feast of the idols on the 12th of Îyâr, every year; and on this day they wove roses into garlands and placed them on the heads of their idols, and offered them fresh honey[3] and *farîḳ as-sabîl* from among their stores. Fol.108b

There was in the town of Al-Lûzarîḳûn a talisman[4] upon the walls, which warned the people of the approach of a stranger, and then they forbad him to enter. That river [Jarjar], at the prayer of Paul, was

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[1] This name is apparently so written in the MS., but the copy of the *Book of Clement* at the Bodleian Library writes the name الكرديفو, and says that this city is upon the shores of the Sea of Darkness (Atlantic) and near the confines of the world; see MS. *Bodl. Or.* 294, p. 302.

[2] The Bodleian MS. just cited relates the mission of St. Paul to this city in similar terms, only at greater length.

[3] I suppose العصل to be written for العسل, as صور is frequently written by our scribe for سور. The copy of the *Book of Clement* in the Bodleian puts the following words into the mouth of St. Paul, who is describing his mission to this city:

وكانت موافاتى اليها لاثنا عشر ليلة مضت من شهر ايار وكان فى ذلك اليوم لاهل هذه المدينة عيد كبير ينضمون فيه الورد ويصيروه على روس الاصنام ويقربون للاوثان القرط الحديث من غلاتهم

'I arrived there on the 12th of the month of Îyâr, and on that day the people of that city were keeping a great festival, on which they made wreaths of roses and placed them on the heads of the images and they offered to the idols young leeks from their stores.' (MS. *Bodl. Or.* 294, p. 303.)

[4] This is described in the *Book of Clement*, which states that it roared with a voice like thunder, saying:

هنا غريب قد اتاكم

'Here is a stranger who is come to you!' (*loc. cit.*)]

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divided by thirteen paths, and he baptized in it 18,000 men of the city, and they built several large churches; and Paul broke the talisman of which we have spoken; and at his prayer God planted the olive-tree from which the oil is pressed which serves for lighting the lamps of the churches in this city.

India.

§ India. In this country there is neither heat nor cold, because it is on the equator. It is the land of Abyssinia[1], which is also called Al-Ḥindah. All its inhabitants worship the Buddhas[2] and the sun and the fire. It is the land of India, and its shores are far from Egypt; it is very extensive, and contains a multitude of inhabitants; it is surrounded by the seas and the expanse of waters, over which ships pass from the coasts of Egypt; and, on land, India lies next to the frontiers of Persia.
Fol.109a India lay in ancient times in the darkness of idolatry; and Thomas[3],

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[1] The confusion of Ethiopia with India is as old as the beginnings of Greek literature and remained till its latest days. See Homer, *Od.* i. 23, 24; Herod. iii. 94 and vii. 70; Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, l. 808 f.; Tibullus, *Eleg.* Bk. ii. 3, 55; Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 116 and iv. 293; Strabo, i. and xv; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. 4; Cosmas Indicopleustes, ap. Migne, tom. 88, p. 115; Epiphanius, *in Ancorat*, ii. p. 60 E; Philostorgius, iii. 10; Procopius, *Bell. Pers.* i. 19, p. 58 C, D, and *De Aedificiis*, v. 1, p. 109 B; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, xvii. 394 ff. Cf. Letronne, *Matériaux pour l'hist. du Christianisme en Égypte en Nubie et en Abyssinie*, where these passages are referred to. Mr. Thos. Wright in his *Early Christianity in Arabia* has a learned note in which he shows plainly the extension of the term India to cover Ethiopia and Arabia Felix as well as the great peninsula to which the word is properly applied. (A. J. B.)

[2] Cf. Al-Bîrûnî (ed. Sachau), pp. ٥٧, ٥٩, ٧٥, ٢٨٩, for mention of Buddha (بُدّ).

[3] The question of the mission of St. Thomas to India is discussed at length in Germann, *Kirche der Thomaschristen.* The Syriac Acts of St. Thomas containing an account of this mission were published by the late Dr. Wright in his *Apocr. Acts of the App.*, London, 1871, and they are probably as early as the second or third century in their present form. The name of the king Gondopherres or Gundaphorus is confirmed through modern research as that of Undopherres, who was reigning about half a century after Christ in the valley of the Indus. Cf.

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the greatest of the twelve, who was sent thither, announced to the people the message of salvation. This glorious apostle converted them from the worship of idols to the knowledge of the truth and the way of salvation; and he baptized them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and they received from him the orthodox faith and built many churches. He ordained over them, as bishops, priests, and deacons, those of whose constancy in the faith which they had received from him he was assured; and he taught them the rules of religious worship, and the consecration of the holy mysteries, and the rite of offering incense during their prayers and liturgies. So he led them to the knowledge of God. He also performed startling signs and extraordinary wonders before them, such as they had never seen or heard of, and confirmed their faith, until they abandoned the worship of idols and the offering of sacrifices to them, and learnt from the Source of intelligence the extent of their errors and of the falsity of their beliefs. Thus when the minds and hearts of these people were enlightened, they set themselves to build a church to the great Thomas, who had been their guide; and in this church which they erected to the great apostle Thomas, from whom they had received the orthodox faith, God manifested a great sign to them; for, when the building of the church was completed, God sent the sea which covered the road leading to the church. And when this apostle was martyred, and had finished **Fol.109b** his fight, and obtained the crown of martyrdom, his body was carried to this church; and they placed it in a chest of skilful workmanship, and overlaid it with gold. And when they saw this other wonder after his martyrdom, namely that his right hand was not changed from its former appearance during life, they marvelled, and their faith was strengthened; so they made an opening in the chest through which his holy hand came out, as a manifest sign to all who saw it. Now the sea which had covered the road to the church went back from it every year; for God sent a wind which drove the sea back from the road, which was

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Lipsius, *Die Apocr. Apostelgeschichte*, i. pp. 225–347. On the Coptic Acts of the Apostles see Prof. Ignazio Guidi in *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, vols. iii. and iv.

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thus laid open for the assembling of the congregation at the festival of Thomas. For men came thither from all parts and walked along the road to the church, as the children of Israel walked, when the Red Sea was divided for them, under the guidance of the prophet Moses, who prayed for them before the Lord. So God showed a similar sign in our own time, through the prayers of this great apostle and his great dignity in the sight of the Lord, who confirmed his teaching by so mighty a miracle, which has never ceased. Thus the people who assemble at this great festival, celebrate it and receive blessings; and the priests
Fol. 110a celebrate the liturgy and take the holy mysteries, and dip the holy body in the pure blood, and place it in that pure hand [1]. Then all the people

[1] This story of the communion of St. Thomas is to be found related by an oriental prelate who visited Pope Calixtus I at Rome in A.D. 1122, and who is called in the accounts John, patriarch of India. Two independent narratives of this visit exist; one in the *Chronicon Alberici Monachi* published in Leibnitz, *Accessiones Historicae*, ad ann. 1122; and the other in *Mabillonii Vetera Analecta* in a letter written by Abbot Oddo of St. Rémy to a Count Thomas. Oddo says that he was present at the 'patriarch's' interview with the Pope. He states, according to the testimony of the Indian prelate, that the church of St. Thomas was surrounded by a river, but that eight days before and eight days after the festival of the apostle the water retreated so that the church could be reached on foot over dry land; the body of the saint was seated upon the bishop's chair, and received in its open hand the offerings that were made, unless a heretic approached, when the hand at once closed. Albericus, whose account varies somewhat from Oddo's, adds that the host was handed to the apostle during the mass, and that the people received the communion from his open hand, which, however, closed on the approach of a misbeliever. See Germann, *op. cit.* p. 165 ff.

Another account of this communion-scene is to be found in the Itinerary of John of Hesse, who appears to have travelled in the fifteenth century, but who places the relics in the city of Hulna, four days from Edessa. Ulna is also the name given by Albericus to the episcopal city of John of India. The 'Itinerary' states that Prester John dwelt at Edessa. The body of St. Thomas was placed in the episcopal throne, and the communion is thus described:

'Missa igitur finita Presbyter Joannes, archiepiscopi et ceteri praelati religiosi cum aliis hominibus christianis devote geniculando, et humillime se inclinando

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receive the holy mysteries out of the palm of that pure hand, and they continue to communicate in this manner one after the other until the hand grasps one of the congregation; then they all glorify God, and the priests communicate the rest of the people. Afterwards the priests carry that chest in their hands with chanting and with great rejoicing, and set it again in its place, after the people have kissed it and been blessed by it. When this religious service is over, and as the people are about to disperse, they are blessed by that man, whom God has chosen out of the people to remain for a year in the service of that pure body, to keep the candles lighted before it night and day. The people also leave with him all that he can need, and all depart to their own homes. And when they reach the shore, and not one of them is left behind, then the sea returns as it was before, and covers the road to the church. This custom has continued without interruption for ages. When the people return the following year, they find that that man, who was left to serve the body of Saint Thomas, has died at that very hour and is still warm[1]. Praise to God, who is great and glorious in his saints, and works miracles for their sakes. To him be glory!

Town of Kûlam[2]. All the Christians who live here are Nestorians. Fol. 110

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accipiunt sacramentum de manu apostoli. Patriarcha vero ministrat seu porrigit apostolo sacramentum ad digitos qui dignis tribuit et retrahit indignis. Apostoli autem manus stat aliqualiter elevata et semiclausa, et ob reverentiam duo archiepiscopi apponunt manus suas ad brachium apostoli, non tamen regendo manus ejus. Corpus autem apostoli est integrum et illesum cum crinibus et barba vestimentisque suis quibus vivus utebatur. Est itaque pannis pretiosissimis coopertum. Etiam ad praedictam ministrationem corporis domini serviunt duo alii archiepiscopi tenentes patenas sub manu apostoli.' See Gustav Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte* (2nd ed. 1870), p. 189.

[1] One of the first visitors to the church and relics of St. Thomas at Mailapur in modern times, the Portuguese, Diogo Fernandes, who was there in A. D. 1517, found an old man who attended to the lamps of the church, and stated that this office was hereditary in his family. The church was then in ruins. See Barros, *Da Asia Decada* i. (ed. 1777), t. iii. pt. ii. p. 223 ff. In A. D. 1547, the Portuguese laid the foundations of a new church; ibid. p. 226.

[2] I. e. Quilon, on the coast of Travancore. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٥٠٦,

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There is here a church of the Lady and Pure Virgin Mary; and a church of the glorious saint and great martyr Saint George.

Fahṣûr[1]. Here there are several churches; and all the Christians here are Nestorians; and that is the condition of things here. It is from this place that camphor comes; and this commodity [is a gum which] oozes from the trees. In this town there is one church named after our Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary.

Arabia.

Ṣan'â[2] in Al-Yaman. Here is the church called Al-Ḳalîs, which was founded by Ibrâhîm[3], who ruled Al-Yaman on behalf of the Negus, king of Abyssinia, and is the same as Abrahâ al-Ashram[4], whose nose was mutilated in battle, so that he was named Al-Ashram. He built this church, and decorated[5] it with gilding and beautiful paintings,

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and in his article on China (الصين), i. pp. ۴۴۴–۴۵۸. The Portuguese discovered a church at 'Coulam' built by 'disciples of St. Thomas;' see Barros, *op. cit.* p. 235.

[1] So the word is written in the MS. I can only conjecture that it may be a clerical error for Manṣûr (منصور) or Manṣûrah, a country in north-west India at the mouth of the Indus. This country was particularly famous among the Arabs for camphor. See Al-Mas'ûdî (ed. Barbier), i. pp. 207, 377–379, and iii. p. 49.

[2] The capital of Yemen (Al-Yaman). See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ۴۲.. Yemen was conquered before the birth of Mahomet by the Christians of Abyssinia; see the account given by Gibbon in chap. xlii and Johannsen's *Historia Yemanae*, Praef. The story is clearly told in Thos. Wright's *Early Christianity in Arabia*, p. 89. (A. J. B.)

[3] Generally called Abrahah by the Arab historians; see Aṭ-Ṭabarî, *Ta'rîkh ar-Rusul wa'l-Mulûk* (ed. De Goeje and others), prima series, pp. ۹۳۱–۹۴۲. He is famous as the general who attacked Mecca in the year (A.D. 570) in which the prophet Mahomet was born, the year called, from the elephant which accompanied the army of Yemen, the Year of the Elephant. Our author's description of the church of Al-Ḳalîs is much fuller than that given by Aṭ-Ṭabarî, *op. cit.* p. ۹۳۴ ff. (A. J. B.)

[4] 'The scarred' or 'mutilated.'

[5] Aṭ-Ṭabarî says:

فبناها بنا معجبا لم يرمثله بالذهب والاصباغ المعجبة وكتب الى قيصر يعلمه انه يريد بناء كنيسة بصنعا يبقى اثرها وذكرها وسأله المعونة له على ذلك فاعانه بالصناع والفسيفساء والرخام

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and paved it with coloured marble and [set up] marble pillars; and all the time he was living and sleeping in the church. He adorned it with the most beautiful ornaments of gold and silver and gilded and coloured glass, and he overlaid the doors with plates of gold studded with silver nails, and silver studded with massive gold nails; and on the doors **Fol. 111 a** leading to the altars he put broad plates of gold, and he set them with precious stones, and in the midst of each plate he set a golden cross, in the centre of which was a red, transparent carbuncle; and around these jewels were flowers of open work in various colours, so that spectators were astonished at it. And Abrahâ bid men make pilgrimages[1] to that church, and so they flocked thither from all parts. And he made for it a screen of skilful workmanship, composed of ebony and *sâsam*-wood, inlaid with pure white ivory, beautifully carved[2]. So the fame of this church spread over that country, and those who had not seen it heard of it, and multitudes made pilgrimages thither, and brought votive offerings; and many men lodged in the church and spent day and night there; and the king provided for those that lodged there, and built chambers for them to dwell in, and erected houses which he made the property of the church. This king was a wise man, learned, loving God and doing good to men, just in his judgments, good in his life, honoured by all kings, without enemies who feared him, on account of the goodness of his life; according to the testimony of **Fol. 111 b** the history of Aṭ-Ṭabarî.

'He built this church in marvellous fashion, such as had never before been seen, with gold and wonderful paintings; and he wrote to Caesar to tell him that he intended to build a church at Ṣan'â, to be a monument of lasting fame; and he begged Caesar to help him in the work; and so Caesar sent him workmen and mosaics and marble' (p. ١٢٥). 'Caesar' was the emperor Justinian I. Cf. Wright, *op. cit.* p. 95. (A. J. B.)

[1] So Aṭ-Ṭabarî, *loc. cit.* The announcement that Abrahâ expected the people to go on pilgrimage to Ṣan'â and to neglect the Ka'bah of Mecca, so enraged the Arabs that more than one of them went to Ṣan'â for the express purpose of defiling the church, and this led to the invasion of the Hedjaz. (A. J. B.)

[2] Many such screens are now to be seen in Coptic religious buildings, though perhaps of less magnificence. See *Coptic Churches.* (A. J. B.)

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Marûr ad-Dair. This is a church inclosed within a strong wall; and it is now called Maḳbarat al-Ḥukamâ[1]. In this district lived Abû Sharwân, the emir of Al-Yaman under Chosroes.

Thamânîn.

The village called Thamânîn[2]. The mountain of Ḳardâ[3] is in this neighbourhood, and here the ark rested in the time of Noah, and went up from the mountain called Al-Jûdâ. It is very high, so that there is no higher mountain on earth than it; and from it there is a view of the four corners of the earth. The Pentateuch bears witness that God, to whom be praise, sent a wind upon the earth; and the waters decreased, and the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the waters were abated after 150 days; and the ship or ark of Noah rested in the seventh month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, upon the mountain of Ḳardâ at a village called Thamânîn, according to that which has already been said.

Cities built by unknown Founders.

Among the buildings of which the founder is unknown, and which I mention to preserve the memory of them, is Ghumdân[4], now a heap of ruins, such as are unknown elsewhere. 'Uthmân overthrew it in the days of Islâm, but its ruins remain until now. Aryâṭ[5], the Abyssinian,
Fol. 112 a who conquered Al-Yaman for the Negus, king of Abyssinia, laid Ghumdân waste with other cities, before the appearance of the Muslims.

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[1] I. e. 'Burial-place of the Wise men.'

[2] In Mesopotamia near Mount Ararat. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٥٦.

[3] A part of Mount Ararat. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iv. p. ٥٦; Eutychius, *Annales*, i. p. 20.

[4] A fortress in Yemen between Ṣan'â and Ṭaiwah. Some said it was built by demons at the command of Solomon. It was destroyed by the caliph 'Uthmân. See Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* iii. p. ٨١٢.

[5] See Ibn Hishâm, *Sîrah Sayyidinâ Muḥammad*, i. p. ٢٨; Aṭ-Ṭabarî, *op. cit.*, prima series, p. ٩٣١.

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Ṣan'â in Al-Yaman and Iṣṭakhr[1] in Fars and Al-Ailah in Al-'Irâḳ are in the desert.

The history of Al-Manbajî relates that king Solomon, son of the prophet David, king of Israel, was valiant and a great conqueror and was feared and magnified, and yet was gentle and humble, merciful, chaste, quiet of spirit and free from anger or hatred; and that he built Tadmor[2], and made wonderful things there, and named it City of the Sun; and that he built Durrah[3], which is in the midst of the sea; and built a great altar near the city of Ḳîrûn.

The city of Auḳîr was built by Ḳîrûn of stones overlaid with gold; and among the stones of the mountains of that country there are some that shine like gold, like golden and copper marcasite. When the building of this city was finished, it presented a wonderful sight when the sun shone upon it, unlike any other on the earth.

City of Khauliyâ. This was built by a king called Jiyûl, and he made its structures lofty. It became a great city, and was inhabited by the women, to the time of Solomon, son of the prophet David, upon whom be peace! Fol. 112b

Copyist's Note.

Here ends the work of the author of this history. For he was unable to make his work complete on account of the extent of the surface

[1] The town which occupied the site of the ancient Persepolis. Many legends were told of its foundation. Perhaps the most popular account among the Muslims was that it was founded by Solomon, who spent the day there and the night at Tiberias or Tadmor; see Al-Istakhrî, *passim;* Al-Mas'ûdî, iv. p. 76; Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٢٩٩. The first mention of the remains of Persepolis in modern European literature is to be found in the report of Giosafat Barbaro, the Venetian envoy in 1471; see Ramusio, *Viaggi* (ed. 1606), vol. i. f. 107: and the first full accounts were given by the Augustinian friar Antonio de Gouvea, see his *Relação* (1611), fol. 30; and by Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, *De rebus Persarum Epistola* (1620), pp. 6–12, translated in Purchas, *Pilgrims* (1625), ii. p. 1533 f.

[2] Tadmor was said, like Iṣṭakhr and Ghumdân, to have been built by demons for Solomon; see Yâḳût, *Geogr. Wört.* i. p. ٨٢٨. The passage of Al-Manbajî may be found in the Bodleian MS. Hunt 4178, fol. 102 b.

[3] There was a Darrah off the coast of Persia.

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of the earth in the east and in the west; yet he collected matter which no other has collected, and he devoted extreme care to his work. Nevertheless he was concise in his exposition, because he shunned in his narrative all amplification that was not necessary.

§ That poor, wretched, feeble slave, the copyist, has copied what he found in his copy, without addition or subtraction, according to the direction of the Shaikh[1] Ar-Ra'îs al-Akram Abû 'l-Faraj, son of the Shaikh Raphael, son of the priest Abû 'l-Farâbî, surnamed Ṣandûḳ al-'Ilm. This priest was the chief of the priests at the church of Al-Mu'allaḳah in the Fort of Ash-Shama' in the city of Miṣr. This book describes how the priest Abû 'l-Ma'âbî, son of the priest As-Sabî Abû 'l-Faḍâ'il, son of the priest Al-Muhdab, celebrated the liturgy on the Feast of the Cross, in the church of Al-Mu'allaḳah, on the 17th of Tût, and placed his finger in the chalice, and it was immediately dyed with natural blood[2]. When the priest saw this great miracle, he was serving
Fol. 113 a as a scribe in the Divan of the frontier-district of Alexandria. but he gave up his work and lived in his cell at the said church, with a covering always over his finger, and thus he lived until he died. May the Lord rest his soul, and have mercy upon us by his prayers!

§ The work of copying this book was finished on Wednesday, the 2nd of the month of Ba'ûnah in the year 1054 of the Blameless Martyrs, which corresponds to the 8th of Dhû 'l-Ka'dah of the year 738 (A. D. 1338). May God give us a good end to this year!

§ That poor slave the copyist has attempted to abbreviate the book, as it has been said, without diminishing from the sense, but the task has been too great for him. He prays all those who read the book to accept the excuse from him who offers it. May God, who assists the right, help us all towards the salvation of our souls, and support us in temptation and in the trials of this life, and preserve us in the orthodox faith, and bring us in safety to the harbour of salvation. Amen. Praise to God for ever and ever!

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[1] I here omit the complimentary epithets as untranslatable.

[2] Renaudot tells a story of a similar event in *Hist. Patr.* p. 70.

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APPENDIX.

ACCOUNT OF THE MONASTERIES AND CHURCHES OF THE CHRISTIANS OF EGYPT;

FORMING THE CONCLUDING SECTIONS OF THE *KHIṬAṬ* OF AL-MAḲRÎZÎ (DIED A. H. 845=A. D. 1441).

Ibn Sîdah says: *Ad-Dair* (monastery) is an inn (*khân*) of the Christians, in the plural *Adyâr*[1]; and the superior of it is called *Dayyâr* or *Dairânî*. I remark that *Ad-Dair* is among Christians the special dwelling-place of the monks, and *Al-Kanîsah* (church) is among them the place of assembly of the people for prayer.

1. *Al-Ḳillâyah*[2], the Cell at Miṣr[3]. This *Ḳillâyah* stands beside the Mu'allaḳah in the Ḳaṣr ash-Shama' in the city of Miṣr, and is the place of assembly of aged monks and learned Christians, and its rules are followed by all the monasteries.

2. *The Monastery of Ṭurâ* is also known as the Monastery of Abû Jurj, and stands on the bank of the Nile. This Abû Jurj is the same as Saint George, and is one of those whom the emperor Diocletian persecuted that he might renounce Christianity; but as various tortures, such as scourging and burning with fire, did not bring about his perversion, his head was cut off on the 3rd of Tishrî, which is equivalent to the 7th of Bâbah.

3. *Monastery of Sha'rân.* This monastery stands at the boundary of the district of Ṭurâ, and is built of stone and brick; there are palm-trees here; and many monks are to be found here. It is also called the Monastery of *Shahrân*,

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[1] Al-Maḳrîzî, like Abû Ṣâliḥ, also uses the plurals أَدْيِرَة and دِيَارَات.

[2] Wüstenfeld remarks that the commoner form is Ḳillîyah, قلية, which is nearer to the original κελλίον.

[3] I. e. Fusṭâṭ Miṣr or Al-Fusṭâṭ, now called by Europeans 'Old Cairo.'

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and Shahrân is said to have been one of the learned Christians or else a king. Formerly this monastery was known under the name of Mercurius, who is also called Marḳûrah or Abû Marḳûrah; but afterwards, when Barṣûmâ ibn at-Tabbân lived here, it was called the Monastery of Barṣûmâ. A festival is kept here in the fifth week of the Great Fast, at which the patriarch and the principal Christians assemble, and large sums are expended upon it. That Mercurius [whom we have mentioned] is one of those whom Diocletian caused to be put to death on the 19th of Tammûz, which is equivalent to the 25th of Abîb; he was a soldier.

4. *The Monastery of the Apostles.* This monastery stands at the extremity of the district of Aṣ-Ṣuff and Al-Wadî [1], and is an old and small monastery.

5. *Monastery of Peter and Paul.* This monastery stands near Iṭfîḥ towards the south, and is a small monastery; there is a festival here on the 5th of Abîb. It is also known by the name of Monastery of Al-Ḳaṣrîyah. Peter is the greatest of the apostles and disciples; he was a tanner or a fisherman, and was condemned to death by the emperor Nero on the 29th of Ḥazîrân, which is equivalent to the 5th of Abîb; and Paul was a Jew, but accepted Christianity after the ascension of Christ, and invited others to adopt his religion; so the emperor Nero put him to death a year after the death of Peter.

6. *The Monastery of Al-Jummaizah* is also known as the Monastery of Al-Jûd; and sailors call the place Jazâ'ir ad-Dair (Islands of the Monastery), and it is opposite to Al-Maimûn [2] and west of the Monastery of Al-'Arabah; it is built in the name of Saint Anthony, who is also called Anṭûnah; he was a native of Ḳaman, and when the persecution of Diocletian was over, and he had escaped martyrdom, wished to substitute for it a discipline which should lead to a similar reward. So Anthony consecrated himself to the service of God, and was the first who introduced the monastic life among Christians instead of martyrdom: he fasted forty days and nights without taking food or drink, and watched through the night; and this he did during the Great Fast every year.

7. *Monastery of Al-'Arabah* [3]. This is reached by a three days' journey on camels, and is among the eastern mountains; between it and the Sea of Al-Ḳulzum

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[1] Two places in the province of Iṭfîḥ (Wüstenfeld).

[2] Al-Maimûn and Ḳaman were two places in the district of Bûṣîr in the province of Al-Jîzah.

[3] This is the famous monastery of St. Anthony, near the Red Sea.

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(Red Sea) there is a full day's ride; almost all kinds of fruits are cultivated there, and it has three wells of running water. It was founded by the afore-mentioned Saint Anthony. The monks of this monastery fast all their lives, but their fast only lasts till the afternoon, when they take food, except at the Great Fast and the *Barmûlâ*[1], when their fast lasts till the stars come out. *Al-Barmûlâ* means in their language a fast of this kind.

8. *The Monastery of Saint Paul*[2], also called Monastery of the Sons of Paul, or Monastery of *An-Namûrah*. This monastery lies in the country west of Aṭ-Ṭûr (Sinai), near a spring of water where travellers halt. They have a legend that Miriam, the sister of Moses, when he encamped with the Israelites in the neighbourhood of Al-Ḳulzum, purified herself at this spring. Saint Paul was a native of Alexandria, and his father left to him and his brother a large fortune; but when his brother quarrelled over it he left him in his anger. Then he saw a corpse about to be buried; and this made him ponder, and he went forward meditating upon it through the country, until he settled beside this spring; and here he remained, and God supported him. Then Saint Anthony came, and remained with him till he died, and this monastery was built over his grave. Between this monastery and the sea there is a distance of three hours' journey; it has a garden in which are palms and vines and a stream of running water.

9. *Monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair*. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alî ibn Muḥammad ash-Shâbushtî says in his *Book of the Monasteries*: 'This monastery stands upon the mountain on a level spot on the summit, and is a monastery of fine solid architecture, in a pleasant solitude; it is inhabited by monks, and has a well hewn in the rock from which the water is fetched for it. In the sanctuary is the picture of Mary on a panel, and the people visit the place to see this picture. In the upper story there is a hall, built by Abu 'l-Jaish Khamârawaih ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, with four windows on four sides; he often visited this monastery, and admired the picture, because he thought it so beautiful and thirsted to behold it. The way to this monastery from Miṣr is very difficult, but the way from the south is very easy both in ascent and descent; on the side stands a hermitage, which is never quitted by the

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[1] Wüstenfeld, on the authority of Prof. Fleischer and Prof. Seyffarth, compares with this word the Coptic ⲡⲉⲣⲙⲟⲩⲣ (ⲙⲟⲩⲗ) ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ. Is it not more probably the Greek *παραμονή*, which was much used in Coptic in the sense of 'vigil'?

[2] This is the famous Monastery of St. Paul, near that of St. Anthony.

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hermit who lives there. The monastery rises above the village of Shahrân, and above the plain and the Nile; the former is a large and populous village on the bank of the river, and Moses is said to have been born there, and placed by his mother in an ark in the water; but there is another monastery which is called Monastery of Shahrân. This Monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair is one of the monasteries which are much visited, and is one of the favourite pleasure-resorts on account of its fine position, and because it overlooks Miṣr and its environs.' Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam says in his *Book of the Conquest of Egypt:* 'There are different opinions about Al-Ḳuṣair; according to Ibn Lahî'ah it is not the fortress of Mûsâ (Moses) the prophet, but of Mûsâ the magician; but on the other hand Al-Mufaḍḍal Faḍâlah gives a tradition from his father, who says: "We came to Ka'b al-Aḥbâr, who asked us, Whence are you? We answered, From Egypt. He said, What do you say about Al-Ḳuṣair? We answered, It is the castle of Moses. He answered, It is not the castle of Moses, but the castle of the 'Azîz[1] of Egypt, who, when the Nile rose, betook himself to this elevated spot, and therefore the place from the mountain to the river is holy." Others on the contrary say that a fire was kindled here for Pharaoh, when he travelled from Memphis to 'Ain-Shams (Heliopolis), and on the Muḳaṭṭam hills there was another fire; so when the people saw the fire they knew that he was travelling, and kept in readiness whatever he stood in need of; and similarly when he made the return journey from 'Ain-Shams. God knows best!' The learned Christian historians say that Arcadius, emperor of the Romans, summoned Arsenius to teach his son; but Arsenius thought that the emperor wished to kill him, and therefore fled to Egypt and entered the monastery; the emperor then sent a man to say that he had only required him to instruct his son; but Arsenius begged to be spared, wandered over the country as far as the Muḳaṭṭam hills, east of Ṭurâ, and remained three days in a cave until he died. Arcadius, when Arsenius was dead, sent and caused a church to be built over his tomb, and this is the place known by the name of the Monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair, and is now called the Monastery of the Mule, because a mule supplies it with water. When the mule leaves the monastery, it goes its way to the water, and there a man stands who fills the vessel with water, and when he has done that, lets the mule loose and it returns to the monastery. In the month of Ramaḍân of the year 400, Al-Ḥâkim bi-amri 'llâh ordered that the Monastery of Al-Ḳuṣair should be destroyed; and the destruction and plundering of it lasted several days.

[1] Al-'Azîz is in the Koran a designation of Potiphar (Wüstenfeld).

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10. *Monastery of Saint John*[1]. Ash-Shâbushtî says: 'The Monastery of Saint John lies on the bank of the Lake of Al-Ḥabash, near to the Nile, and beside it are gardens, some of which were laid out by the Emir Tamîm ibn al-Mu'izz, and a pavilion built on pillars, of fine architecture, with paintings, also constructed by the Emir Tamîm. Near the monastery is a fountain called the Fountain of Mammâtî; near this stands a great sycamore, under which the people assemble and drink, and this place is a place of constant amusement, dancing, and pleasure, and is equally pleasant in the days of the rise of the Nile when the lake is filled, and during the time when the fields are full of crops and all is green and flourishing; it is much resorted to by the people, who amuse themselves here. Poets have sung of the beauty and charm of this district; and this monastery is now called the Monastery of Aṭ-Ṭîn.'

11. *Monastery of Abû 'n-Na'nâ'*. This monastery stands near Anṣinâ, and is one of the old buildings of that city; its church is in a tower, not on the ground, and the monastery bears the name of Saint John the Dwarf. A festival is kept there on the 20th of Bâbah. This Saint John will be further mentioned in the sequel.

12. *The Monastery of the Cave of Shaḳalḳîl*[2] is a small monastery, hanging on the mountain and hewn of stone, on a rock below which there is a steep precipice so that it can neither be reached from above nor below. There are no steps, but there are incisions cut in the mountain-side; and if any one wishes to ascend a long pole is let down to him, which he grasps with both hands, and by placing his feet in the incisions so ascends. The monastery contains a mill driven by an ass. The monastery, which rises above the Nile in view of Manfalûṭ and Umm al-Ḳuṣûr, stands opposite to an island surrounded by water called Shaḳalḳîl, on which are two villages, one called Shaḳalḳîl, the other Banî Shaḳîr. The monastery keeps a festival, at which Christians assemble, and bears the name of Saint Mennas, one of the soldiers persecuted by Diocletian, in order that he might abjure Christianity and worship idols; but as he remained constant in his faith, Diocletian caused him to be put to death on the 10th of Ḥazîrân or 16th of Bâbah.

13. *Monastery of Saint Victor*, on the dam of Abnûb, east of Banî Murr[3], below the mountain, at a distance of about 1,250 ells. It is a large monastery,

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[1] This is the monastery of St. John described by Abû Ṣâliḥ on fol. 40 a, ff.

[2] In the district of Usyûṭ (Wüstenfeld).

[3] In the district of Usyûṭ (Wüstenfeld).

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at which a festival is kept, whereupon the Christians of the country from east and west assemble, and the bishop is present. This Victor was son of Romanus. His father was one of the generals of Diocletian, and he himself a distinguished and brave man, respected by the emperor; but when he adopted Christianity, the emperor tried to turn him to idolatry by promises and threats, and on his refusal had him put to death on the 22nd of Nisan or 27th of Barmudah.

14. *The Monastery of Buḳturshû*[1], north of Abnûb, is a small monastery, but deserted, and has long been visited by the Christians only once in the year. Buḳturshû was one of those who were tortured by order of Diocletian, that he might fall away from Christianity; he refused, however, and was put to death on the 20th of Hatûr. He was a soldier.

15. *Monastery of Abû 's-Sarî*, built in the name of Saint George, near Al-Ma'sarah, in the district east of Banî Murr. At times it is deserted by the monks, and at times inhabited by them; and at a certain season a feast is celebrated.

16. *Monastery of Saint George of Khamâs.* Khamâs is the name of a town, north of which the monastery stands; two festivals are kept there yearly, in which an innumerable multitude of people take part.

17. *Monastery of At-Ṭair* (the Birds). This monastery is ancient, stands far above the Nile, and has a flight of steps to it cut out in the rock. It stands opposite to Samallût. Ash-Shâbushtî says: 'In the district of Ikhmîm there is a large, populous monastery, which is visited from all parts, in the neighbourhood of a mountain called Mountain of Al-Kahf (the Cave). At a place in the mountain there is a cleft, and on the festival of the monastery no Abûḳîr bird remains in the neighbourhood without coming to this place; and from their numbers, their assemblage, and their cries, a great tumult arises beside the cleft. Without ceasing, one after another puts his head into the cleft and cries and comes away, until one of them sticks fast in the cleft, and he beats with his wings until he dies; and then the rest depart, so that no bird remains there.' The Cadi Abû Ja'far al-Kuḍâ'î says: 'Among the noteworthy features of Egypt is the ravine of the Abûḳîrs near Ushmûm in Upper Egypt. This is a ravine on a mountain, in which there is a cleft at which the Abûḳîrs on a certain day of the year assemble, and betake themselves

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[1] I. e. St. Victor of Shû. Vansleb (*Rel. d'Égypte*, p. 366) speaks of 'une église dédiée a Mari Poctor Sciu, qui a pris ce nom de la ville de Sciu, laquelle est auprès d'Abnub, et aujourd'hui ruinée' (Wüstenfeld).

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to the cleft; and as soon as one of the Abûḳîrs has stuck his bill into the cleft he goes away; and this does not cease until the cleft has held one of them fast, whereupon they all depart; but the bird that is caught in the cleft remains hanging until he falls to pieces.' The author, upon whom may God have mercy, adds: 'This is one of the things that have long ceased to happen.'

18. *The Monastery of Bû Harmînah* is north of Ḳâ'û al-Kharâb; and to the north of it lies the ancient temple of Ḳâ'û, full of wise inscriptions. Between the Monastery of Aṭ-Ṭair and this monastery there is a journey of about two days and a half. This Bû Harmînah was one of the earlier monks, famous among the Christians.

19. *Monastery of the Seven Mountains*, near Ikhmîm. This monastery stands at the entry of seven valleys, and stands high between high mountains; and the sun rises upon it two hours later than generally on account of the height of the mountain, at the foot of which it stands; and when there are yet two hours before sunset the inhabitants think that the sun has already set and the night has begun, and they kindle lights. Near this monastery there is a spring of water at the exit overshadowed by a willow, and this spot where the Monastery of the Willow stands is called Wâdî 'l-Mulûk (Valley of the Kings), because there a plant grows called *Mulûkah*, like the radish, by which water is coloured of a deep red, and it is used by chemists. Above this monastery stands

20. *The Monastery of Al-Ḳarḳas*, on a mountain, and hewn in its side; and there is no approach to it, but the ascent is by incisions cut in the rock, and by them alone can it be reached. Between the Monastery of the Willow-Spring and the Monastery of Al-Ḳarḳas there is a journey of three hours, and below the Monastery of Al-Ḳarḳas is a well of fresh water surrounded by Bân-trees.

21. *The Monastery of Ṣabrah*, east of Ikhmîm, is named after an Arab tribe named the Ṣabrah, and dedicated to the angel Michael; but there is only one monk there.

22. *The Monastery of Abû Abshâdah* (Psôti), the bishop, near the district of Atfah, stands on the dam and opposite to Munshât Ikhmîm, in the west. This Abû Abshâdah was one of the learned Christians.

23. *The Monastery of Saint Or*, the monk, also called Monastery of Sawâdah. The Sawâdah were a tribe of Arabs who settled here. The monastery stood opposite to Munyah Banî Khaṣîb, and was destroyed by Arabs.

All these monasteries stand to the east of the Nile, and belong to the Jacobites, and besides them there are no others on the eastern side of the Nile; but on the western bank there are many monasteries, because it is very populous.

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24. *The Monastery of Damûh*, in the province of Al-Jîzah, also called Damûh as-Sabâ', is built in the name of Saints Cosmas and Damian, and is a small monastery. The Christians state that a wise man called Sab' lived at Damûh, and that the church of Damûh, which is now in the hands of the Jews, was one of the monasteries of the Christians, which, in a state of great need, they sold to the Jews. The church of Damûh has already been mentioned. Cosmas and Damian were among the learned Christians and pious monks, and many things are related of both of them.

25. *Monastery of Nahyâ.* Ash-Shâbushtî says: 'Nahyâ is in the province of Al-Jîzah. The monastery there is one of the finest, most charming, and best-situated monasteries of Egypt, and one of the most beautiful spots inhabited by monks; it commands a wonderful view of the Nile, which surrounds it on all sides. When the water sinks, and the seed is sown, the earth brings forth rare flowers and different sorts of blossom. Nahyâ is one of the favourite resorts for pleasure, and has a canal at which all kinds of birds assemble, and many fish are caught. Poets have described it, and sung of its beauty and charm.' I remark, however, that this monastery has been destroyed.

26. *Monastery of Ṭamwaih.* Yâḳût gives this pronunciation, and adds: 'There are two places of this name in Egypt; one is in the province of Al-Murtâḥîyah, and the other in that of Al-Jîzah.' Ash-Shâbushtî says: 'Ṭamwaih is on the west bank, and stands opposite to Ḥulwân, and the monastery commands a view of the river, and is surrounded by vineyards, gardens, palms and trees, forming a populous pleasure-resort. It has a fine view of the Nile; and when the earth grows green, it lies between two carpets—the water and the crops. It is one of the best-known places of pleasure and resorts for refreshment in Egypt.' Ibn Abî 'Âsim al-Miṣrî has the following verses in the metre of Al-Basîṭ:

'O that I could drink at Ṭamwaih of the bright juice,
which brings into contempt the wines of Hît and 'Ânât[1],
In flowery meadows
where the brooks flow between gardens!
The clusters of the red anemone which bloom there
seem to be cups of wine appearing in close succession;
The flowers of the narcissus there, from their beauty,
seem to be eyes secretly communicating by signs;

[1] Two towns on the Euphrates. Hît is the Is of Herodotus; and 'Ânât is the Anatho, Anathan, or Bethauna of classical writers.

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The water of the Nile, over which the zephyr passes,
seems to clothe itself with ringed coats of mail.
Hospitable chambers in which I have been sorely tempted in heart,
when you were formerly my wineshops and my hostels;
Behold! I shall not cease to beg for the morning draught,
when the clappers[1] strike, in my love for the monasteries.'

I remark: this monastery bears among the Christians the name of Saint George, and the Christians of the neighbourhood assemble there.

27. *The Monastery of Akfâs*, more correctly Aḳfahs, is now destroyed.

28. *The Monastery at the extremity of the district of Manharah* stands in bad repute, because the monks give no one food from thence.

29. *The Monastery of Al-Khâdim* (the Servant) is near the canal of Al-Manhî, in the district of Al-Bahnasâ, and is built in the name of the angel Gabriel. It possesses gardens containing palms and olive-trees.

30. *The Monastery of Ishnîn*, named after the district of Ishnîn, stands to the north of it, is a small monastery, and bears the name of the Virgin Mary; but it only contains a single monk.

31. *The Monastery of Jesus*, or *Yasû'*, is also called the Monastery of Arjanûs. There is a festival here on the 25th of Bashans. On the night of this day a spring there, bearing the name of Jesus' Spring, is closed; and at the sixth hour of the day people collect and take away the stone from the well, and then they find that the water within it has risen and now begins to sink again; and from this they reckon how high the Nile will be that year, counting from the point to which the water of the well rose to the level to which it sinks.

32. *The Monastery of Sadmant*, at a short distance from Al-Manhî, on the high ground between the Fayyûm and the Rîf, bearing the name of Saint George, has lost much of its former estate, and is now partly deserted.

33. *The Monastery of An-Naḳlûn*, also called Monastery of Al-Khashabah, and Monastery of the Angel Gabriel, stands under a hollow in the mountain, called Ṭârif al-Fayyûm; and this hollow is among them known by the name of Jacob's Shade. They state that Jacob, when he came to Egypt, sought shade within it. This mountain rises high above two places: Iṭfîḥ Shallâ and Shallâ. The water for this monastery is drawn from the canal of Al-Manhî, and it lies below the

[1] I. e. the wooden gongs of the church to call the monks to the morning service.

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Monastery of Sadmant. At the festival celebrated in this monastery, the Christians of the Fayyûm and other places assemble; and it lies on the road leading to the Fayyûm, which, however, is only followed by few travellers.

34. *Monastery of Al-Ḳalamûn.* This stands in a plain under the mountain-pass of Al-Ḳalamûn, through which the traveller reaches the Fayyûm, and which is called the Pass of Al-Gharaḳ. This monastery was built in the name of the monk Samuel, who lived in the time between Jesus and Mahomet, and died on the 8th of Kîhak. In this monastery there are many palms, from the fruit of which the *'Ujwah*[1] is prepared. Here is also the Labakh-tree (Persea), which is only found here; its fruit is of the size of a lemon (malum citrinum), its taste is sweet like the *Rânij* (nux Indica), and its kernel is used for many purposes. Abû Ḥanîfah says in the *Book of Plants:* 'The Labakh only grows at Anṣ'inâ. It is a tree from which ships' planks are sawn; it sometimes excites nose-bleeding in the man who saws it; and if two planks of it are fastened closely together and placed for a year in water, they join themselves together and become one plank.' In this monastery there are two towers built of stone, both high, large, and brilliantly white; and within it there is also a well of running water, and outside another well. In this valley there are a number of old praying-places, one of which is the valley of Umailiḥ, where there is a running spring and fruitful palms, the fruit of which is gathered by the Arabs. Outside this monastery there is a salt-marsh, the salt of which is sold by the monks of the monastery, so that these districts are provided with salt therefrom.

35. *The Monastery of the Virgin Mary outside Ṭunbudhâ* contains only one monk, and does not stand on a frequented road. In the district of Al-Bahnasâ there were many monasteries now destroyed.

36. *Monastery of Bâ Fânâ*, north of Banî Khâlid, built of stone, and of fine architecture. It belongs to the district of Al-Munyah, and formerly there were a thousand monks here, but now only two; it lies on the dam below the mountain.

37. *The Monastery of Bâlûjah*, at a short distance from Al-Manhî, belongs to the inhabitants of Daljah, and was one of the largest monasteries, but is now ruined, so that it only contains one or two monks. It stands opposite to Daljah, at about two hours' distance.

38. *Monastery of Saint Mercurius* or *Abû Marḳûrah.* This monastery stands

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[1] A juice with which children are fed (Wüstenfeld).

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below Daljah, at the exit from this place towards the east. No one now remains there.

39. *The Monastery of Ṣanabû*, at the exit from this place towards the north, bears the name of the Virgin Mary; it is now deserted.

40. *The Monastery of Saint Theodore*, to the south of Ṣanabû, has entirely fallen into decay on account of the poverty of the Christians there.

41. *The Monastery of Ar-Rairamûn*, in the eastern part of the district of this place, which lies to the east of Mallawî and to the west of Anṣinâ; and it bears the name of the angel Gabriel.

42. *The Monastery of Al-Muḥarraḳ*. The Christians state that Christ stayed at this place six months and some days. A great festival is kept here, called the feast of Olives, besides the feast of Pentecost, at which a great multitude assembles.

43. *The Monastery named Dair Banî Kalb* is so called because the tribe of the Banû Kalb settled around it. It bears the name of Gabriel, but no monk remains therein; for it is now only a church for the Christians of Manfalûṭ, to the west of which city it stands.

44. *Monastery of Al-Jâwalîyah*. This monastery stands at the extremity of the district of Al-Jâwalîyah, towards the south, and bears the name of the martyr Mercurius, also called Marḳûrah. It has revenues from land, and votive offerings and gifts are brought to it; every year two festivals are kept there.

45. *Monastery of the Seven Mountains*. This stands on the summit of the mountain which rises to the west of Usyûṭ on the banks of the Nile; it is also called the Monastery of Saint John the Dwarf. Several festivals are kept here; but the monastery was destroyed in A. H. 821 by a mob which fell upon it by night. Saint John the Dwarf was a monk and an abbot, of whom many stories are told; among others, that he at the bidding of his teacher planted a dry stick in the ground, and watered it for a time, and then it became a fruit-tree, of which the monks ate; and it was called the Tree of Obedience. He is buried in his monastery.

46. *The Monastery of Al-Muṭill*. This bears the name of the Virgin Mary, and stands beside the mountain, below the Monastery of the Seven Mountains, opposite to Suyûṭ. A festival is kept there, to which the inhabitants of the district come; but no monks remain there.

The Monasteries of Udrunkah. The neighbourhood of Udrunkah is one of the Christian districts of Upper Egypt; and the Christians living there are learned in their religion and in expounding the Coptic language; and they possess many

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monasteries outside the city towards the east, beside the mountains; but most of these are destroyed. Among those still existing is

47. *The Monastery of Saint George*, a well-preserved building, but containing few monks. At certain times a festival is celebrated there.

48. *Monastery of Arḍ al-Ḥájiz* (the district of the Dam), [also called] that of Michael or that of Ḳarfûnah, which bears the name of the Virgin, and is also named Arfûnah or Aghrafûnâ, which means Scribe (γράφων); for the copyists of learned books of the Christians had their seat here in ancient times; it stands on the side of the mountain, in which there are many caves, in one of which a man may wander for two days.

49. *Monastery of Bû Baghâm*, below that of Ḳarfûnah on the Dam. Bû Baghâm was a soldier in the days of Diocletian, and adopted Christianity, and was scourged that he might abjure his faith. He was put to death on the 28th of Ḳânûn the First, which is equivalent to the 2nd of Kîhak.

50. *Monastery of Saint Severus* on the Dam of Udrunkah, named after the Virgin. Severus was a respected monk, who was made patriarch; and at his death a miracle took place. He had foretold to the monks, when he went to Upper Egypt, that when he should die the mountain would split, and a great piece of it fall upon the church, without injuring it; and one day a piece of the mountain fell, as he had said, and then the monks of the monastery knew that Severus was dead; and when they reckoned up they found that that event corresponded to the time of his death; and they called the monastery from that time after his name.

51. *Monastery of Saint Theodore*, below the Monastery of Saint Severus. Severus and Theodore were two soldiers of Diocletian: one was called the slayer of the dragon, the other was commander of the troops; both were put to death as others were put to death.

52. *Monastery of Minshâk* or *Minsâk* or *Banî Sâk* or *Îsâk*, which bore the name of the Virgin Mârîhâm, i. e. Mâr Maryam (Saint Mary); and afterwards was known by the name of Minsâk, who was an old monk celebrated among them. Below this monastery there is a well on the dam of which the monks drink; and when the Nile rises they drink the water out of it.

53. *The Monastery of the Apostles* below that of Minsâk is also called the Monastery of Tamarisks. It belongs to the district of Bûtîj; while the Monastery of Severus belongs to the inhabitants of Rîfah, that of Ḳarfûnah to the inhabitants of Suyûṭ, and that of Saint George to the inhabitants of Udrunkah. The Tamarisk monastery stood in a desert place, but a small village was built beside it, called

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Munsha'at ash-Shaikh (new building of the Shaikh), because the Shaikh Abû Bakr ash-Shâdalî laid the foundation of it; and he also laid out a large garden, on the site of which he had found a well, containing a treasure. An eye-witness told me that, among the gold, four-cornered dinars were found, having a cross represented on one of their sides, and the weight of each dinar was 1½ mithkâl.

The above-mentioned Monasteries of Udrunkah stand near to one another, and between them are numerous caves in which there are tablets painted with characters in the old style, as in the ancient temples, adorned with different bright colours, and containing manifold learning. The Monastery of the Seven Mountains, that of Al-Muṭill, and that of the Scribe stood outside Suyûṭ among the caves, and on both the dams there are said to have been 360 monasteries, and the traveller went from Al-Badrashain to Asfûn, continually in the shade of the gardens. Now this part is laid waste, and deserted by its inhabitants.

54. *Monastery of Mûshah.* Mûshah stands to the south of Suyûṭ. The monastery is dedicated to Thomas, the Apostle of India, and stands among the gardens in the neighbourhood of Rîfah. When the Nile rises, it can only be reached by boat. It has several festivals. The Christians of these monasteries generally understand the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, which is the chief branch of the Coptic language; after it follows the Buhairic (Memphitic) dialect. The Christian women of Upper Egypt and their children can hardly speak anything but the Sahidic dialect of Coptic; they have, however, also a perfect knowledge of the Greek language.

55. *Monastery of Saint Macrobius.* Abû Maḳrûfah is the name of the place where this monastery stands. It is hewn out at the foot of the mountain, and there are many caves in it; it bears the name of the Virgin. Among the Christians of Maḳrûfah there are many shepherds and herdsmen, who however are usually savages, and few among them can read or write. The monastery lacks water.

56. *Monastery of Bû Baghâm*, before Timâ, the inhabitants of which are Christians, and were formerly learned men.

57. *The Monastery of Saint Sinuthius*, also called the White Monastery, stands to the west of the district of Sûhâj. It is built of stone, but is now in ruins, and only the church remains. It is said to have possessed land to the extent of 4¾ feddâns, of which only one feddân is left. It is an ancient monastery.

58. *The Red Monastery*, also called that of Abû Bishâ'î, stands to the north of the White Monastery, at a distance of about three hours, and is a small monastery built of red brick. This Abû Bishâ'î was a monk and contemporary

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of Sinuthius, who was his pupil, and under him were 3,000 monks; he had another monastery also in the desert of Shîhât.

59. *The Monastery of Bû Mîsâs* or Bû Musîs (Μωσῆς), i.e. Moses. This monastery stands below Al-Bulyanâ, and is a large monastery. This Saint Moses was a monk, born at Al-Bulyanâ, and is revered there, and counted a saint; they relate many histories of him which deserve no credit.

After this there remain only the scantily-inhabited monasteries on the Dam of Isnâ and Naḳâdah. At Aṣfûn there was a large monastery; and Aṣfûn itself was one of the finest towns of Egypt; and the most fruitful district of Upper Egypt; and the monks of the monastery there were famous for their learning and intelligence. With Aṣfûn, its monastery also was destroyed; and this was the most remote of the monasteries of Upper Egypt; but they are all destroyed and forgotten, though in former times they were so populous and their monks so numerous, their estates so large, and the offerings made to them so valuable.

As for the northern provinces, there were many monasteries there which have been destroyed; but some still remain. Near Al-Maḳs, outside Cairo, towards the north, there were several churches which Al-Ḥâkim bi-amri 'llâh Abû 'Alî al-Mansûr caused to be destroyed on the 19th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 393; and he gave away all that was in them, and thus much was plundered from them, after he had, in the month of Rabî' the First of the same year, already destroyed the churches of Râshidah, east of the city of Miṣr, and instead of them had built a mosque which is known as Râshidah. Then he destroyed in A.H. 394, two churches in the same place, and forced the Christians to wear black garments and a girdle, took away the possessions of the churches and monasteries and gave them to the Divan of the government, burnt a number of crosses, forbad the Christians to decorate the churches on Palm-Sunday, oppressed them and had many of them scourged. In the island of Rauḍah there was a church near the Nilometer, which was destroyed by Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Nijm ad-Dîn Ayyûb in A.H. 638. In the district of Abu 'n-Numrus there was a church, the destruction of which was suggested by a man from Az-Ziyâli'ah, because he had heard the sound of the wooden gongs with which on the Friday night announcement was made in that church. During the reign of Al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bân ibn Husain he had been able to do nothing against this on account of the respect in which the Copts were held; then he allied himself with the great Emir Barḳûḳ, who was administrator of the government, until he destroyed the church with the help of the Cadi Jamâl ad-Dîn Muḥammad al-'Ajamî, superintendent of the market at Cairo, on the 8th of Ramaḍân in the year 780. It was turned into a mosque.

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60. *The Monastery of Al-Khandaḳ* (the Moat), beyond Cairo, towards the north, was built by the commander Jauhar instead of a monastery which he had destroyed in Cairo, in the neighbourhood of the mosque of Al-Aḳmar, where the well is which is now called Bi'r al-'Aẓamâ and was formerly called Bi'r al-'Iẓâm (well of bones), because he had the bones contained in that monastery carried away and brought to the Monastery of Al-Khandaḳ. On the 24th of Shawwâl, A. H. 678, in the reign of Al-Malik al-Mansûr Ḳalâ'ûn, this monastery was destroyed, but afterwards it was renewed; and he also built two other churches which shall, if God will, be described below among the churches.

61. *The Monastery of Cyriacus.* This monastery was also known by the name of Saint Or, and a festival is kept there at which the people assemble. A wonder took place there, related as follows by Ash-Shâbushtî. If a man had the scrofula (*khanâzîr*) the superior of the monastery took him, made him lie on his side, and brought a pig (*khinzîr*) to him, which licked the sore place, and devoured the tumours, but without touching the healthy part; when the part was clear of the disease, the superior, after strewing upon it some of the ashes of a pig which had already been employed for a similar operation, anointed the man with the oil from the church-lamp, and thus he was healed. Then the pig which had eaten the tumours of the sick man was taken, slain, and burnt, and its ashes were prepared for a similar treatment. The monastery therefore was much visited by those who suffered from this complaint, and it contained a large number of Christians.

62. *The Monastery of Atrîb*, also called by the name of the Lady Mary, keeps a festival on the 21st of Ba'ûnah; and Ash-Shâbushtî relates that on this festival a white dove comes and flies into the sanctuary; they do not know whence it comes, and only see it on that day of the year. I remark that this monastery has been destroyed so that only three monks are left, but the people still assemble on that festival; the monastery lies on the bank of the Nile, near Banhâ al-'Asal.

63. *Monastery of Al-Maghṭas* (the Tank) is beside the saline marshes, near the lake of Al-Burlus, and hither Christians make pilgrimages from the north and south of Egypt, as to the Church of the Resurrection. This takes place on a festival kept in the month of Bashans, which they call the Festival of the Appearance, because they state that upon this day the Virgin appeared, and they relate many things which are to be accounted lies. Beyond this monastery there are no buildings except a small building towards the south-east; and in the neighbourhood is the salt-marsh from which the Rashidic (i. e. of Rosetta) salt is obtained. This monastery was destroyed in Ramaḍân, A. H. 841, during a rising of some faḳîrs who joined together for the purpose.

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64. *The Monastery of Al-'Askar* (the Troops) is in the salt district, at a day's distance from the Monastery of Al-Maghṭas, under the name of the Apostles; in its neighbourhood is the salt-marsh from which the Rashidic salt comes; only one monk remains.

65. *The Monastery of Jamyánah*, named after Saint George, is near the Monastery of Al-'Askar, at three hours' distance; the festival there falls closely after that of the Monastery of Al-Maghṭas; no one now lives there.

66. *The Monastery of Al-Maimah*, near that of Al-'Askar, was formerly in excellent circumstances, and in old times there was no monastery in the north which had more monks than this; but its prosperity died away and it was destroyed; then the soldiers settled there and it was rebuilt. Besides these four monasteries there is no other in the salt district.

As for Wâdî Habîb, also called Wâdi 'n-Naṭrûn, or the desert of Shîhât, or the desert of Aṣkît, or Mîzân al-Kulûb, there were formerly there 100 monasteries; but afterwards only seven remained, spread out towards the west of the plain lying between the province of Al-Buḥairah and the Fayyûm, where sandy flats alternate with salt-marshes, waterless deserts, and dangerous rocks. The monks took their drinking-water from cisterns, and the Christians brought them presents and alms. At the present day the monasteries are in ruins. Christian historians relate that 70,000 monks from these monasteries met 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî, each carrying a staff; when they had declared their submission to him, he wrote to them a letter which still exists among them. One of them is

67. *The Monastery of Saint Macarius*, the elder, a famous monastery among them, and near it lie four ruined monasteries. This was formerly the monastery of the pious monks, and a patriarch was not recognized by them until they had made him take his seat in this monastery, after he had sat upon the throne in Alexandria. It is said that there were 1,500 monks here, but now there are few. There are three saints named Macarius: the greatest, who was abbot of this monastery, Saint Macarius of Alexandria, and Saint Macarius the bishop; and their bones are kept in three hollow pieces of wood, and are visited by the Christians of the monastery. Here is also the letter, written by 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣî to the monks of Wâdî Habîb, about the treasurership of the northern districts, as it has been related to me by one who had heard it from a man who had seen it there. Saint Macarius the elder received the monastic rule from Anthony, the first among them who wore the monkish cap and the Askîm, which is a band of leather with which the monks alone gird themselves, and upon which there is a cross. He met Anthony on the eastern mountain-range, where the

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Monastery of Al-'Arabah is, and remained for some time with him; and then Anthony clothed him with the monastic habit and bid him go to Wâdi 'n-Naṭrûn and there take up his abode. He did this, and a great number of monks assembled around him. They relate of him many noble deeds, among others that he fasted during the whole of the forty days, without tasting food or drink, and also watched through the nights; moreover he prepared palm-leaves and fed upon them, and never ate fresh bread, but he took old shoes, softened them in a mess of palm-leaves, and ate of them, together with his monks, so long as his breath remained, without anything more; this was their food during their whole life until they died. Saint Macarius the Alexandrian wandered from Alexandria to the aforesaid Macarius, and became a monk through him. Next was Saint Macarius the third, who became a bishop.

68. *The Monastery of Saint John the Dwarf* is said to have been built in the time of Constantine, son of Helena. This Saint John possessed notable qualities, and was one of the most famous monks. The circumstances of this monastery were very favourable, and many monks lived there; but now only three monks are left there.

69. *Monastery of John Kamâ*,

70. *Monastery of Elias*, which belonged to the Abyssinians; both of these are destroyed, for the worms injured their wood-work, so that they fell to pieces. Then the Abyssinians went to

71. *The Monastery of the Virgin of Saint John the Dwarf*, which is a small monastery near that of Saint John the Dwarf.

72. Near these monasteries stands that of Saint Anûb, now likewise destroyed. This Saint Anûb was a native of Samannûd, and was put to death at the beginning of Islam, and his body is placed in a house at Samannûd.

73. *The Monastery of the Armenians* near these monasteries is destroyed.

74. In their neighbourhood stands also the *Monastery of Bû Bishâ'î*, greatly revered among them, because this Bishâ'î was one of the monks who belong to the class of Macarius and John the Dwarf. It is a very large monastery.

75. A monastery opposite to that of Bû Bishâ'î formerly belonged to the Jacobites, but for 300 years has been in the possession of the Syrian monks, and is now in their hands. The place where these monasteries are is called Birkat al-Adyirah (Lake of the Monasteries).

76. *Monastery of the Virgin of Baramûs*, dedicated to the name of the Virgin Mary; there are some monks there.

77. Opposite to it stands the *Monastery of Moses* or *Abû Mûsâ the Black*,

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also called *Baramûs;* this monastery is dedicated to the Virgin of Baramûs, so that Baramûs is the name of the monastery. A story is told of it as follows: Maximus and Domitius were the sons of the emperor of the Romans, and had a teacher, called Arsenius; the teacher betook himself from the land of the Romans to Egypt, crossed this desert of Shîhât, there adopted the monastic life, and remained there till he died. He was an excellent man, and both the aforesaid sons of the emperor came to him during his life, and became monks at his hands. When they died their father sent and had the church of Baramûs built in their name.—Saint Moses the Black was a bold robber, who had murdered 100 men; then he adopted Christianity, became a monk, and wrote many books. He is one of those who kept the Forty Days' Fast entirely without food, and he was a Berber by race.

78. *Monastery of Az-Zajâj* (Glass). This stands outside Alexandria, and is also called *Al-Hâbaṭûn* (sic), and bears the name of Saint George the Great. Formerly it was the invariable custom for the patriarchs [at their election] to betake themselves from the Mu'allaḳah at Miṣr to this monastery of Az-Zajâj, but now this is not done.—The above named are the monasteries of the Jacobites.

79. The women have also special convents, as *the Convent of Nuns* in the Ḥârah Zawîlah at Cairo, which is inhabited by virgins leading the religious life, and other Christian women.

80. *The Dair al-Banât* in the quarter of the Romans (Ḥârat ar-Rûm), at Cairo, inhabited by nuns.

81. *The Convent of Al-Mu'allaḳah* in the city of Miṣr is the most famous convent of women, and is inhabited by them.

82. *The Convent of Saint Barbara* in Miṣr is near the Church of Barbara, and is inhabited by virgins who are becoming nuns. Barbara was a saint in the time of Diocletian, who had her tortured that she might give up her religion and worship idols; but she remained constant in her faith, and endured severe torments. She was a virgin, and when he despaired of her, he had her head struck off and a crowd of women beheaded with her.

83. The Melkite Christians have a cell belonging to their patriarch beside the Church of Michael near the Bridge of Afram outside Miṣr; it is the assembling-place for monks coming from the land of the Romans.

84. *Monastery of Saint John the Dwarf*, generally called Al-Ḳuṣair. The correct pronunciation according to them is *Al-Ḳaṣîr*, after the form *shahîd*, but it has been changed and is pronounced *Al-Ḳuṣayyir*. The Muslims call it

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Dair al-Ḳuṣair ('Monastery of the Small Fort'), as if it were a diminutive of *ḳaṣr*, 'castle;' but originally, as we have said, it was *Dair al-Ḳaṣṭr*, 'Monastery of the Dwarf,' the opposite of *ṭawîl*, 'tall,' and it is also called the Monastery of Heraclius, and that of the Mule. It has already been described above. It was one of the largest monasteries of the Christians, but now there is only one man in it to guard it, and it is in the hands of the Melkites.

85. *Monastery of Aṭ-Ṭûr.* Ibn Sîdah says: *Aṭ-Ṭûr* means 'the Mountain,' and is especially used of *Ṭûr Sînâ* (Sinai), the mountain in Syria. In Syriac it is ܛܘܪܐ *ṭûrâ*, and in derivation we say *Ṭûrî* or *Ṭûrâ'î*, 'a Turian.' Yâḳût says: There are seven places named *Ṭûr:* (1) *Ṭûr Zaitâ*, in pronunciation like *Zait*, 'oil,' with final *â:* the name of a mountain near Râs 'Ain; (2) *Ṭûr Zaitâ*, likewise a mountain of Jerusalem, east of Siloah; (3) *Ṭûr*, name of a mountain rising above the city of Tiberias by the Jordan; (4) *Aṭ-Ṭûr*, name of a mountain in a district containing many towns or villages, in Egypt, to the south, between Miṣr and mount Fârân; (5) *Ṭûr Sînâ*, which according to various statements is a mountain near Ailah, or a mountain in Syria; and *Sînâ* is said to mean stones or trees there; (6) *Ṭûr 'Abdîn*, name of a mountain in the province of Nisibis, among the mountains which rise above this city, and are connected with mount Jûdâ; (7) *Ṭûr Hârûn* (i. e. of Aaron), the brother of Moses—Al-Wâḥidî says in his commentary: Al-Kalbî and others say that 'the mountain,' in the word of God 'but behold the mountain,' is the largest mountain in Midian, called Zabîr. Al-Kalbî mentions that Ṭûr has its name from Yaṭur the son of Ishmael; on which As-Suhailî remarks that the *Ya* perhaps has been dropped, if his statement is correct. 'Umar ibn Shaibah says: 'Abd al-'Azîz told me, [quoting] from Abû Ma'shar, from Sa'îd ibn Abî Sa'îd, from his father, from Abû Hurairah, that the Apostle of God said: There are four rivers in Paradise and four mountains and four battles; the rivers are Saihân, Jaihân, the Nile, and the Euphrates; and the mountains are Sinai (Aṭ-Ṭûr), Lebanon, Uḥud, and Wariḳân; as to the battles, he was silent. According to Ka'b al-Aḥbâr, the Muslims have three places of defence; their defence against the Romans is Damascus; that against Ad-Dajjâl is the Jordan; that against Yâjûj and Mâjûj is Sinai. Shu'bah says, quoting from Arṭa'ah ibn al-Mundhir: When Yâjûj and Mâjûj marched forth, God declared to Jesus, son of Mary: See, I have caused one of my creatures to march forth, over whom none except me has any power; therefore go now with thy companions to the mountain of Aṭ-Ṭûr. Then he went thither accompanied by 12,000 followers. Ṭalḳ ibn Ḥabîb heard Zur'ah say: I wished to march out to Sinai, so I came to 'Abdallâh ibn 'Umar and told him this; whereupon he repeated: To three

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mosques the journey is difficult, to the Mosque of the Apostle of God (Medina), to the holy Mosque (Mecca), and to the most distant Mosque (Jerusalem); therefore now give up Sinai, for thou canst not reach it.—The Cadi Abû 'Abdallâh Muḥammad ibn Salâmah al-Ḳuḍâ'î says, after describing the districts of Egypt: To the southern region belong the localities of the Hedjaz, namely, the district of Sinai and Fârân, the district of Râyâ and Al-Ḳulzum, the district of Ailah and its neighbourhood, Midian and its neighbourhood, Al-'Uwaid and Al-Ḥaurâ and their neighbourhoods, and next the district of Badâ and Shaghb. I remark: It is not disputed among Christian and Jewish writers that this Mount Sinai is that upon which or near which God instructed his prophet Moses. There is still there a monastery in the possession of the Melkites, peopled by monks, and owning a large garden with palms, vines, and other fruits.—Ash-Shâbushtî says: Ṭûr Sînâ is the mountain upon which the light appeared to Moses so that he lost his consciousness. The monastery on the summit of the mountain is built of black stone, the thickness of its walls is seven cubits, and it has three iron doors, and on the west side there is a small door, before which a stone is erected which they can raise at pleasure; and when any visitor approaches they let it down, and the place is covered by it so that the position of the door is not detected. Within the monastery there is a spring, and without it another spring. The Christians state that there is a fire in the monastery like that fire which was at Jerusalem, of which every evening an equal quantity is consumed; it is white, small, of no great heat so that it burns nothing, but it grows stronger when a lamp is kindled at it. The monastery is inhabited by monks, is visited by the people, and is one of the monasteries which have been celebrated by poets. Ibn 'Âmir says of it—

'O monk of the monastery! whence the brightness and the light?
it shines from that which is in thy monastery At-Ṭûr.
Does perchance the sun dwell there, forgetting his zodiacal signs,
or has the moon removed and hidden herself therein?
Then he said: Neither sun nor moon dwells there,
but wine-flasks have been brought thither to-day.'

I remark: Christian chroniclers relate that Justinian, emperor of the Romans at Constantinople, commanded the building of this monastery; a strong fortress was built within it, in the upper story of which were many cells; and a garrison, taken from the Arab tribe of Banû Ṣâliḥ, was placed there to defend the monks; in the time of this emperor the fifth council of the Christians assembled. Between this

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place [Sinai] and Al-Ḳulzum, which was a town, there are two ways, one by land and the other by sea, both leading to the town of Fârân, one of the towns of the Amalekites, from which to Aṭ-Ṭûr there are two days' journeys: and from the city of Miṣr to Al-Ḳulzum there are three days' journeys. The mountain of Aṭ-Ṭûr is reached by 6,666 steps; in the midst of the mountain there was a church of the prophet Elias, and on the top a church bearing the name of Moses with pillars of marble and gates of brass; this is the place where God spoke with Moses, and the latter broke the tables. There was here only one monk for the service, and they state that none could pass the night here, but a place was prepared for him outside, where he passed the night. Nothing is now left of these two churches.

86. *The Nuns' Convent* in the Ḳaṣr ash-Shama', at Miṣr, bears the name of Saint George; here, before Islam, was the Nilometer, of which there are traces to this day.

These are all the monasteries possessed by the Christians, Jacobites, and Melkites, men and women, in Egypt; their number reaches the sum of eighty-six, of which eighty-two belong to the Jacobites and four to the Melkites.

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ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCHES OF THE CHRISTIANS.

Al-Azharî says: The word *Kanîsah* (church), or 'synagogue' of the Jews, in the plural *Kanâ'is*, is an Arabicised form, and the original form is *Kunisht*[1]. Even the more ancient Arabs mention churches in their poems; thus Al-'Abbâs ibn Mirdâs al-Sulamî says:

'They surround me in the shadow of every church;
as long as my people passed the night in the churches.'

And Ibn Ḳais ar-Ruḳayyât says:

'As if it were a picture painted in one of the churches.'

1. *The Two Churches of Al-Khandaḳ*, without Cairo; one of which is named after the angel Gabriel; the other after Mercurius and also after Ruwais, the well-known monk who lived after A. H. 800. Near both of these churches the Christians buried their dead, and the place is called the Burial-place of Al-Khandaḳ. Both of these churches were built in the time of Islam to take the place of the churches of Al-Maḳs.

2. *The Church in the Ḥârah Zawîlah* in Cairo, a church revered by the Jacobite Christians, bears the name of the Virgin; it is stated that it was formerly known by the name of the physician Zâbilûn, who lived about 270 years before the appearance of the Islamitic religion, was learned in many sciences, and possessed a great treasure reached through a well which exists here.

3. *A Church known by the name of Al-Mughîthah in the Ḥârat ar-Rûm* in Cairo bears the name of the Virgin. These two are the only churches that the Jacobites possess in Cairo. In the Ḥârat ar-Rûm there was another church, called the Church of Barbara, but this was destroyed in A. H. 718. The cause of this event was the Christians offered a petition to Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalâ'ûn, in which they begged for permission to restore that part of this church which had been ruined; he gave them permission, and they built the church so that it became more beautiful than it was before. This angered

[1] As Wüstenfeld pointed out, *Kunisht* is the Persian word; but the true original of the Arabic *Kanîsah*, كنيسة, is the Aramaic כְּנִישְׁתָּא='synagogue' or 'meeting-house,' from כנשׁ 'to assemble.' (Syr. ܟܢܝܫܬܐ; late Hebrew כְּנֶסֶת).

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a number of Muslims, who represented to the Sultan that the Christians had erected a new building beside this church, which had not been there before. He therefore charged the Emir and Treasurer 'Ilm ad-Dîn Sanjar, Wâlî of Cairo, to destroy the newly-erected building; and the latter rode thither and found a crowd of Muslims assembled, who hastened to destroy the church altogether, as speedily as possible; they erected in its place a Miḥrâb, announced the hours of prayer, and recited the Koran, all of their own accord, and they were not hindered for fear of an insurrection. After this the Christians were heavily oppressed; and they complained to the Cadi Karîm ad-Dîn, Keeper of the Sultan's Privy Purse, who stood up as the champion of the religion of his forefathers, and brought the matter constantly to the Sultan's notice, until the latter ordered the destruction of the Miḥrâb, which was thrown down, so that the place became a rubbish-heap, and so it has remained.

4. *Church of Saint Mennas.* This stands near the dam between the mounds of earth on the road from Miṣr; it consists of three churches adjacent to one another; one of the Jacobites, one of the Syrians, and the third of the Armenians. A festival is kept there every year, at which the Christians assemble in this church.

5. *The Church of Al-Mu'allaḳah,* in the city of Miṣr, in the quarter of Ḳaṣr ash-Shamṿa', named after the Virgin; it is highly revered among them, and is distinct from the above-mentioned Cell.

6. *The Church of Saint Sinuthius* in Miṣr, named after the ancient monk Sinuthius, of whom many things are related; among others, that he was one of those who entirely abstained from food during the Forty Days' Fast; under him there were 6,000 monks, who fed, as he did himself, on a mess of palm-leaves; he wrote many books.

7. *Church of Mary,* near the Church of Sinuthius. This was destroyed by 'Alî ibn Sulaimân ibn 'Alî ibn 'Abdallâh ibn 'Abbâs, Emir of Egypt, when he received the government from the Prince of the Faithful, Al-Hâdî Mûsâ, in A.H. 169; he also destroyed the churches of the Ward of Constantine, for the preservation of which the Christians offered him 50,000 dinars as a bribe, but he refused it. When he was removed, however, and Mûsâ ibn 'Îsâ ibn Mûsâ ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alî ibn 'Abdallâh ibn 'Abbâs took his place in the caliphate of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, the new governor allowed the Christians to rebuild the churches which 'Alî ibn Sulaiman had destroyed; then they were all rebuilt in consequence of a decree of Al-Laith ibn Sa'd and 'Abdallâh ibn Lahî'ah, who both declared that it was for the advantage of the town, and bore witness that the churches

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at Miṣr had first been built under Islam in the time of the companions of the prophet and his first successors.

8. *Church of Saint George of Ath-Thiḳat.* This church stands in an alley of the quarter of Ḳaṣr ash-Shama' at Miṣr, which is called Alley of Ath-Thiḳat; not far from it is the Church of the Virgin of Saint George.

9. *The Church of Barbara* in Miṣr is large, and is celebrated among them; it is named after Saint Barbara, a nun. In her time two other nuns were living, Îsâ and Thaklâ; a great festival is kept in their honour at this church, and the patriarch is present at it.

10. *Church of Saint Sergius* near Saint Barbara, not far from the Hospital of Ibn an-Nu'mân. There is a cave within it, in which Christ and his mother Mary are said to have sat.

11. *Church of Babylon*, south of Ḳaṣr ash-Shama', on the road of the Afram Bridge. This church is very old and small; below it the treasure of Babylon is said to be; its surroundings are in ruins.

12. *The Church of Theodore* the Martyr, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, is named after the martyr Theodore, the military commander.

13. *The Church of Saint Mennas* is also in the neighbourhood of Babylon. Both these churches are closed, on account of the ruins which surround them.

14. *Church of Saint Mennas* in the Ḥamrâ; the Ḥamrâ is now called the quarter of Ḳanâṭir as-Sabâ', between Cairo and Miṣr. This church was restored in A. H. 177 by permission of the Emir of Egypt, Al-Walîd ibn Rufâ'ah; thereupon Wuhaib al-Yaḥsubî was angry, rebelled against the Sultan, and came to Ibn Rufâ'ah to assassinate him, but was seized and put to death; Wuhaib was a traveller from Yemen, and had come to Egypt. Then the Ḳarâ, in order to avenge Wuhaib, rose against Al-Walîd ibn Rufâ'ah, and fought against him. Ma'ûnah, the wife of Wuhaib, went round at night to the settlements of the Ḳarâ to rouse them to avenge his blood; she had shorn her head, and was an eloquent woman. Then Ibn Rufâ'ah seized Abû 'Îsâ Marwân ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân al-Yaḥsubî from among the Ḳarâ; he asked for mercy, and Ibn Rufâ'ah set him free; and subsequently the rebellion was put down after a great number had been slain. The church in the Ḥamrâ remained standing until the destruction of the churches took place in the days of Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalâ'ûn, as it will be related, if it be God's will.

15. History of the *Church of Az-Zuhrî*, and account of the destruction of the churches in Egypt, and of the monasteries of the Christians all at one time.

The Church of Az-Zuhrî stood at the place where now the Pool of An-Nâṣir

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is, in the neighbourhood of Ḳanâṭir as-Sabâ', on the western bank of the canal, west of Al-Lawaḳ; many events have taken place in connexion with this church. For when Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalâ'ûn had in A. H. 720 built the hippodrome of the Mahârî Camels near Ḳanâṭir as-Sabâ', he wished also to erect an embankment on the chief branch of the Nile not far from the Mosque of Ṭaibars; he therefore commanded that a rubbish-heap which lay there should be carried away, and that the earth beneath it should be dug out for the sake of the embankment, and he caused the water to flow into the excavated place, which is therefore called to this day the pool of An-Nâṣir. The excavation of this pool was begun on the last day of the month of Rabî' I, A. H. 721; and when they brought it near to the Church of Az-Zuhrî at which many Christians had always dwelt, and beside which several other churches stood, on the spot now called Ḥakar Aḳbughâ, between the Seven Wells and the Bridge of the Dam outside the city of Miṣr, then the workmen began to dig round the Church of Az-Zuhrî, so that the latter remained standing in the middle of the spot which the Sultan had appointed for excavation and which is now the Pool of An-Nâṣir, and they continued to dig, until the church, as it were, hung in the air. The intention was that the church should fall without a direct attempt to destroy it. The general body of the slaves of the Emirs, who were working at the excavation, and the other workmen demanded, with incessant cries, permission to destroy the church, but the Emirs did not listen to them until Friday the 9th Rabî' II of the same year, while the people were performing the Friday prayers, when the work of excavation was interrupted, and a body of the common people, without leave from the Sultan, crying out 'God is Great!' attacked the Church of Az-Zuhrî with axes and other tools, destroyed it and made a rubbish-heap of it, plundered the Christians who were there, and carried off all that was within it. Then they destroyed the Church of Saint Mennas in the Ḥamrâ, which had from ancient times been much revered by the Christians; a number of Christians dwelt there, who had established themselves there, and to whom the Christians of Miṣr brought all that was needed for the church; they also sent there costly offerings and many alms, so that there was there a large treasure of coined money, golden vessels, and other valuables. The people climbed the walls, opened the gates, and took money, vessels, and wine-jars out of the church; it was a terrible occurrence.

Thereupon they went from the church in the Ḥamrâ, after they had destroyed it, to the two churches near the Seven Wells, one of which was called the Church of the Maidens, and was inhabited by a number of Christian

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girls and by monks; they broke in the doors of the two churches, took captive the girls, of whom there were more than sixty, took off their clothes, plundered all that they could find, and burnt and entirely destroyed these churches.

All this took place while the people were making their Friday prayers; and when they came out of the mosques, they beheld with horror the clouds of dust, the smoke of the fire, the tumult of the mob, and the hurrying throngs of those who were carrying off the plundered objects, so that this horror could only be compared with that of the day of resurrection. The news of it spread, and quickly came to the sandy ground under the Castle on the Mountain; the Sultan heard a great tumult and noise which horrified him, and he sent to enquire into the cause of it. When he was told what had happened, he was much excited, and was angry that the people had undertaken to do the deed without his command. He ordered the Emir Aidughmish Amîr-Akhûr to ride to the spot with a detachment of pages, to put a stop to this disorder, and to seize those who had done the deed. While Aidughmish was making preparations to ride down, the news was brought from Cairo that the people of Cairo had risen and had destroyed a church in the quarter of the Romans and one in the quarter of Zawîlah; and at the same time it was announced from Miṣr that the people of Miṣr had risen in great numbers and had marched to the Church of Al-Mu'allaḳah in the Ḳaṣr ash-Shama', which had then been shut up by the Christians who were besieged within it, but it was on the point of being taken. Now the anger of the Sultan increased, and he wished to ride down in person to attack the people, but he refrained when the Emir Aidughmish dissuaded him from the attempt. The latter went from the Castle with four Emirs to Miṣr; the two Chamberlains, the Emir Baibars and the Emir Alamâs, rode to the place which had been excavated; and the Emir Tînâl rode to Cairo, each accompanied by a numerous troop. The Sultan had commanded that all whom they should capture among the people were to be slain, and none was to be pardoned; so Cairo and Miṣr fell upon their knees, and the plunderers fled, so that the Emirs only caught those who were unable to move because they were overcome by the wine which they had drunk in the churches. The Emir Aidughmish now entered into Miṣr. The Wâlî had already ridden to the Mu'allaḳah to drive away those engaged in plunder from the street of the Mu'allaḳah, but, being received by a shower of stones, he had fled from them, and the gate of the church was on the point of being set fire to. Now the Emir Aidughmish and his followers drew their swords that they might fall upon the people, but when he found that there was an innumerable multitude and

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a narrow way of escape, he refrained from slaughter, bid his followers disperse the crowd without shedding blood, and proclaimed that any one who stayed behind should forfeit his life. Then the assembled crowd turned to flight and dispersed, but Aidughmish, fearing lest the people should return, remained there until the evening-prayer was proclaimed; then he marched away, having ordered the Wâlî of Miṣr with his soldiers, to whom he added fifty of the pages, to pass the night on the spot. As for the Emir Alamâs, he came to the churches in the Ḥamrâ and the Church of Az-Zûhrî to defend them, but only rubbish-heaps were left of them, not a wall was standing; he returned therefore, and the other Emirs also returned and informed the Sultan, whose anger continued to increase; but they did not leave him until he was pacified.

At the destruction of these churches a wonderful event occurred. For when the people were assembled on that day in the Mosque of the Castle on the Mountain for the Friday prayer, and had just finished the prayer, a madman rose up and cried out in the midst of the mosque: 'Destroy the church in the citadel, destroy it!' and when he had repeatedly cried out in this disturbing fashion, he fell into convulsions. The Sultan and the Emirs wondered at his words, and orders were given to the officer on guard and the chamberlain to investigate the matter; so they both left the mosque, and when they came to the Ruins of the Tartars in the citadel, where a newly-built church stood, there were people employed in destroying it, and they had not finished their work when the news of the attack upon the churches in the Ḥamrâ and at Cairo arrived. Then the Sultan wondered yet more at that faḳîr, and caused search to be made for him, but no trace of him was found. In the Mosque of Al-Azhar too it happened that when the people were assembled that day for the Friday prayers, one of the faḳîrs fell into a sort of trembling, and when the hour of prayer was announced, before the preacher appeared, he stepped forward and said: 'Destroy the churches of the enemies and unbelievers! God is great! God grant victory and help!' Then he began again to tremble, and cried out: 'Down to the ground! Down to the ground!' The people looked at him and did not know what he meant; they were of various opinions regarding him, some saying, 'He is mad;' and others, 'This means something.' When the preacher came forward the faḳîr ceased shouting, and at the end of the prayers he was sought for but could not be found; and when the people came out of the door of the mosque they saw the plunderers with the woodwork of the churches, the garments of the Christians, and other plunder, and when they asked about these things they were answered that the Sultan had proclaimed that the churches

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should be destroyed; and the people believed this until they heard soon afterwards that all had happened without orders from the Sultan. The churches destroyed that day at Cairo were that in the quarter of the Romans, that by the Archers, and two churches in the street of Zawîlah.

On Sunday, the 3rd day after the Friday on which the destruction of the churches had taken place at Cairo and Miṣr, the news came from the Emir Badr ad-Dîn Bîlbag al-Muḥsanî, Wâlî of Alexandria, that on Friday the 9th Rabî' II, after the Friday prayers, a tumult had arisen among the people, and when they had quitted the mosque, the cry arose: 'The churches are destroyed!' and that the Mameluke had at once ridden to the spot but had found the churches, four in number, already reduced to heaps; that he had also received by the pigeon-post a letter from the Wâlî of Al-Buḥairah, announcing that at the town of Damanhûr, while the people on that day were making their Friday prayers, two churches had been destroyed. The astonishment increased over these matters until on Friday, the 16th, news was brought from the town of Ḳûṣ that while the people on the 9th Rabî' II had finished their Friday prayers, one of the faḳîrs had risen, and had said: 'O faḳîrs! come out to the destruction of the churches!' but when they went out, followed by a crowd of others, they had found the churches already destroyed; and that at Ḳûṣ and in its immediate neighbourhood six churches had been wrecked. Gradually information arrived from the southern and northern provinces, announcing the destruction of many churches and monasteries in all the districts of Egypt between Ḳûṣ, Alexandria, and Damietta, which had taken place on the same day during and after the Friday prayers. The anger of the Sultan against the people reached its highest point, because he feared that even worse things would be done. The Emirs tried to soothe his anger, saying that matters of this sort could not have happened through human power, and that if the Sultan himself wished to undertake anything of the sort he would not be in a position to do so; but that it was a decree and ordinance of God, who knew the great corruption of the Christians and their increasing pride, so that that which had happened might serve as a punishment for them.

While therefore the people of Cairo and Miṣr had become much afraid of the Sultan, because they had heard that he had threatened them with death, and many of the lowest people had taken to flight, the Cadi and Army-Inspector Fakhr ad-Dîn tried to dissuade the Sultan from his intended attack on the people, and to reconcile him with them again, while Karîm ad-Dîn al-Kabîr, Keeper of the Privy Purse, incited the Sultan against the people,

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until the Sultan ordered him to travel to Alexandria for the purpose of raising money and of enquiring what churches were there destroyed.

Scarcely a month had passed by since the destruction of the churches when in Cairo and Miṣr fire broke out in many places, at which horrors occurred equal to those which followed the destruction of the churches. In a house of the Roast-meat-Vendors' Street in Cairo fire broke out on Saturday the 10th Jumâdâ I, and spread among the surrounding dwellings and lasted until the evening of Sunday; many buildings were destroyed. When this fire was extinguished, another arose in the quarter of Ad-Dailam in the street of Al-'Arîshah, near the dwelling of Karîm ad-Dîn, Keeper of the Privy Purse, on the 25th Jumâdâ I; it was a windy night, and the fire spread on all sides, until it reached the house of Karîm ad-Dîn. When the Sultan heard of this, he was much vexed, because a part of the Sultan's treasures was kept there, and he sent several of the Emirs to put it out, and they took with them a crowd of people which continually grew in numbers. From the night of Monday to that of Tuesday the fire had continually increased, and the Emirs with their followers could not extinguish it, because there was a strong wind by which lofty palms were overthrown and boats were dashed to pieces, and so the fire spread on all sides. The people were already convinced that the whole of Cairo would be burnt, and they mounted the minarets in order to call to prayer. The faḳîrs and pious men appeared and began to pray with the cry: 'God is great!' but it was in vain, and the screams and weeping of men grew louder on all sides. The Sultan went up to the roof of the castle, but could not stay there on account of the strong wind; the fire lasted, and the Sultan repeated his command to the Emirs to extinguish it until Tuesday. Then the Sultan's Deputy went down and took all the Emirs and water-carriers with him; and the Emir and Cupbearer Baktimur also went down; it was a terrible day; none more terrible has ever been seen. At the gates of Cairo guards were set to bring back the water-carriers if they tried to leave Cairo, in order to extinguish the fire; not one of the water-carriers of the Emirs and of the city was spared, all had to work; and they brought the water from the academies and baths; all the carpenters and attendants of the baths were taken to pull down the houses, and in this time of necessity many lofty buildings and great houses were pulled down. At this fire twenty-four of the principal Emirs were working, besides an equal number of the Emirs of the band, the Decurions and the Mamelukes; and the Emirs themselves set their hands to the work. The water stood from the Gate of Zawîlah to the quarter of Ad-Dailam like a lake in the street on

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account of the crowd of men and camels which brought water. The Emir and Cupbearer Baktimur and the Emir and Deputy Arghûn were employed in carrying the Sultan's treasure from the house of Karîm ad-Dîn to the house of his son in the Lead-workers' Street; sixteen houses which partly touched the house or stood opposite to it had to be destroyed before they could rescue the treasure.

The fire was not yet fully extinguished, the treasure was scarcely carried away, when a fresh fire broke out at the dwelling of Aẓ-Ẓâhir before the Zawîlah Gate, which destroyed 120 houses; among which was a hall known as the Hall of the Faḳîrs. During the fire a strong wind blew; then the Chamberlain and the Wâlî rode down to extinguish the fire, and caused a number of the surrounding houses to be pulled down until the fire was extinguished. Two days later a fire broke out in the house of the Emir Salâr in the street between the two castles; it began in the air-passage which had been constructed 100 cubits above the ground; but this was all destroyed before the fire was put out.

Then the Sultan commanded the Emir and Treasurer 'Ilm ad-Dîn Sanjar, Wâlî of Cairo, and the Emir and Chamberlain Baibars to keep guard and to be watchful; it was proclaimed that in every shop a barrel or jar of water should stand, and a similar one in all streets, by-ways, and alleys. Through this the price of a barrel rose from one dirham to five, and the price of a jar to eight dirhams.

A fire also broke out in the quarter of the Romans and in many places, so that no day passed without a fire in some place. The people now took heed to that which was befalling them, and came to the conjecture that the Christians were the cause of it, because the fire appeared in the pulpits of the mosques and the walls of oratories and schools; they were therefore prepared at a certain fire, and they followed up the track of it until they found that it arose from naphtha rolled up in cloths steeped in oil and pitch. One Friday night in the middle of Jumâdâ, two monks were captured coming out of the Academy of Al-Hakkarîyah, and fire had just been set to the academy, and the smell of sulphur was still on their hands; they were brought to the Emir and Treasurer 'Ilm ad-Dîn, Wâlî of Cairo, who sent word to the Sultan, who ordered that they should be tortured. He had not come down from the castle before people met him, who had seized a Christian caught in the Mosque of Aẓ-Ẓâhir with rags in the form of an annular biscuit full within of pitch and naphtha; he had already thrown one of them down by the pulpit, and had stood by it until smoke rose from it; then he went to depart from the mosque; some one, however, had noticed

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him, and watched him from a place where the Christian could not see him; then he seized him, and the people came up in crowds and dragged him to the Wâlî's house; he had dressed himself like the Muslims. He was then tortured before the Emir and Chamberlain Rukn ad-Dîn Baibars, and he confessed that a multitude of Christians had bound themselves to prepare naphtha and to spread it about by means of several of their followers, of whom he was one, and that he had been told to place it beside the pulpit of the Mosque of Aẓ-Ẓâhir. Thereupon it was ordered that the two monks should be tortured, and they confessed that they were among the inhabitants of the Monastery of the Mule, and had set fire to the places already described, out of hatred to the Muslims and to take revenge upon them for the destruction of the churches; and that many Christians had joined together, and had collected a considerable sum to prepare this naphtha.

Meanwhile Karîm ad-Dîn, Keeper of the Privy Purse, had returned from Alexandria; and the Sultan informed him of the capture of the Christians, whereupon he answered: 'The Christians have a patriarch with whom they consult, and who knows their dispositions.' Then the Sultan commanded to bring the patriarch to the dwelling of Karîm ad-Dîn that he might speak with him of the fire, and the share of the Christians in kindling it. The patriarch came therefore under the guard of the Wâlî of Cairo by night through fear of the people, and when he had entered the house of Karîm ad-Dîn, in the quarter of Ad-Dailam, and the three Christians had been brought from the dwelling of the Wâlî, they repeated to Karîm ad-Dîn in the presence of the patriarch and Wâlî all that they had before confessed. When the patriarch heard the confession, he began to weep, and said: 'These are fanatical Christians, who wished to avenge themselves on the fanatical Muslims on account of the destruction of the churches.' Thereupon he was released by Karîm ad-Dîn with ceremony, and found that Karîm ad-Dîn had caused a mule to be kept in readiness for him at the door, so that he might ride upon it; so he mounted and rode off; thereupon the people were angry and fell upon him together, and if the Wâlî had not accompanied him he would have been slain.

Next morning Karîm ad-Dîn wished to ride, according to his custom, to the Castle, and when he came out of doors as usual, the people cried to him in the streets: 'It is not allowed, O Cadi, that thou shouldest take under thy protection the Christians who have burnt down the houses of Muslims, and shouldest let them ride upon mules.' These words angered him and increased his desire to do injuries, and when he came before the Sultan he tried to

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represent the crime of the Christians who had been captured as slight, saying that they were fanatics and fools; but the Sultan bade the Wâlî increase the tortures. So the Wâlî went down and caused them to be severely tortured, so that they confessed that fourteen monks had conspired together in the Monastery of the Mule to burn down all the dwellings of the Muslims, and that among them there was a monk who prepared the naphtha; that they had partitioned Cairo and Miṣr among themselves, so that eight came to Cairo and six to Miṣr. Then the Wâlî had the Monastery of the Mule surrounded and all its inmates seized; four of them were burnt at the cross-ways by the Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn on Friday, where a great crowd had assembled to see them. From this time the common people were enraged against the Christians, and began to insult them and tore their garments off them, so that every form of outrage was allowed, and such as exceeded all measure. Thereupon the Sultan grew angry, and formed the plan of making an attack upon the people. It happened that when he was riding on a Saturday from the citadel to go to the great hippodrome, he saw a great crowd of people who were filling the streets and shouting: 'God protect Islam! Protect the religion of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallâh!' He rode aside to avoid them, and when he reached the hippodrome, the Treasurer brought two Christians to him who had just been caught in the attempt to set fire to the houses; he commanded that they should be burnt, whereupon they were led away, a ditch was dug, and they were burnt in the sight of the people. While they were yet employed in burning the two Christians, the Chamberlain of the Divan of the Emir and Cupbearer Baktimur, who was a Christian, came by, to reach the house of the Emir Baktimur. When the people saw him, they threw him from his beast, dragged off all his clothes, and carried him off to throw him into the fire; then he repeated in a loud voice the two formulas of belief, confessed Islam, and was set at liberty. Meanwhile Karîm ad-Dîn, clothed with a robe of honour, passed by the hippodrome; but they drove him away with stones, and cried out: 'How long wilt thou protect and defend the Christians?' They mocked at him, so that he saw no way of escape except to return to the Sultan, who was still in the hippodrome; the cries of the people were so loud in their anger that the Sultan could hear them. When Karîm ad-Dîn came to him and informed him of what had passed, he was full of wrath, and asked the advice of the Emirs who were with him, such as the Emir Jamâl ad-Dîn, deputy-governor of Al-Kark, the Emir Saif ad-Dîn al-Bûbakrî, the Chamberlain Baktimur, and several others; Al-Bûbakrî thought that the people

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* * * and that it was best for the Chamberlain to go and ask them what they wanted before any step was taken. This view, however, did not please the Sultan, who turned away from him. Thereupon the Deputy-governor of Al-Kark said: 'All this comes from the Christian secretaries, for the people hate them, and my advice is that the Sultan should take no step against the people, but should remove the Christians from the Divan.' This advice also displeased the Sultan, who said to the Emir and Chamberlain Alamâs: 'Go and take four of the Emirs with thee, and cut the people down from the place where thou leavest the hippodrome until thou comest to the Gate of Zawîlah, and strike with the sword among them from the Gate of Zawîlah to the Gate of Victory, without sparing any;' and to the Wâlî of Cairo he said: 'Ride to the Gate of Al-Lawaḳ and the neighbourhood of the river, and let none pass without seizing him and bringing him to the Castle, and if thou dost not bring those who have stoned my deputy (he meant Karîm ad-Dîn), by my head I will hang thee instead of them;' and he sent with him a detachment of his body-Mamelukes. After a hesitation on the part of the Emirs to carry out the command, so that the matter became known, and they met no one, especially no slaves or attendants of the Emirs, then at last they set out; the news was spread in Cairo, all the bazaars were shut, and an unheard-of sorrow fell upon the people. The Emirs went forth, but found on their long march not a single person until they reached the Gate of Victory; but the Wâlî at the Gate of Al-Lawaḳ in the neighbourhood of Bûlâḳ and at the Water-Gate seized a crowd of rabble, sailors, and low people, by which action such fear was spread that a great number removed to the province of Al-Jîzah on the western bank. The Sultan returned from the hippodrome and found on his way, until he reached the Castle, not one of the people; as soon as he arrived at the Castle he sent to the Wâlî, and told him to hasten to come to him; and the sun was not yet set when he appeared with about 200 people whom he had seized. Then the Sultan made a division of them, and ordered that some should be hanged, others cut in two, others deprived of their hands; then they all cried: 'O Lord, that is not lawful, it was not we who stoned him.' The Emir and Cupbearer Baktimur and the other Emirs present wept out of sympathy with them, and did not quit the Sultan until he said to the Wâlî: 'Divide off a part of them and erect posts from the Gate of Zawîlah to the Castle in the Horse-Market and hang them up by their hands.' Next morning, being Sunday, they were all hung up from the Gate of Zawîlah to the Horse-Market, some of them being distinguished and well-dressed persons; the Emirs who passed by them expressed

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sympathy with them, and wept over them. None of the shop-owners of Cairo and Miṣr opened his shop that day. Karîm ad-Dîn left his dwelling to go to the Castle as usually, but he could not go past those who were hanged up, and so he took another way, not that through the Gate of Zawîlah. The Sultan was already sitting behind a lattice, and caused a number of those whom the Wâlî had captured to be brought and the hands and feet of three of them to be cut off. The Emirs could not speak in their favour because his anger was too hot; then Karîm ad-Dîn entered, bared his head, kissed the earth, and begged for mercy; the Sultan at last yielded to his prayers, and ordered that the prisoners should work at the excavation at Al-Jîzah. Then they were led away; but two of the mutilated had already died; and those who were hung up were taken down from the posts.

While the Sultan still stood at the lattice, the cry of fire arose in the neighbourhood of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn, and in the Castle on the Mountain, in the dwelling of the Emir Rukn ad-Dîn al-Aḥmadî in the street of Bahâ ad-Dîn, in the inn before the Water-Gate of Al-Maḳs and in the adjacent buildings. On the morning of this day three Christians had been caught, with whom cords steeped in naphtha were found, and when brought before the Sultan they confessed that they had caused the fire. The fire lasted at those places until Saturday, and when the Sultan, according to his custom, wished to ride to the hippodrome, he met 20,000 people who had coloured pieces of stuff blue, and had made a white cross upon them, and when they saw the Sultan they cried with loud and united voices: 'There is no religion except that of Islam! God protect the religion of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallâh! O Malik an-Nâṣir, Sultan of Islam! help us against the unbelievers, and do not protect the Christians!' The earth trembled with their terrible voices, and God filled the heart of the Sultan and the hearts of the Emirs with fear; they continued their way, while he was deeply sunk in thought, until he came to the hippodrome. As meanwhile the shouts of the people did not cease, he held it best to act cautiously, and he bid the Chamberlain go out and proclaim that he who should find a Christian should demand money and blood from him. The Chamberlain went out and made this proclamation, and the people cried: 'God protect thee!' and gave him their congratulations. The Christians then used to wear white turbans, so it was proclaimed at Cairo and Miṣr that any one who should find a Christian in a white turban should be allowed to kill him and to seize his goods; and a similar permission was granted to any one who should meet a Christian on horseback. A decree was issued that the Christians should wear

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blue turbans, and that none of them should ride a horse or a mule, but that they might ride asses with their heads to the tail; that no Christian might enter a bath without a bell round his neck; and that none of them might wear the dress of the Muslims. The Emirs were forbidden to take Christians into their service; the latter were removed from the Sultan's Divan, and it was commanded in all the provinces that all Christians holding office should be dismissed. The attacks of the Muslims upon the Christians increased so that the latter no longer walked in the streets, and a large number of them accepted Islam.

Nothing had been said at this time of the Jews, and so the Christians began, when they wished to leave their dwellings, to borrow a yellow turban from one of the Jews, and to wear it so as to be safe from the people. Then it happened that one of the Christians in the Divans was owed 4,000 dirhams by a Jew, so he came by night in disguise to the Jew's house to demand the money; then the Jew seized him and cried: 'Help from God and the Muslims!' and shouted so that people ran together to seize the Christian; but he fled into the inner part of the Jew's house and hid himself with the wife of the latter; he was, however, obliged to write a receipt stating that the Jew had paid him his debt, and then he was set free.

Several Christians of the Monastery of Al-Khandaḳ were accused of having prepared naphtha to set fire to the houses; they were captured and nailed up. A decree was issued that the people might safely be present when the Sultan rode to the hippodrome according to their custom; this took place because they stood in fear of their lives on account of their having too frequently attacked the Christians and overstepped all bounds. Now they became bold, came as usually to the neighbourhood of the hippodrome, offered good wishes to the Sultan, and began to cry: 'God protect thee, Ruler of the land! we are spared, we are spared!' The Sultan heard this favourably and smiled at their words. At night a fire arose at the dwelling of the Emir and Chamberlain Alamâs in the Castle; the wind was strong, so that the fire took hold and reached the house of the Emir Îtmish, and the inhabitants of the Castle and of Cairo were so much terrified that they believed that the whole Castle was burnt.

More terrible events than these have never been heard of, for the Christians burnt the houses at Cairo in the Roast-meat-Vendors' market and the alley of Al-'Arîshah in the street of Ad-Dailam, sixteen houses near the dwelling of Karîm ad-Dîn, a number of houses in the quarter of the Romans, the house of Bahâdur near the Chapel of Ḥusain, some dwellings at the stable of Aṭ-Ṭârimah and in

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the street of Honey, the palace of the Emir Silâḥ, and the palace of the Emir Salâr in the street between the two castles, the palace of Bîsharî, the Khân al-Ḥajar, Al-Jamalûn, the hall of Al-Afram, the house of Baibars in the street of Aṣ-Ṣâliḥîyah, the house of Ibn Al-Maghrabî in the street of Zawîlah, many dwellings in the street of the Swallows' Well and at Al-Hakar, in the Castle on the Mountain, by several mosques and oratories and other buildings, which it would take too much space to mention.

Among the churches, destruction was wrought on the church at the Ruins of the Tartars in the Castle of the Mountain, the Church of Az-Zuhrî on the spot where the Pool of An-Nâṣir now is, the Church of the Ḥamrâ, a church near the Seven Wells, which is called that of the Daughters, the Church of Saint Mennas, the Church of Al-Fahhâdîn (the Trainers) at Cairo, a church in the quarter of the Romans, a church near the Archers, two churches in the quarter of Zawîlah, a church near the Flag-Store, a church at Al-Khandaḳ; four churches in the frontier-city of Alexandria, two churches in the town of Damanhûr Al-Waḥsh, a church in the province of Al-Gharbîyah, three churches in the province of Ash-Sharḳîyah, six churches in the province of Al-Bahnasâ; at Suyûṭ, Manfalûṭ, and Munyat Ibn al-Khaṣîb eight churches, at Ḳûṣ and Aswân eleven churches, in the province of Iṭfîḥ one church; in the market-place of Wardân in the city of Miṣr, in the quarters of Al-Muṣâṣah and Ḳaṣr ash-Shama' at Miṣr eight churches. A great number of monasteries also were destroyed, and the Monastery of the Mule and the Monastery of Shahrân remained long deserted. These important events, such as could with difficulty be found a second time during a long series of years, took place in a short space of time; so many persons perished, so much property was destroyed, and so many buildings ruined that for their multitude they cannot be described. The end of all things rests with God!

16. *Church of Michael.* This church was by the canal of the Banî Wâ'il before the city of Miṣr to the south of 'Aḳabah Yaḥṣub, and is now near the Bridge of Al-Afram; it was newly built under Islam, and is of fine architecture.

17. *Church of Mary*, in the Gardens of the Vizier to the south of the Lake of Al-Ḥabash; it is empty, and no one goes there.

18. *The Church of Mary*, in the district of Al-'Adawîyah towards the south, is old, but already ruined.

19. *The Church of Anthony*, in the district of Bayâḍ, north of Iṭfîḥ, has been renewed. In the district of Sharnûb there were many churches now destroyed; one of them is in the district of Ihrît on the mountain, two days to the south of Bayâḍ, and still exists.

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20. *The Church of the Virgin*, in the neighbourhood of Ashkar; at its gate stands a tower built of large bricks, which is said to be the place where Mûsâ ibn 'Imrân (the prophet Moses) was born.

21. *Church of Mary*, in the district of Al-Khuṣûṣ; it is a house of which they have made a church, which, however, is neglected.

22. *Church of Mary*, *Church of Al-Ḳaṣîr*, and *Church of Gabriel;* these three churches stand in the district of Abnûb.

23. *Church of Asûṭîr*, which means [σωτήρ=] the Saviour; this stands in the city of Ikhmîm, and is much revered among the Christians; it bears the name of the Martyrs, and there is a well there, the water of which, if it be put into a lamp, becomes of a deep-red colour like blood.

24. *Church of Michael*, also at Ikhmîm. There is a custom among the Christians at these two churches that when they are keeping the Feast of Palms, also called the Feast of Hosanna, the priests and deacons go in procession with censers, incense, crosses, the gospels, and lighted candles, and stand before the door of the Cadi, and then before the doors of the most respectable Muslims, where they burn incense, read a passage of the Gospel, and sing a hymn, that is to say, praise him.

25. *The Church of Saint Pachomius*, in the district of Atfah, is the last church on the eastern bank. Bakhûm or Pachomius was a monk at the time of Saint Sinuthius; he is called the Father of the Community, because he increased the number of the monks and gave a teacher to every two monks. He did not allow wine or meat to be brought into his monastery, and he commanded that the fast should be kept until the end of the ninth hour of the day; he gave his monks roasted chickpeas to eat, and they called them chickpeas of scarcity. His monastery has long been destroyed, but this church of his still exists at Atfâ, to the south of Ikhmîm.

26. *The Church of the Evangelist Mark*, at Al-Jîzah, was ruined after A. H. 800 and then rebuilt. This Mark was one of the Disciples of Christ, and founder of the patriarchal see of Egypt and Abyssinia.

27. *The Church of Saint George*, in the district of Bû 'n-Numrus in [the province of] Al-Jîzah, was destroyed in A. H. 780, as it has been related above, but afterwards restored.

28. *The Church in the district of Bû Fârâ*, on the farthest limit of the province of Al-Jîzah.

29. *Church of Sinuthius*, in the district of Harabshant.

30. *Church of Saint George*, in the district of Banâ, is celebrated among

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them; they bring thither votive offerings, and swear by it, and relate many remarkable stories of it.

31. *Church of Saint Mârûṭâ*, in the district of Shumusṭâ. This Mârûṭâ is highly honoured among them; he was a revered monk, and his bones are kept in a chest in the monastery of Bû Bishâ'î on the plain of Shîhât, and are visited even now.

32. *Church of Mary* at Al-Bahnasâ. It is said that there were 360 churches at Al-Bahnasâ, which have all been destroyed, so that this church alone remains.

33. *The Church of the Monk Samuel*, in the district of Shinarah.

34. *The Church of Mary*, in the district of Ṭunbudâ, is old.

35. *The Church of Michael*, in the district of Ṭunbudâ, is large and old. There were here many churches now destroyed; the greater part of the inhabitants of Ṭunbudâ consist of Christian artisans.

36. *The Church of the Apostles*, in the district of Ishnîn, is very large.

37. *The Church of Mary*, in the district of Ishnîn, is old.

38. *The Church of Michael*, and 39. *The Church of Gabriel* also, in the district of Ishnîn. In this district there were 160 churches, which have all been destroyed with the exception of the four above mentioned; the greater part of the inhabitants of Ishnîn are Christians, and they maintain themselves by keeping watch over the palm-trees. Further on there are still remains of churches in which they keep their festivals, as the *Church of Saint George*, that of *Mârûṭâ*, that of *Barbara*, and that of *Gafrîl*, i.e. *Jabrîl* (Gabriel).

40. In Munyat ibn Khasîb there are six churches, that of *Al-Mu'allaḳah*, i.e. the Church of the Virgin, that of *Peter and Paul*, that of *Michael*, that of *Saint George*, that of *Saint Paul of Ṭamwaih*, and that of the three youths, namely, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, who were warriors in the time of Bukht Naṣr (Nabuchadnezzar) and worshipped God in secret; when they were discovered Bukht Naṣr wished to bring them back to the worship of idols, and when they refused this he had them thrown into prison for a long time that they might be perverted; but they would not, and so he had them brought out and cast into the fire, which, however, did not burn them. The Christians hold them in great honour, although they lived long before the time of Christ.

41. Church in the district of Ṭaḥâ in the name of the *Disciples of Christ*, who are called by them Apostles.

42. *Church of Mary*, also in the district of Ṭaḥâ.

43. *The Church of the Two Wise Men*, in the district of Manharî, keeps a great festival in the month of Bashans at which the bishop is present, and a great

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fair is held at the festival. These two wise men are Cosmas and Damian, the two monks.

44. *The Church of the Virgin*, in the district of Bû Ḳarḳâs, is old and large.

45. In the district of Mallawî there is the *Church of the Apostles*, and two ruined churches, one named after *Saint George* and the other after the angel *Michael*.

46. In the district of Daljah there were many churches of which only three are left; the *Church of the Virgin* which is large, that of *Sinuthius*, and that of *Saint Mercurius;* they (the others) are entirely destroyed.

47. In the district of Ṣanabû is the *Church of Saint Paul* and that of *Saint George;* Ṣanabû numbers many Christians.

48. In the district of Biblâ'û, to the north of Ṣanabû, there is an old church on the western side of the city named after *George;* there are many Christians who practise agriculture.

49. In the district of Darût there is a church near the town, like a monastery, and named after the Monk *Serapion* who lived in the time of Sinuthius and was elected bishop; many things are told of him.

50. In the district of Bûḳ Banî Zaid there is a large church named after the *Apostles*, in which a festival is kept.

51. In the province of Ḳûṣ is the *Church of Mary* and that of *Gabriel*.

52. In the district of Damshîr is the *Church of the Martyr Mercurius;* it is old and there are many Christians there.

53. In the district of Umm al-Ḳusûr is the *Church of Saint John the Dwarf*, which is old.

54. In the district of Ballût, on the frontier of the district of Manfalût, is the *Church of Michael*, which is small.

55. In the district of Al-Balâgharah, on the borders of Manfalût, is a small church, inhabited by the priest with his family.

56. In the district of Shaḳalḳîl are three large old churches, named respectively after the *Apostles*, *Michael* and *Saint Mennas*.

57. In the district of Munsha'at an-Nasârâ is a church of *Michael*.

58. In the town of Suyût is the *Church of Bû Sadrah* (i.e. St. Theodore) and that of the *Apostles;* and before the town is the *Church of Saint Mennas*.

59. In the district of Udrunkah there is a very old church named after the three youths *Ananias*, *Azarias*, and *Misael;* it is a school for poor Christians. The inhabitants of Durunkah are Christians, and understand the Coptic language, which is the means of communication there both for children and adults, and they are able to explain it in Arabic.

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60. In the district of Rîfah al-Gharbî is the *Church of Saint Coluthus*, who was a physician and monk, and performed wonderful cures of inflammation of the eye; a festival is held in his honour at this church. There is also a *Church of Michael* here. Worms have already gnawed away one side of [the church at] Rîfah al-Gharbî.

61. In the district of Mûshah there is a church built over a bath, in the name of the martyr *Victor;* it was built in the time of Constantine, son of Helena, and has a terrace ten cubits wide, and three domes, each of which is about eighty cubits high; the whole is built of white stone; but the western half is already fallen. It is said that this church stands over a treasure which lies beneath it; and it is said that there was a passage under the earth from Suyûṭ to this town of Mûshah.

62. In the district of Buḳûr, at the border of Bûtîj, there is an old *Church* dedicated to the martyr *Claudius*, who stands among them on a par with Mercurius, Georgius i. e. Bû Jurj, the commander Theodorus, and Mînâ'ûs. The father of Claudius was one of the prefects of Diocletian, and he was himself celebrated for his bravery. When he became a Christian, the emperor had him seized and tortured that he might return to the worship of idols, but he remained steadfast until he was killed. Many things are related of him.

63. In the district of Al-Ḳaṭṭ'ah there is a *Church* named after the *Virgin*, where there was a bishop named Alduwîn, who had a quarrel with his own party, so that they buried him alive; they are among the worst Christians, and are notorious for their wickedness. There was among them a Christian named George, son of the Nun, who overstepped all bounds, so that the Emir and Majordomo Jamâl ad-Dîn cut off his head in the reign of Al-Malik an-Nâṣir Faraj ibn Barḳûḳ.

64. In the district of Bûtîj there are several ruined churches; and the Christians are accustomed to say their prayers secretly in one of their houses, and when day breaks, they go out to the ruins of a church, there erect an altar of palm-stems in the form of a cage, and perform their devotions.

65. In the district of Bû Maḳrûfah there is an old *Church* dedicated to *Michael*, where two festivals are kept yearly. The inhabitants of that district are Christians, chiefly shepherds, and are people of a low class.

66. In the district of Duwainah there is a *Church* named after *Saint John the Dwarf*, who is much revered among them; there lived there a man named Jonas, who was elected bishop, and was celebrated for his knowledge, in several sciences; they were irritated against him for envy of his knowledge, and they buried him alive, but his body had already ascended to heaven.

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67. In Al-Marâghah, between Ṭahṭâ and Ṭimâ, there is a church, and in the district of Ḳilfâ'û a large church. The Christians of this place are celebrated for their knowledge of magic and kindred sciences, and there was there, in the reign of Al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir Barḳûḳ, a deacon named Abṣalṭîs, who possessed great skill in them, and stories are told of him which I prefer not to repeat on account of their strangeness.

68. In the district of Farshûṭ there is a *Church of Michael* and a *Church of the Virgin Mary*.

69. In the city of Hûw there is a *Church of the Virgin* and a *Church of Saint Mennas*.

70. In the district of Bahjûrah there is a *Church of the Apostles*, and at Isnâ a *Church of Mary*, a *Church of Michael*, and a *Church of John the Baptist*, i.e. *Yaḥyâ ibn Zakarîyâ*.

71. At Naḳâdah there is a *Church of the Virgin*, a *Church of John the Baptist*, a *Church of Gabriel*, and a *Church of John the Compassionate*. The last was a rich man of Antioch, who became a monk, divided all his goods among the poor, and travelled through the world; and he confessed the Christian religion. His father consoled himself on his son's account, and it was believed that he was dead. Afterwards he came back to Antioch in such a condition that no one knew him; he lived in a cell on a dunghill, and fed upon that which was thrown upon the dunghill until he died. At his funeral his father was present and recognized the cover of his book of the gospels, and on further examination found that it was his son; so he buried him, and built in his name the *Church of Antioch* and that of the *Virgin* in the town of Ḳifṭ.

72. At Aṣfûn there were several churches which were destroyed with the town; in the town of Ḳûṣ also there were many monasteries and churches which were destroyed with the town, so that only one *Church of the Virgin* is now remaining.

Besides the churches hitherto mentioned by us there is none remaining in the southern provinces. As for the northern provinces there is at Munyah Ṣurad in the district of Cairo a *Church of the Virgin Mary*, which is famous among them; in the district of Sanduwah a new church named after *Saint George;* at Marṣâfâ a restored church also named after *Saint George;* at Samannûd a church named after the *Apostles*, built in a house; at Sanbâṭ a church celebrated among them and named after the *Apostles;* at Ṣandafâ a church revered among them and named after *Saint George;* at Ar-Raidânîyah a *Church of the Virgin*, highly revered among them. At Damietta there are four *Churches, of the Virgin, Michael, John the Baptist*, and *St. George*, which are celebrated among them. In the district

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of Subk al-'Abîd there is a church in a hidden house, named after the *Virgin;* at Al-Nahrârîyah there is a new church in a hidden house; at Luḳânah there is a *Church of Saint John the Dwarf;* at Damanhûr there is a new church in a hidden house, named after *Michael.* At Alexandria is the *Church of Al-Mu'allaḳah* named after the *Virgin*, the *Church of Saint George*, the *Church of John the Baptist*, and that of the *Apostles.*

These are the churches of the Jacobites in Egypt; and they have also at Gaza a *Church of Mary* and at Jerusalem the *Ḳumâmah* (i. e. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or rather a chapel in it) and the *Church of Zion.*

As for the Melkites, they possess at Cairo the *Church of Saint Nicholas* near the Archers, and at Miṣr the *Church of the Angel Gabriel* in the quarter of Ḳaṣr ash-Shama', where the cell of their patriarch is, the *Church of the Virgin* also in the Ḳaṣr ash-Shama', the *Church of the Angel Michael* near the *Church of Barbara* at Miṣr, and the *Church of Saint John* in the quarter of the Monastery of Aṭ-Ṭîn.

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I.

INDEX OF CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES IN EGYPT,

ACCORDING TO ABÛ ṢÂLIḤ,

enumerating not only the churches contained within the walls of monasteries, but also the satellite churches or chapels. It is assumed that each monastery must contain one church if more are not named. It must be remembered that the churches and monasteries of the greater part of Lower Egypt, Cairo, and the Wâdî Habîb are not described, although some of them are incidentally named, in the existing portion of the work. The folios of the original MS., marked at the side of the text and translation, are here given.

Place.	*No. of Churches.*	*No. of Monasteries.*	*Folio of MS.*
Abṭûjah	4	...	73 b
Abû 'n-Numrus, *see* Bunumrus			
Al-'Adawîyah . . .	3	1	44 a, 46 b, 48 a
Aflâḥ az-Zaitûn . .	7	1	72 b
Ahnâs	2	1	92 a
Aḳfahs	6	1	80 a, 91 a
Alexandria . . .	...	1	80 a
Andarîbâ, Mount, *see* Atrîbah			
Anṣinâ	5	5	79 b, 86 b, 87 a, 92 a
Anthony, Monastery of Saint	1	1	54 a ff.
Al-'Arîsh	2	...	56 b
Armant	1	...	102 b
Ashrûbah	8	...	75 a
Asiout, *see* Usyûṭ			
Assouan, *see* Uswân			
Athlîdim	5	...	92 a
Atrîbah, Mount . . .	...	1	82 b
Bahjûrah	1	...	81 a
Al-Bahnasâ . . .	15	...	73 b, 74 b, 75 a
Al-Bahnasâ, Oasis of . .	3	1	75 a, 93 a & b, 94 a
Bahûmalîs . . .	5	..	73 b
Baḳîḳ, Island of . .	2	...	104 a

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Place.	No. of Churches.	No. of Monasteries.	Folio of MS.
Bâlûjah	1	...	56 a
Banâ Bûṣir . . .	5	...	18 a, 69 a
Bardanûhah . . .	8	...	74 a
Barjanûs	1	1	86 a
Al-Barnîl	2	...	56 a
Al-Basâtîn . . .	2	1	1 b, 2 a, 3 a, 4 b, 5 a
Bilâḳ, *see* Philae			
Bîsûs	1	1	76 a
Brothers, Monastery of the	1	1	73 a
Bû Harûḳ	1	1	104 b
Bûlâḳ [Dakrûr] . .	2	...	60 b
Bulyanâ	1	1	81 a
Bunumrus or Ḳaṣr Khâḳân	1	...	60 b
Bûṣîr Banâ [or Wanâ] .	2	...	17 b, 68 b
Bûṣîr Ḳûrîdus . . .	1	1	92 b
Al-Bustân, *see* Al-Basâtîn .			
Bûtîj	1	...	91 a
Cairo	4	1	5 a, 23 b
Cairo, Old, *see* Fusṭâṭ Miṣr			
Dahshûr	1	1	53 b
Dair at-Tinâdah . .	1	1	90 a
Dalâṣ	1	1	91 a
Daljah, District of . .	24	...	78 a, 91 b
Damâmîl	1	...	102 b
Damanhûr	1	...	45 b
Damûh	1	...	66 b
Darwat as-Sarabâm . .	2	...	77 b
Devils, Mon. of the, *see* Torch			
Dimnû	5	4	86 a
Dogs, Mon. of the, *see* Vine-dresser			
Ekhmeem, *see* Ikhmîm			
Elephantine, *see* Uswân, Island of			
Esneh, *see* Isnâ			
Fânû and Naḳalîfah, District of	5	1	72 b, 73 a
Fâ'û	1	...	103 b

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Place.	*No. of Churches.*	*No. of Monasteries.*	*Folio of MS.*
Fayyûm, the . . .	...	35 (under Omeyyads)	18 b, 70 a
Fayyûm, City of the, *see* Madînat al-Fayyûm			
Funkus	1	...	77 a
Fusṭâṭ Miṣr and suburbs .	37	5	23 b ff., 29 b ff.
Ghizeh, *see* Al-Jîzah			
Al-Ḥamrâ, Churches of, *see* Fusṭâṭ Miṣr			
Al-Hanâdah, Mon. of, *see* Rîfah			
Helouan, *see* Ḥulwân			
Honey, Mon. of, *see* Munyah Banî Khaṣîb			
Ḥulwân	2	3	52 b
Ibḳâḥ	1	1	101 a
Ibshâ'î, Mon. of, *see* Usyûṭ			
Ibsidîyâ	1	1	90 a
Idfâḳ	1	...	74 b
Idrîjah	1	...	18 a, 69 b
Ikhmîm (at or near) . .	70 (before A.H. 552)	3	86 a
Iḳnû	1	...	82 a
Ishnîn	12	...	91 a
Isnâ	1	...	102 a
Iṭfîḥ	20 (till end of 12th cent.)	..	56 a
Jabal Ashtar or Halâlîyah .	1	...	77 b
Jalfah	4	...	73 b, 74 a
Al-Jîmudât . . .	1	1	84 a
Al-Jîzah	6	2	59 a ff.
Al-Jîzah, Province of . .	50	50	65 a
Al-Jummaizah . . .	1	1	55 b
Al-Kaff, Mount of, *see* Aṭ-Ṭair			
Al-Ḳais or Dafû . .	1	1	91 a & b
Ḳalamûn	12	1	71 b
Al-Ḳalandîmûn . . .	9	...	92 a
Ḳalûsanâ	2	1	92 b
Ḳamûlah	9	1	104 a

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Place.	No. of Churches.	No. of Monasteries.	Folio of MS.
Ḳanâh	2	2	103 b
Al-Ḳanṭarah, *see* Fusṭâṭ Miṣr			
Ḳarfûnah, Mon. of . .	1	1	89 a
Ḳaṣr Khâḳân, *see* Bunumrus			
Al-Khaizarânîyah . .	1	...	60 a & b
Al-Khandaḳ, *see* Fusṭâṭ Miṣr			
Khazârah	1	...	102 b
Al-Khuṣûṣ . . .	25	1	88 b
Ḳift	11	8	103 a
Ḳufâdah	5	...	73 b
Al-Kufûr	1	...	74 a
Al-Ḳulzum . . .	1	1	58 a
Ḳûṣ	12	1	80 a
Al-Ḳuṣair, Mon. of . .	8	1	13 b, 44 a, 49 a ff.
Al-Ḳuṣair al-Ḥaḳḳânî .	1	1	50 a
Kûṣaḳâm, *see* Kûṣ Ḳâm			
Ḳûṣ Ḳâm . . .	1	1	78 a & b
Lâhûn	2	1	73 a & b
Leper, Mon. of the, *see* Al-Bahnasâ, Oasis of			
Light, Mon. of, *see* Ahnâs			
Madînat al-Fayyûm . .	4	...	70 b, 71 a
Mallawî	7	...	74 b
Manf, *see* Memphis			
Mansarah . . .	3	...	80 a
Marâghât . . .	...	1	92 b
Mareotis, *see* Al-Marîyah			
Al-Marîyah (Marea) . .	1	...	107 b
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Memphis	1	...	68 a & b
Mîr	3	...	80 a
Miṣr, *see* Fusṭâṭ Miṣr			
Al-Muḥarraḳah, Mon. of, *see* Ḳûṣ Ḳâm			
Al-Muḥarraḳah [near Bunumrus] . . .	1	...	61 a
Mukhnân	1	...	60 b
Mule, Mon. of the, *see* Al-Ḳuṣair			
Munâ 'l-Amîr . . .	1	...	60 b

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Place.	No. of Churches.	No. of Monasteries.	Folio of MS.
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Munyah Banî Khaṣîb .	14	1	77 b, 78 a, 88 a & b
Munyat al-Ḳâ'id . .	2	...	17 b, 69 a
Munyat ash-Shammâs .	1	1	65 b
Munyat as-Sûdân, *see* Ḥulwân			
Nahyâ	2	1	61 a ff.
Najâj	1	...	74 b
Naḳalîfah, *see* Fânû			
Naḳlûn	2	1	71 a & b
Oasis, *see* Al-Bahnasâ			
Paul, Monastery of St. .	1	1	56 b
Philae, Island of . .	2	...	104 b
Pillar, Church of the, *see* Iṭfîḥ			
Potter, Mon. of the, *see* Ṭurâ			
Rânah	1	1	58 a
Red Monastery, *see* Al-Jîzah			
Rîfah and Udrunkah . .	9	2	74 b, 89 a
Saft Abû Jirjah . . .	4	...	74 a
Saft Maidûm . . .	1	...	64 b
Saft al-Muhallabî . .	3	...	74 b
Saft Rashîn . . .	2	...	75 b
Sailah	2	2	73 a
Sâḳiyah Maḥfûẓ . .	5	...	74 b
Samallût	1	1	88 a
Ṣanabû	27	...	77 b, 80 a
Aṣ-Ṣarâf	1	...	66 b
Ṣaul	3	...	56 a
Servant, Mon. of the, *see* Anṣinâ			
Shinarâ	24	...	91 b, 92 a
Shubrâ	1	...	71 b
Shuṭb	1	...	88 a
Sumusṭâ	1	...	90 b
Suyût, *see* Usyût			
Ṭahâ al-Madînah . .	7 (once 360?)	...	74 a, 77 a
Aṭ-Ṭair, Mount of . .	3	1	76 a

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Place.	*No. of Churches.*	*No. of Monasteries.*	*Folio of MS.*
Tamhâ	1	...	60 b
Ṭamwaih	6	1	67 a
Ṭansâ	4	...	18 a, 69 b
Torch, Mon. of the, *see* Munyat ash-Shammâs			
Ṭunbudhâ	2	1	31 a, 90 a
Ṭurâ	3	1	47 b
Ṭurfah	1	...	74 b
Udrunkah, *see* Rîfah			
Upper Egypt (locality not further defined) . .	2	2	80 a & b
Al-Ushmûnain . . .	8	...	104 a
Uswân (near) . . .	5	...	101 b, 104 a
Uswân, Island of . .	2	1	101 b
Usyûṭ (at or near) . .	60	6	87 b, 89 a
Vinedresser, Mon. of the .	1	1	63 b, 64 b
Wadâb al-Kûm . .	1	...	60 b
Wâdî Habîb	2	2	44 a, 47 b, 53 b, 63 b, 80 b
Wanâ Bûṣîr, *see* Banâ			
Wasîm	1 (once 366 ?)	...	60 b
Water, Church of the, *see* Anṣinâ			
Well, Mon. of the, *see* Ḳamulah			
White Monastery, *see* Atrîbah			
Zaitûn, *see* Aflâḥ az-Zaitûn			
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Total . .	707	181	

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II.

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المذكورة وعلى اصبعه ستر دائم وهو فى ذلك الحجاب الى حين

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رجل حكيم كبير العلوم محب لله محسنًا للناس عادلًا فى
احكامه حسن السيرة مكروم من جميع الملوك ليس له عدوا
يخشاه لحسن سيره وسيرته كما شهد بذلك تاريخ الطبرى فصل Fol. 111 b
وايضًا مرور الدير وهى كنيسة عليها حصن منيع وهى الان تسمى
مقبرة الحكماء وبهذه الناحية امير اليمن من جهة كسرى ابو
شروان والقرية المعروفة بثمنين وجبل قردا فى هذه البقعة التى
وقف عليها الفلك على عهد نوح وصعد من الجبل المسمى
الجودى وهو عال جدًا لم يكن فى جبال الارض اعلا منه وهو
يشرف على اربع زوايا الارض شهدت التوراة ان الله سبحانه
ارسل ريحًا على الارض فانقطع الماء وسد ينابيع المياه وميازيب
السما انقطعت وغاص من بعد مائة وخمسين يومًا وجلس الفلك
وهو سفينة نوح فى الشهر السابع فى سبعة وعشرين يومًا منه
على جبل قردا بقرية يقال لها ثمنين على ما تقدم ذكره الابنية
التى لم يعرف بانيها اوردت حفظًا لذكرها غمدان كان بصنعا لم
يدرك مثله هدمه عثمان فى الاسلام وله رسوم باقية الى الان
وكان ارياط الحبشى الذى ملك اليمن من قبل النجاشى ملك
الحبشة قد اخرب غمدان مع غيرها قبل ظهور المسلمين صنعا Fol. 112 a
اليمن واصطخر بفارس والايلة بالعراق من داخل البرارى شهد
تاريخ المنبجى ان سليمان الملك ابن داوود النبى ان داوود
النبى كان له الملك على بنى اسرائيل وكان شجاعًا مظفرًا مهابًا
معظمًا وهو مع ذلك سهل متواضعًا رحيم عفيف ساكن القلب
غير غضوب ولا حقود وهو الذى بنا مدينة تدمر وعمل فيها
عجائب وسماها مدينة الشمس وبنا ذرة التى فى وسط البحر
وبنا مذبح عظيم مجاور مدينة قيرون فصل مدينة اوقير بناها

من بها من النصارى نساطرة وبها بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وبيعة للقديس الجليل والشهيد العظيم مارى جرجس فهصور فيها عدة بيع وجميع من بها من النصارى نساطرة والحال فيها كذلك وهى التى يصل منها الكافور وهذا الصنف ينبع من الخشب وهذه المدينة بها بيعة واحدة على اسم سيدتنا السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم صنعا اليمن بها الكنيسة المعروفة بالقليس انشاها ابراهيم ملك اليمن من قبل النجاشى ملك الحبش وهذا ابرها الاشرم وهذا فى الحرب شُرمت انفه فسمى الاشرم بنا هذه الكنيسة المذكورة وزخرفها بالذهب والاصباغ الحسنة الملونة وبسط ارضها بالرخام الملون وعمد الرخام فيها قائمًا ونائم وجلاها باحسن الجلا من الذهب والفضة والزجاج المذهب والملون وصفح ابوابها بالصفائح الذهب والفضة وسمر الصفائح الذهب بمسامير
Fol. 111 a. الفضة والفضة بمسامير الذهب الملوحة وجعل على ابواب المذابح بها صفحات ذهب عراض ورصّع فيها الجواهر من الاحجار الكريمة وجعل فى وسط كل صفحة من ذلك صليب ذهب وفى وسطه ياقوتة بهرمان احمر شفاف ينبسط جرم تلك الجواهر حولهم باذوار تشف مختلفة الالوان تذهل الناظرين اليها وامر الناس بالحج اليها فتواردوا الناس اليها من كل الجهات وجعل لها حجابًا محكوم الصنعة من خشب الابنوس والساسم مطعم بالعاج الابيض النقى المنقوش بحسن الصنعة وشاع خبرها فى تلك البلاد وسمع بها من لم يراها وحج اليها كثيرين من الناس وحملوا لها النذور وكثير من الناس جاوروا هناك ولازموا المقام فيها والمبيت وكان الملك يهتم بالمجاورين بها وبنا لهم بيوت يسكنوها وبنا لها املاك كثير وحبسهم عليها وكان هذا الملك

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جل اسمه ريح تحمل البحر وتكشف طريق البيعة لاجتماع
الناس الى عيده وياتوا اليه من كل الجهات ويمشوا فى طريق
البيعة كما مشوا بنى اسرائيل لما انشق لهم البحر الاحمر برعاية
موسى النبى وصلواته عنهم قدام الرب هكذا ان الله سبحانه
اظهر مثل ذلك فى وقتنا هذا بصلوات هذا الرسول العظيم
ومنزلته الجليلة عند الرب الذى ايده بمثل هذه القوة العظيمة
التى لم تبطل فان الشعب المجتمع الى هذا العيد العظيم وعيدوا
وتباركوا فان الكهنة يقدسوا ويحملوا السرائر المقدسة ويغمسوا
الجسد المقدس فى الدم الزكى ثم يضعوه فى تلك اليد الطاهرة Fol. 110 a
فيقبل كل احد من الشعب ويتناول السرائر المقدسة من راحة
تلك اليد الطاهرة ولم يزالوا هكذا يتقربوا واحداً بعد واحد الى
ان تمسك اليد من الشعب واحد فعند ذلك مجدوا الله جميعهم
ويقربوا الكهنة باقى الشعب ويحملوا ذلك التابوت بيدهم بالترتيل
والفرح العظيم الى حيث يضعوه مكانه بعد ان تقبله الناس
ويتباركون منه وبعد فروغ خدمة البيعة عند ما يريدوا الشعب
الانصراف يتباركوا من ذلك الانسان الذى اختاره الله من دون
الشعب ان يقيم مدة سنة يخدم هذا الجسد الطاهر ويقد عليه
المصابيح فى الليل والنهار ويضعون عنده جميع ما يحتاج اليه
ويمضوا كل منهم الى موضعه فانا هم بلغوا جميعهم الى البر ولم
يبق منهم احد عاد البحر لما كان عليه وغطا طريق البيعة واذا
عادوا العام الثانى للعيد يمجدوا ذلك الانسان الذى يخدم
جسد القديس توما تنبيح فى تلك الساعة وهو سخن وصار هذا
رسمًا جاريًا لم ينقطع على ممرّ الايام فالمجد لله العظيم الجال
فى قديسيه صانع الايات لاجلهم له المجد مدينة كولم جميع Fol. 110 b

مصر وهو عظيمًا جدًا كثير الناس تحيط به البحار واللجج المسيرة
سُفن مما يلى مصر وهو من البر يقرب الى تخوم العجم وكان
Fol. 109 a قديمًا فيه عبادة الاصنام وظلمتها وكان المرسل اليهم توما الاعظم
من الاثنى عشر منذرًا اياهم بكرازة الخلاص وان هذا الرسول
الجليل نقلهم من عبادة الاصنام الى معرفة الحق وطريق
الخلاص وعمدهم باسم الاب والابن والروح القدس وقبلوا منه
الامانة الارثدكسية وبنوا بيع عدة وكرز منهم عليهم من عرف منه
وثوقه بالايمان الذى قبله منه اساقفة وقسوس وشمامسة وعلمهم
اوضاع الخدمة وتقديس السرائر المقدسة وفائدة رفع البخور فى
صلواتهم وقداساتهم وهداهم الى معرفة الله وصنع امامهم ايات
معجزة واعاجيب خارقة ما لم يروا مثله ولم يسمعوا وقوّا ايمانهم
حتى تركوا عبادة الاصنام وتقدمة القرابين لها وتحققوا من
موجب العقل ما كانوا عليه من الظلالة والكفر ثم لما استنارت
عقولهم وقلوبهم هموا ببناية بيعة لتوما العظيم الذى ارشدهم
وهذه البيعة الذى اهتموا بعمارتها لهذا الرسول العظيم توما
الذى قبلوا منه الامانة الارثدكسية اظهر الله لهم اية عظيمة لما
انتهت عمارة البيعة ارسل الله سبحانه البحر غطا طريقها ولما
Fol. 109 b استشهد هذا الرسول العظيم واكمل جهاده ونال اكليل الشهادة
حمل جسده المقدس الى هذه البيعة فوضعوه فى تابوت محكم
الصنعة وصفحوه بالذهب ولما شاهدوا هذه الاعجوبة الاخرى بعد
شهادته وان يده اليمينى لم تتغير عن طبع الحياة كما كانت
اولاً وهو حىّ عجبوا من ذلك وقويت ايمانهم فجعلوا فى التابوت
موضع لخروج يده المقدسة اية ظاهرة لكل من راها وعاد البحر
الذى سد الطريق الموصلة لهذه البيعة فى كل سنة برسل الله

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Fol. 108 a الزيتون كثيرًا جدًا ثم يخرج قيم هذه البيعة ويأخذ من الزيتون
ما يعتصره ويقد منه قناديلها وتصلى الشعب المجتمع اليها
ويتفرقوا ويتصرفوا عائدين الى مواضعهم وبعد ذلك يجمع القيم
بقية الزيتون ويعتصره فيكفى البيعة لوقود قناديلها فى طول
السنة هذا ما سطره الشيخ ابو البركات موهوب ابن منصور ابن
مفرج الاسكندرانى الشماس فى سيرة ابنا اخرسطادلوس وهو
السادس والستين فى العدد مدينة الظلمات التى بينها وبين
بلد الاقران دهر يقال له جرجر عرضه ثلثمائة ميل مائة فرسخ •
البلد المعروف باللوزريقوا بالمغرب عند قرطاجنة التى اكرز فيها
بولس الرسول وانشا بها عدة كنائس احديهم بيعة على اسم
السيدة الطاهرة وطولها بالذراع الكبير ثلاثة الاف ذراع فى عرض
الفومائة ثلاثة وخمسين ذراع وفلق النهر بها وصار على ثلاثة
عشر طريقًا وشاهدها بطرس راس التلاميذ عند ما وصل اليها
Fol. 108 b شهد بهذا كتاب اقليمس وكانوا اهل هذا البلد يعيدون عيد
لاصنامهم فى الثانى عشر من ايار فى كل سنة ثم ينضمون فيه
الورد أكليلاً ويجعلوه على رووس اصنامهم ويقربون لهم العصل
الطرى وفريك السبيل من غلاتهم وكان بمدينة اللوزريقون طلسم
على صور المدينة ينذر بالغريب فلا يدعوه يدخل اليها وادما
هذا النهر بدعاء بولس انفرق ثلثة عشر طريقًا ويعمد فيه بها
ثمانية عشر الف رجل وابتنوا عدة كنائس عظام وكسر الطلسم
المذكور وانبت الله بدعاه ايضًا الزيتون يعتصر منه زيتًا لوقود
مصابيح الكنائس بهذه المدينة الهند ليس فيه حر ولا برد باده
خط الاستوا وهى بلاد الحبشة المسماة الهندة وكل من فيه
يعبدون البدود والشمس والنار وهو بلد الهند سقعه بعيدًا من

توماس التلميذ ويده المقدسة التى لمس بها جنب السيد وهى الى الان حية شهادة لقيامة المسيح الحى من بين الاموات وصعوده الى السما وهذه فى جسد القديس توما فى كنيسة بجزيرة من جزائر الهند فى البحر المالح يتخبر عنها المسافرين مما هو مشهور بين الناس الى يومنا هذا افريقية من الغرب بشر بها فيليفوس الرسول وتفسيره محب الخيل بيعة مار يوحنا وبيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم انشاها بعض التجار المسافرين سنة احد وثلاثين وتسعمائة للاسكندر غرب الغرب بها الروم يسكنون سقط فيها ثلج كثير وبرد عظيم وبرد شديد فمات فيها من الناس والبهائم كثير قرطاجنة فيها جسد فيليفوس المذكور مدفونًا الاندلس كرسى مملكة المغاربة Fol.107 b البربر المسلمين وفى اقصاه كرسى مملكة الفرنج الروم• فصل تضمن كتاب الخطط بمصر ان عمر ابن العاص امير مصر لما فتح قلعة طليطلة من الاندلس فى رجب سنة ثلاث وتسعين لمملكة العرب على يد موسى وجد فيها تاج ذكر انه تاج سليمان ابن داوود الملك ومائدته وهى ذهب مكللة بالجوهر وكان قيمتها خاصة مائتى الف دينار معما وجده من الاموال والذخائر النفيسة والجواهر الكريمة والآنية والسلاح ما لا قيمة له المكان المعروف انظر واعجب وهو قريبًا من المرية بينه وبينها ثلاثة ايام فيها بيعة السيدة الطاهرة العذرى مرتمريم تضمنت السيرة ان عند باب هذه البيعة شجرة زيتون ليس فيها ورقة خضراء وان يوم عيدها عند طلوع الشمس تخضر هذه الشجرة والناس جميعهم ينظروها وتنفتح اغصانها وتنبع اوراقها ويظهر فوقها ثمر الزيتون ويتلون زيتونها ويتزائد ويتكاثر الى نصف النهار فيصير فيها من

الحبشة قرص خمير بغير ختوم وتزوج موسى ابنة الملك ويتقربو
بالخل والماء وبالماء خاصة وليس ذلك من عدم الخمر بل عوائد
توارثوها عن السلف فصل وفى بلاد الحبشة عدة كبيرة مسلمين
ويقوموا بالجزية عن كل نفس ثلاثة الافيخليس حديد وهو
سفود مبسوط وفى طرفه ختم الملك وعند الملك فى الذخيرة كرسى
داوود الملك الذى كان يجلس عليه للحكم وعليه بما دار صلبان
ذهب وفى جميع جوانبه وكانت الابا البطاركة يكاتبون ملوك Fol. 106 b
الحبشة والنوبة دفعتين فى السنة واخرهم زخاريوس الرابع
والستين فمنع من ذلك الحاكم وانقطع الى الان بل انه انا حضر
كتاب كل منهم الى الخليفة بمصر ووزيره تقدم الى البطريرك
بمكاتبته بما النصارى عليه من الجلالة والاكرام وغير ذلك من
التصرف فى عاداتهم الجارية ويوصى الملك بالحبشة ان يتوصى
بالمسلمين التى تحت رعايته وكان عادة كل من ملوك الحبشة
واهل مملكته ان تكون لكل واحد منهم عدة من النسا الى
بطريركية انبا شنودة وهو السابع والستين فى العدد امر المطران
ان يردهم عن هذه الطريق الى طريق النصارى بمصر والشام ولا
يمكن الملك مما هو عليه هو واهل مملكته فامتنعوا من ذلك وصار
لكل منهم زوجة واحدة فصل ويعتمد فى تكريز الكنائس هناك ما
جرت به العادة فى جميع الكنائس بمصر وامر المطران ان يامرهم
انه انا تكامل بنا بيعة يذبح لها اثنا عشر راس من البقر اربعة
ومن الضان اربعة ومن المعز اربعة لكل جهة من جهات البيعة Fol. 107 a
ثلاثة ويصدق بالجميع فى يوم الفراغ من عمارة البيعة قرباناً
لله الذى اعانه ان كمال عمارة بيت تقرب فيه قرابين لله ويذكر
فيه اسمه ويرفع فيه الدعا والصلوات والتسابح له فيها • بيعة

جميعهم كهنة يقدسوا على الهياكل ما دام الملك منهم لا يقتل
بيده فاذا قتل لم يبق له قداس وتتمة الشروط التى تلزمه بعد
ما يقتل وقد تقدم ذكرها فى هذا الكتاب وجميع الحبشة اذا
اخطا احدهم ياخذ بيده بخور من هذه الاصناف مما يبخر به
على الهياكل عندهم ومجموعه لبان وسندروس ومبعة ولادن
ومصطكا وعود وسليخة ويعترف بخطيته عليه ويطرحه فى المجمرة
وايضًا الورد اليابس وكل من ملوك الحبشة يتوج بتاج الملك فى
بيعة الملاك ميخائيل وبيعة القديس الجليل مارى جرجس
تحت صورهما وليس ثم تاج بل يباركه المطران ويضع يده على
راسه ويحنكه بمنديل من على راسه الى احناكه ويلبسه ثياب
ديباج وعندهم تابوت العهد الذى فيه اللوحى الحجارة المكتوبة
باصبع الله بالوصايا التى امر الله بها بنى اسرائيل وتابوت العهد
وهو فى علو المذبح فى ارتفاعه وعرضه دون عرضه وينتهى فى
علوه الى رقبة الرجل وهو مصفح بالذهب وعلى غطاه الفوقانى
صلبان ذهب وعليه خمس جواهر اربعة فى اربع زوايا وفى وسطه Fol. 106 a
جوهرة واحدة ويقدس عليه فى كل سنة اربع قداسات فى قصر
الملك وينشر عليه سرادق عند اخراجه من الكنيسة الى الكنيسة
التى بقصر الملك وذلك فى عيد الميلاد العظيم وعيد الغطاس
المجيد وعيد القيامة المقدسة وعيد الصليب الانور وترسم
خدمته وحمله بجماعة كبيرة من بنى اسرائيل منسوبين الى
نسل داوود النبى وهم بيض حمر شقر وفى كل بلد من بلاد
حبشة كنيسة واحدة فى اكبر ما يكون من الاتساع فصل وذكر
ان النجاشى كان ابيض احمر اشقر وجميع نسله الى اليوم وذكر
انه من نسل هارون موسى عند وصوله الى بلاد الحبشة وقرابين

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سنيس فى البر الغربى منها عنده عدة كنائس معطلة خراب
فصل وقيل ان فى بشاوة بستان لابن كامل وفيه نخلة عجيبة
ما سمع مثلها وذلك انها تطرح بسر يوكل نواه اطيب ما يكون
ويرمى قشره وهذا خبر مشهور ذُكر فى كتاب النسر ابن زولاق
قمولة بها دير على اسم الملاك الجليل ميخائيل ويعرف بدير
العين وبقربه عين ماء طيبة يشرب منها الخاطر بتلك الناحية
وفيه جوسق وعليه صور دائر وذكر ان فيه جسد القديس ابو
بسندة صاحب الدير بالصعيد • بو حروف فيه دير على اسم
الملاك الجليل ميخائيل وفيه جوسق الاقصرين قبالة بابها
اصنام مثل ذلك قائمة ومنهم صور سباع وكباش وهى قائمة على
ارجلها صفين يمينة ويسيرة وهى حجارة مانع اسود ملسى Fol. 105 a
وداخلها اصنام من حجارة مانع اسود كبير جدًا ليس لهم عدد
بلاد الحبشة وهى فى كرسى مرقس الانجيلى والحبشة مملكة
سابا ومنها حضرت ملكة اليمن الى اورشليم لتسمع من سليمان
كلام الحكمة وقدمت له هدايا جليلة واذا اراد ملك الحبشة
ان يغزوا هذا الاقليم يقيم سنة كاملة يطوف فيها سوى ايام
الاحاد والاعياد السيدية الى ان يعود الى كرسى مملكته والحبشة
مُتاخمة لبلاد الهند وما يلى بلاد الهند ومن كرسى مرقس
الانجيلى يقام على الحبشة مطران من بطريرك الاسكندرية بارض
مصر والمطران على الحبشة يقيم لهم كهنة اعنى قسوس وشمامسة
وملك المقرّة الحبشى الملك الارذكسى وهو الملك الكبير فى الملوك
مملكة لان له مملكة اقاصى الارض القبلية المتسعة جدًا والجيوش
الكثيرة وهو رابع ملوك الارض لا يطيق ملك من ملوك الارض
مقاومته وعنده فى بعض بلاده سفينة نوح فصل وملوك الحبشة Fol. 105 b

الخضر والكتان والقمح وغير ذلك وفيها نخيل متفرقة شواهن لملك الارض واوقف للسواقى اربعين زوج بقر واصرف مالاً كثير فى الصدقات قبل وفاته نيح الله نفسه الناحية المعروفة بفاو من الصعيد الاعلى بها دير وبيعة على اسم القديس ابو بخوم وهذه البيعة كبيرة متسعة طولها مائة وخمسون ذراعًا وعرضها خمسة وسبعين ذراعا وهى الان قد تشعثت وجميع الصور التى فيها كانت Fol.104 a فص زجاج مذهب وملون وعمدها رخام هدمها الحاكم قمولة فيها بيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل تادرس بيعتين الشهيد الجليل بو مرقورة له بها بيعة وايضاً بيعتين للملاكين الجليلين ميخائيل وغبريال وبها ايضًا بيعتين للشهيدين الجليلين القديس مارى جرجس والقديس بقطر ابن ارمانوس • وبيعتين للقديسين الجليلين ابو شنودة ويوحنا بو قرقاس فيها ديرين للشهيدين الجليلين ابا نوب وتادرس مدينة الاشمونين للابا القديسين بطرس ومرقس بها بيعتين وللشهيدين الجليلين مارى جرجس ومرقوريوس بها ايضاً بيعتين وللملائكة الاطهار العلويين ميخائيل وغبريال ورفائيل لهم بها ثلاثة كنائس الناحية المعروفة بثغر اسوان ايضًا مضافًا لما تقدم مجاور الحصن من شرقيه بيعة للاربعة حيوانات وتحتها بركة ماء يقال ان ديوقلاديانوس الملك الكافر سفك دما شهداء كثير على هذه البركة وكان على هذه البركة صور وقد دثر معظمه فصل جزيرة بقيف من غربها بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وبها عدة كنائس معظمه خراب Fol.104 b وبيعة للقديس الشهيد الجليل تادرس جزيرة بلاق وبها اصنام كثير وبرابى وبها بيعتين احدهما على اسم الملاك الجليل ميخائيل واخرة لاتناسيوس البطريرك وهولا عند الجنا ل بيت

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مثله وذكر ان الجبابرة الذين بنوا البربا احكموا بناية هذه البئر مدينة قفط اول مدينة بنيت بارض مصر بناها قفط ابن مصرائم وعاش اربعمائة ودفن مع ذخائره بالواحات وفيها طريق الى عيذاب وطريق الى معدن الزمرّد بهذه وطريق الى بحر النعام • بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وفيها جسن القديس ابو شاج • وبيعة اخرى للسيدة ايضًا العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم • وبيعة للقديس ساورس • دير للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم ودير للقديس ابو شنودة • ودير على اسم القديس اطونيوس ودير على اسم القديس ابو جرج للنسا الرهبانات ودير للشهيد بقطر للرهبان ودير ين على اسم الشهيد الجليل تادرس وبيعة على اسم الملاك غبريال فى علو الجبل بهذه الناحية وفى وسطها عامود قائم وحده وهو مكشوف للشمس وفيه اذرع نهاية النيل قد وضعت بحكمة وهداية من الله تعالى فاذا كان فى اليوم السادس والعشرين من بوونة وهو يوم وقوف الشمس ليوسع ابن دون باذن الله تعالى حتى غلب الامم الكفرة الجبابرة فى Fol. 103 b
الحرب بتبديل الشمس فى عدة الوان وبتضاعف هالاتها فاذا هى وقفت على هذا العامود وانتهى حدها على احد الاذرع علم من ذلك نهاية النيل المبارك فى تلك السنة علو الجبل قناة هذه الناحية بها دير ين جددهما المعلم اسحق المعروف بالازرق التاجر الذى من مدينة قفط احدهما على اسم قلوطس والاخر على اسم الملاك الجليل ميخائيل وكانوا قد بلغوا الى الخراب واذ اهتم وغرم جملة كبيرة واقامهم احسن قيام وتواردت اليهم الرهبان وسكن فيهما خمسون راهبًا وغرس فيهما غروس كثير من الاشجار والكرمات واوقف عليهما اراضى ملك وعليها سواقى يرزع عليها

تجعل على البحر اولها على اوله واخرها على اخره فى عرضه ولم يكمل استخلاصها من زمن الجبابرة وهى الان باقية على هذه الصفة ناحية اسنا وتفسيرها الشجر وكان بها شجرة من الهند وبها بيعة على اسم متيوس الراهب العابد ذكر انه انا قدم اسقفًا عليها اعنى مدينة اسنا ووصل الى هذه الناحية يحمله رجل مسلم من خارج البلد الى ان يصل به الى قلاية سكنه وفى اعراس المسلمين وافراحهم يحضروا النصارى ويقروا قبطيًا صعيدى ويمشوا قدام العريس فى اسواقها وشوارعها وصار هذا عندهم عرف وعادة مستقرة الى عصرنا نحن • وفى ليلة عيد Fol. 102 b الميلاد المقدس من كل سنة يوقدوا المسلمين والنصارى شموع ومصابيح واحطاب بجملة كبيرة ارمنت وكانت تسمى قديمًا ارمنوسة تفسيرها بُقعة مباركة بناها الملك ابن قفطريم بوسيم ابن قفطريم ابن مصرائم ابن بيصر ابن حام ابن نوح بها بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وكرز بها مدبح فى سنة احدى وثمنمائة للشهداء الابرار اخذ من شقاف اوعية ماء التكريز ورميت فى البئر التى فى البيعة فصعد الماء حتى انتهى الى نصف البئر فعلموا الكهنة حد صعود الماء وعلامتة باقية الى الان بيعة بالخزانة قريبًا من هذه الناحية على اسم بطرس رئيس الاباء الحواريون مكتوبًا عنها انها لما كرزت فاض الماء من الاوعية حتى ساح فى صحن البيعة • بيعة على اسم القديس انبا ميخائيل قريبًا من دماميل دندرة بالصعيد مدينة كبيرة بنتها بعض بنات القبط فى ايام منفاوس بها بئر مربع البنا فتحه مائة ذراع ينزل اليه بدرج تنزلها الجمل والثور والفرس والغنم وسائر البهائم يشربون عين هذا البئر وبهذه الناحية بربا عجيبة جدًا لم يرى Fol. 103 a

الجبل احمر فى بلاد الكروبيس وارض هذا الجبل محرقة لا
نبات فيها ولا حيوان فصل وان بلاد السودان فيها نهر يعرف Fol. 101 b
بالابيض واذا زاد مدة مد على نهر يعرف بالاسود وهو الوارد
الى بحر النيل من المشرق وان زاد البحر الذى يمد الى بحر
النيل وهو الابيض كبرت صحة الابدان بمصر وان هو نقص ومد
البحر الاسود اوخم اهل مصر واعتل منهم كثير وهذا النهر
الاسود يخرج من جبل اسود ويمد على حجارة سود بماء
شديد السواد ويجاورة نهر اصفر الماء ينزل من جبل اصفر
كالزعفران فصل ناحية اسوان تسكنها قوم عرب من ربيعة وغيرهم
وبها عيون نفط وهو ابيض فى الجبل وجدها ابن عين الصيف
الوالى كان باسوان فى سنة اربعمائة وبهذه الجهة يوجد طين
الحكمة ومعدن الذهب والمغرة الحمراء والصفراء فصل بيعة على
اسم القديس ابو هدرى وجسده بها وهى خراب فى جزيرة
اسوان ودير ايضًا بجاور هذه البيعة وفى ذلك الدير كان ثلثمائة
قلاية خراب والبيعة كبيرة حسنة جداً كانت بيعة ابو مينا الشهيد
وهى عمارته حجر نقى بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم
كبيرة جدًا كانت نقلها الحاكم مسجدًا بيعة للملاك الجليل
ميخائيل ظاهرها من شرقيها خراب وهى فى الجبل • بيعة Fol. 102 a
القديس الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس دير للقديس ابو هدرى
فى الجبل الغربى وهو غامر دير ادبا اذدونة مبنا بالحجر وكان
له عدة بساتين تغلب عليها العرب وافسدوا الدير بيعة على اسم
القديس ابسادة على قلعة صوان على شاطى بحر النيل المبارك
وذكر عن هذا القديس انه كان يمشى على الماء فصل وبهذه
الناحية جبل اسود صوان وقد استخرج منه اسقالة طويلة

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ميخائيل مطلة على البحر بين بلاد النوبة وبلاد المسلمين وهى برسم النوبة ويجاورها مسجد بنى مستجد وقصر عُمل محرس بين المسلمين والنوبة وهو اول عمل النوبة وجزيرة بلاق وبين ارض النوبة والمسلمين حجران على جبل فى وسط بحر النيل المبارك وللمسلمين مقابلها حصن منيع عالى يقال له بلاق بناه بروبا وسراديب وفيه مساكنًا حصينة وفيه تاثيرات محكومة من اعمال الاوائل وبين اسوان منها خمسة اميال وبعدها اسوان الثغر الاعظم والرباط الاكبر واخر مناهل المسلمين وحواليها معادن الذهب وفيها بربا فيه صورة عقرب يختم عليه كل سنة بالطفل فى اثنا عشر يومًا من برمودة فلا يقرب العقرب من معه شى من الطفل المختوم به على صورة العقرب وتفسير اسم اسوان اسرطو وهذه المدينة بناها الملك لقوم من الحبشة جعلهم حرصًا Fol. 101 a وكان فيهم شدة فى الاكل فقال لهم اسرطوا منها الى العلا ثمانية عشر يوما والى عيذاب اربعة ايام دير بابقاح على جبل عالى مُطل على البحر وبيعته على اسم الملاك الجليل ميخائيل وهى قبة واحدة كبيرة جدًا بين اسوان وقوص واذا اخذ احد من النذر الذى يحمل اليها شى قليل او كبير وركب فى مركب لا يقدر ذلك المركب يخرج من البر حتى يعيد ما اخذه وعرف هذا بين اهل تلك الارض فلم يعود احد يعترض الى شى من نذر الكنيسة بيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم انشاها الملك وكرزها انبا جرجة الاسقف اسقف نطوا عند مسيره من عند اخرسطاذلوس البطريرك الى هناك يلتمس من الملك شيًا يساعده به بحكم انه كان فى مصادرة الجعدى اخر خلفاء بنى اميّة فصل ذكر ان جبل القمر الذى يجرى منه ماء النيل لون

يرعم الناظر اليه انه قطعة واحدة وهو مسقف بلاطات حجر اسود
مانع ملس طول كل واحدة خمسة عشر ذراع بالعمل وعرضها
خمسة وسمكها خمسة وعدتهم خمسة وعشرون قطعة متلاصقة
يظن بهم انهم قطعة واحدة وفى ذلك البربا بئر منقورة بدرج
وهو متسع فاذا نزل احد فيها الى اخر الدرج يجد اقبية بعطفات
مختلفة ما يدرك لها اخر فمتى لجج فى الدخول يضيع وربما
Fol. 100 a يهلك • ان لم يرجع من قريب فصل وعند الجنادل الرابعة دير
عظيم فى الشرق على جبل عال مطل على بحر النيل المبارك
مدينة تافة قيل ان موسى النبى قبل ان يتغيب من وجه فرعون
ارسله فرعون ليغزوا بلاد السودان ويقصد اخر بلادهم وتلك
البلاد التى امره فرعون ان يغزوها بها افاعى كثير وحشرات
مهلكة وكان موسى النبى حكيمًا موفقًا من الله فى جميع حركاته
فسار قاصد اليها بجيشه واستصحب معه من الطيور الديوك
والقوق ثم فدخل فى البرارى المقفرة التى تاوى اليها الحشرات
والافاعى العتق المهلكة فكانوا اذا سمعوا اصوات الديوك والقوق
فى الليل والنهار يهربون ولا يستقرون فى اماكنهم وتغيب عن
طريقه فتسير فى طريقه ولا ينظر شى منها فبلغ الى مدينة تافة
فنزل على هذه المدينة فراته ابنة الملك والطيور معه فاحبته
وراسلته فى فتح المدينة ودلته على طرق يسلكها فتسهل فتح
المدينة عليه ومكتوب انها ابنة ملك الحبشة ففتحها بالامان
Fol. 100 b وامن من بها من الناس وحملوا اليه مالاً وبهذه المدينة المذكورة
اعنى مدينة تافة دير يعرف بدير انسون وهو دير عتيق متقن
البنا حسن الوضع ولذلك لم تتغير معالمها على طول مدته وبقربه
محارى الجبل خمسة عشر ضيعة • بيعة للملاك الجليل

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كتاب بخط يده بالقلم النوبى ما يدل على علمه ودينه وزهادته •
فصل ونعت هذا الملك اعنى ملك النوبة بالملك القديس فصل
Fol. 99 a اعنى ملك النوبة له النوبة واعمالها وارض علوة والمُقرة والاجناس
المضافة اليها وذكر ان عادتهم جارية بانه اذا مات ملك وخلف
ولد وكان له ابن اخت فيملك بعد خاله دون ولد الملك وان لم
يكن له ابن اخت يملك ولده بعده بلاد النوبة وهى كرسى مارى
مرقس الانجيلى ومنه يقسم لهم وقداسهم وصلواتهم روميًا وعدة
ملوك النوبة ثلثة عشر ملكًا هولا ضابطين البلاد وجميعهم تحت
طاعة كرياكوس الملك الكبير وجميعهم كهنة يقدسون على الهياكل
ما دام الملك منهم لم يقتل بيده فاذا قتل لم يبق له قداس
ولم يزال كذلك اعنى الملك بغير قداس واذا دخل الى حجاب
الهيكل ينزع عنه تاج الملك ويقف مكشوف الراس الى ان يتقرب
الشعب جميعه ولم يبق منهم احد بغير قربان فيتقرب اخر
الشعب اذا اراد ان يتقرب مدينة درمس من بلاد النوبة بها
بيعة جليلة القدر حسنة الوضع مُطلّة على البحر فيها صفة صورة
Fol. 99 b الملك الكبير وصورة صاحب درمس فصل جرجى ابن زكرياء ملك
النوبة وهو شيخ كبير كان يجلس على سرير ابنوس مطعّم بعاج
مُصفّح بالذهب الخالص وعمره ثمانين سنة وعلى راسه تاج الملك
مرصّع بالاحجار الكريمة وفى اعلاه صليب ذهب وفى اربع جهاته
اربع جواهر فصل وفى هذه المدينة بربا عظيم بنى على اسم
كوكب الشمس وفى صدره صنم يشبه * * * وفى صدر الصنم
صفة القمر وهو قطعة واحدة وفى هذه البربا صور عجيبة مُذهلة
جدًا واعمدة عظام يدهش الناظر اليها متعجبًا لاقتدار البشر على
مثل ذلك الاعمال الشاقة وفى ذلك البربا مجلس هائل متسع

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والستون والتمس ما يساعده بحكم ما ناله من مصادرة السلطان واللواتيين فى سنة سبع وثلاثين وسبعمائة للشهداء الابرار فحلت روح القدس على احد اوعية الماء الذى أُعدّ لتكريز البيعة وراوا الشعب نورًا على ذلك الماء ساطعًا فاخذ الملك ذلك الماء بيده وحمله الى منزله واعطا الاسقف مالاً يحمله للبطريرك ليتساعد به على ما ناله فصل بيعة الوادى وتعرف بالقديس ابو نفر وهى على اسمه تعرف ببرية * * * بينها وبين اطراف بلاد النوبة مسيرة ثلاثة ايام وبينها وبين اسوان مسيرة عشرة ايام وكان يتعبد فى البيعة سلمون ملك النوبة لما نزل عن الملك وخلع نفسه وقال من ذا الذى من الملوك يخلص فى الحكم بين الناس من قبل الله تعالى ولم يميل مع الهوا ولم يسفك الدما ظلما ولم يغتصب الناس لما لم يستحقه عليهم فانهى حاله الى والى الصعيد الاعلا وهو سعد الدولة القواسى فى خلافة المستنصر Fol. 98 b
بالله ووزارة امير الجيوش بدر فسير من اخذه من هناك ووجه به الى القاهرة ولما وصل الى الباب اكرم كرامة عظيمة وتلقا الشريف بالطبلخاناة وبمركوب مليح غاية وامر وجوه الدولة واكابرها ان يحجبوه ثم انزله فى منزل جليل حسن الوضع مجمل بكل جمال من الرخام والكندجة ونقوش الاسباغ المذهبة فاقام بها سنة واحدة وهو يزوره فى كل وقت ويحدث معه فى امور كثيرة ويسمع قوله فيجده طالبًا لله عز وجل بكل قلبه ونيته زاهدًا فيما يرغب العالم فيه وبعد اقامته مدة السنة تنيح ودفن فى دير القديس مارى جرجس بالخندق فى بطركية كيرلس وهو السابع والستين فى العدد وقبره من داخل صور البيعة مجاور الباب على يمين الداخل اليها وذكر ان وجد فى بعض كتبه

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لما اتصل بملك مصر سبب مجيهم فقيل له انه لما طلع البطرك
اعنى بطرك مصر يسترفد من النصارى بالصعيد اتصل خبره الى
ملك النوبة وملك الحبشة وملك تحت طاعة بطرك مصر فغار
لذلك فعند ذلك اطلق البطرك ولم يعود يعترضه وطلب منه ان
يكاتب ملك النوبة ويامره بالرجوع فكتب الى الملك بمثل ذلك
فرجع ولم يعود يفعل كما كان يفعل ثم انصرف وعاد الى بلاده
فصل وشهدت سيرة البيعة واخبار انبا يوسف البطريرك وهو فى
Fol. 97 b العدد الثانى والخمسون ان ابراهيم اخو المامون العباسى انفذ
كتاب الى زخرياء ملك النوبة يطلب منه البقط من الرقيق الى
اربعة عشر سنة واده لما لم يقدر على ذلك وجه اليه جرجة ولده
الى بغداد فلما شاهد ابراهيم هذا فرح به لكونه عجز عن القيام
بما طلب منه فسير ولده الذى لم يكن عنده اعزّ منه ثم عجب
لطاعة ولده له الذى ابدل نفسه لطاعة ابيه وسامحه بجميع
ما طلبه منه واعاد ولده الى مصر ونزل فى دار الامير متولى مصر
وقصد ولده زيارة الاب البطريرك فتوجه اليه وهو فى غاية الاكرام
فتبارك منه وساله ان يكرز له مذبحًا ويحمله الى قصر الامير
المذكور حيث هو نازلاً فاجاب سواله وحمل له مذبحًا مكرّز وعاد
يوجه له الاساقفة والقسوس والشمامسة وكانوا يقدسون على
المذبح ويقربوا ابن الملك ومن معه وامر له والى مصر ان يضرب له
الناقوس فى علو منزله ليجتمع اصحابه للصلاة معه والقداس كما
يفعل فى بلاده الى توجه جرجة ابن الملك الى ابيه وهو سالمًا
Fol. 98 a مكرومًا فصل ولما وصل ابن الملك لابيه انشا بيعة كبيرة واتقن
وضعها شكر لله لوصول ولده اليه سالمًا وكرزها له انبا جرجة
اسقف نطو الذى كان سيره انبا اخرسطادلوس وهو السادس

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العاضد لدين الله فى جماد الاول سنة ثمان وستين وخمسمائة
فى دولة الغز والاكراد قصد هذه الناحية بالعسكر المتوجه صحبته
Fol. 96b ومن اجتمع اليه وقفّر المراكب من الجنادل وفيها الزاد والعدد
والسلاح وساروا اليها ولما تعدت عليهم تركوها خراب بعد ان
فتحوها وسبو من بها من النوبة وذكر ان عدتهم سبعمائة الف
نفس من الرجال والنسا والفتيان والصغار ووجد بها سبعمائة
خنزير وامر بحرق الصليب الذى على قبة هذه البيعة وان يوذن
على علوها وذهبوا جميع ما بهذه الناحية وذهبوا حاصل البيعة
وقتلوا الخنازير ووجد بها اسقف فعاقبه فلم يجد عنده شى
يقرّبه حينئذ سباه مع السبى وركّز بها فى القلعة وهى على
جبل عال حصينة جدًا وترك بها عدة من الخيل وجعل عندهم
الزاد والسلاح والعُدد والالات ووجد بها قطن كثير فحمله الى
قوص واباعه بجملة كبيرة وقد كان فتحها محمد الخازن قبله
فى ايام كافور الاخشيدى فى الدولة العباسية فصل من سيرة
البيعة المقدسة واخبار الابا البطاركة عن ابنا خائيل وهو السادس
والاربعين فى العدد انه لما صودر فى خلافة مروان الجعدى وهو
Fol. 97a اخر خلفاء بنى امية بيد امير مصر صلاح الدين يوسف الكردى
وصعد اعنى هذا البطرك الى الصعيد الاعلا ليسترفد من الشعب
هناك انه لما اتصل به ذلك اعنى كرياكوس ملك النوبة غار لذلك
ولحقته حميّة وغيرة لاهانة البطريرك ومصادرته فجمع جيوشه
وعساكره وسار قاصد الى ديار مصر وصحبته مائة الف فارس ومائة
الف جمل وخيل النوبة قصار مثل كبار حمير مصر ولهم صبر
على التعب ولما وصلوا الى اعمال مصر ذهبوا وقتلوا وسبوا كثير
واخربوا مساكن كثيرة من الصعيد وهم متوجهين الى مصر وانه

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بالزرع خطوا له الحرث واحضروا له البذار ويتركوه الى جانب الحرث ويضعوا عنده المزور ويمضوا فيجدوا البذار قد زُرع فى الارض والمزر قد شرب وكذلك وقت الحصاد يحصدون البعض ويتركون عند البعض المزر فيصبحون يجدون الحصاد قد كمل ويزعمون ان خليقة اخرى تفعل ذلك مدينة دنقلة بها سرير الملك وهى مدينة عظيمة على شاطى بحر النيل المبارك وبها كنائس كثيرة وآدر كبار وشوارع متسعة ودار الملك شاهقة البنا بقباب عدة مبنية بالطوب الاحمر تحاكى ابنية العراق مما كان اقترحه رفائيل ملك النوبة الى اخر سنة اثنين وتسعين وثلثمائة للعرب وفى هذه السنة حمل ملك النوبة على الامام الحاكم بامر الله ابو ركوة وهو الوليد ابن هشام الخارجى لما قصد يغزوه فغلبه وشتت عساكره فى تخوم بلاد النوبة وذكر ان النوبة كانوا Fol. 96a
فى القدم يعبدون الكواكب وان اول من انتقل منهم الى معرفة الحق ومذهب شريعة المسيح بحريا ابن اخت الملك وكان رجل عالمًا يعلم الفلك حكيمًا ماهرًا ولما انه انتقل الى مذهب المسيح تبعه جميع النوبة السودان واقام لهم بيع كثيرة بجميع بلاد النوبة وديارات كثير وهى الان عامرة آهلة فمنها ما هو متباعدًا عن البحر ومنها ما هو قريبًا من البحر • ومن بلاد النوبة مدينة ابريم وهى سكن صاحب الجبل وجميع من بها مريس وعليها حصن دائر وبها • بيعة جليلة كبيرة حسنة الوضع على اسم ستنا السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وباعلاها قبة عظيمة وعليها صليب عظيم ولما صعد الى الصعيد الاعلا شمس الدولة اخو الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ايوب الكردى اخو شيركوه فى خلافة المستضى العباسى بعد زوال الخلافة الفاطمية واخرهم

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الوليد ابن هشام فى ربيع الاول سنة سبع وتسعين وثلثمائة عربية وبها معدن الذهب جبل زبدان فيه دير ابو جراس بمدينة فى الغرب وبها اسقف وهى مدينة جليلة وهى على جبل وترى بالليل فيها نار من البُعد فاذا قرب الناظر اليها لم يجدها وترى بالدائم كان بها مشاعل عظيمة وكذلك ترى ببغداد فى ارض عكبرا فى ليلة من السنة مشاعل كثيرة لا حقيقة لها وفى بلاد النوبة عند الجنادل مدينة تسمى المقس الاعلا لا يمرّ بمن فيها Fol. 95 a
احدا الا يفتشوه ولو كان ملك من الملوك ومن جاز وخالف قتل ويقابضون بالامتعة والبيع والشرا عندهم مقابضة وكذلك يقابضون بالمواشى والرقيق وكلما يباع ويشترى مقابضة وفى هذا المكان يوجد السنبادج الذى تخرط به الجواهر يغاص عليه فيوجد لمسه مخالفًا للحجارة اذا اشتكل على طالبه فينفخ عليه بفمه فيعرف فيعلم انه السنبادج وليس يوجد فى الدنيا كلها الا بسردیب وفى هذا الموضع لا غير وفيها جبل فيه عين ماء حار كما فى طبريّة وهاهنا جبل العطش ما يصل احد من الناس الى الماء فى هذا الجبل لبعده وعلوه وليس لمن صعد الى علو هذا الجبل سوى ان يشاهد الماء وينظره ولا يناله وينظر الماء قريبًا ولا يصل اليه وان توجه اليه قاصدًا فلا يدركه • مدينة علوة بها جيش ومملكة عظيمة جدًا واعمال متسعة وبها اربعمائة كنيسة وهذه المدينة فى شرقى الجزيرة الكبيرة بين البحرين الابيض والاخضر وجميع من بها نصارى يعاقبة وحولها ديارات متباعدة Fol. 95 b
من البحر ومنها ما هو على البحر وبها كنيسة عظيمة جدًا متسعة محكمة الوضع والبنا اكثر من جميع الكنائس التى بها وتسمى بكنيسة منبلى ومزرعهم على ماء النيل والمطر واذا هموا

هناك وان الجسد حمل الى هذه البلاد بحكم ان ملك مصر
وملك الشام اخوين فان الغارات والجيوش كانت تتوارد على Fol. 94a
الشام فخاف ان يتم على هذا الجسد عارض فحملت الجثة
دون الراس الى واحات لانها ارض لم تقصدها الجيوش والغارات
وتحقيق ذلك ان الحجاج الذين مضوا الى القدس حضروا الى
لُدّ ليتباركوا من جسد الشهيد مارى جرجس ذكروا انهم شاهدوا
الراس دون الجسد وكان ذلك فى الصوم سنة تسعين وثمنمائة
للشهدا الابرار• دير الابرص فى الواح بجراش مدينة المريسى
وهى مدينة عامرة آهلة وبها مقام جوسار اللابس العصابة والقرنين
والسوار الذهب وكان وافد وفد على العزيز بالله واخبره ان مدينة
وصل اليها فراى عجبًا عجيبًا يفوق عقل البشر وهو ان فى اليوم
السابع من برمودة تظهر مدينة بحصن وساقية تدور على باب
الحصن وشجرات جميز وبقر يشربون من حوض الساقية ويقيم
ذلك ساعتين من النهار وتركض الخيل وتاتى الى ذلك الحوض
وتشرب ثم بعد ذلك تختفى ولا يُرى مكانها شى ولا يقدر احد
يصل اليها وترى قريبًا وهى بعيد وتسمى هذه المدينة عند اهل Fol. 94b
تلك الارض مدينة الفىّ ولم ترجع تظهر الى سنة فى مثل ذلك
اليوم• فصل واول بلاد مقرة دير يعرف بدير سفنوف ملك النوبة
تحت الجنادل الثانية• دير ميكائيل وقرما كبير متسع وبه
شجرة جميز تعرف منها زيادة النيل ونُقصانه فى كل سنة• دير
يعرف بدير ديرا يجاوره بربا بين جبلين عظيمين• مدينة
تعرف بمدينة بوسقا مدينة حسنة كثيرة العالم والخيرات وبها
كنائس كثيرة وكان بها مقام صاحب الجبل الذى كحلة جرجا
ابن زكريآء اسرائيل وبها دير ابو شنودة وفيه قبض على ابو ركوة

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ما فيه من الماء ويغسلوه بما غير ماه فيخرج الماء من العين على
جارى عادته الواحات واحات البهنسى • بيعة على اسم القديس
مارى جرجس ذكر ان جسده الطاهر بها جثة بغير راس وفى
يوم عيد شهادته يخرج من التابوت وتجدد عليه كسوة اخرى
ويطاف به البلد جميعه بالشمع والصلبان والقراة ثم يعاد الى
البيعة وكان قد خيف عليه من بيعة الروم لئلا يسرقوه فنقل الى
الجبل واحترز عليه وجعل فى مغارة وسدوا بالحجر واخفوا
المغارة فراه انسان يوثق به فى قوله فى الرؤيا قائلاً لم سجنتموا
جسدى اخرجونى من هذا المكان ولم يزل الاسقف والشعب
يتخيلوا الى ان وجدوه واخرجوه واعادوه الى بيعته فاتصل
شجاع ابن الخفير والى الواحات فى الخلافة الحافظية فانفذ
من حمله من البيعة الى دار الولاية واخذه عنده وقال ما اطلقه Fol. 93b
للنصارى الا بمال جزيل وعاد الاسقف ووجوه النصارى مترددين
اليه وحملوا اليه شى فلم يقنعه ولم يرجع اليهم فارسل الله
سحابة وريح عاصف ومطر وبرق ورعد شديد ايام متوالية لم
يشاهد احد مثل ذلك فى تلك البلاد فقيل للوالى لعل هذا
الحادث انما هو بسبب تعويق هذا الجسد فطلب الاسقف وسلّم
له الجسد وللوقت بطل ما كان حدث جميعه وذكر ان الاسقف
اقام اسقفا على الكرسى ثمانية وثلاثين سنة وانه لم يكفن هذا
الجسد فى طول هذه المدة غير دفعتين لما شاهده من امره
وقال للقسوس الكهنة تولوا انتم هذا فان الذى رايته ما اقدر
اشرحه ولا انطق به وذكر ان هذا الجسد لم ينفصل اعضاه بل
يجدوه قطعة واحدة لم يتغير منه شى والمشهور بين الناس ان
جسد هذا الشهيد بمدينة لد فى ارض الشام وذكر ان الراس

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ناحية اتليدم السيدة العذرى بيعة ابو جرج الشهيد العظيم
بيعة الملاك ميخائيل بيعة ساقية موسى بها بيعة للقديس ابو
بقطر ناحية شنرا ذكر ان بها اربعة وعشرين كنيسة من جملتها
ما يشاكل بيعة بو سرجة بمصر اهناس بها بيعة فيها جسد ابو
هلبا الشهيد دير النور من الاعمال الاهناسيّة على ساحل بحر
النيل وبيعتة على اسم غبريال الملاك وفيه جوسق خمس طبقات
عالية متقن العمارة عليه حصن دائر وفيه اربعمائة راس نخل
مثمرة ناحية المراغات بها دير على اسم الملاك ميخائيل ظاهر Fol. 92 b
قلوسنا بيعة للقبط وبيعة للارمن بوصير قوريدس هذه البلدة
كان بها كاهنًا لفرعون اسمه بوصير وكان ساحر وبها قتل مروان
ابن محمد الجعدى وهو اخر خلفاء بنى امية وبها قتل عليون
المارق وبهذه الناحية بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم •
ودير يعرف بدير ابيرون اليه وصل مروان حمار الحرب المقدم
ذكره وهو اخر خلفاء بنى امية وتبعوه الخراسانيين اصحاب
السفّاح العباسى فقبضوه وصلبوه منكسًا وقتلوا وزيره مدينة العقاب
بناها عون عبد الوليد ابن دومع من اولاد قفط ابن مصرائم ابن
بيصر ابن حام ابن نوح ذكر العين التى فى وادى العين بشرقى
اخميم وادها اعنى العين المذكورة اذا لمستها طامث لم يعود الماء
ينزل حوض العين حتى ينضّف ويغير • قصة الحوض وهو الذى
يسمى الطاهر ذكر ان انسان شاهد حوض منقور من حجر عظيم
يسيل فيه ماء من عين فى اصل جبل بهذا الارض مُلاصق
كنيسة يسيل سيلانًا دائمًا ماء حلو طيب الرائحة واذا مسّه Fol. 93 a
رجل متنجّس او امرأة حائض انقطع من ساعته وبينما قد
حصل فى الحوض ذلك فيعرف ذلك اهل تلك الارض فينضحوا

وفيه عدة من الرهبان وبجاورة جوسق وبستان والدير قبلى
الناحية دلاص بناها دلاص بنيت لرجل كان يفرد نفسه عن
مخالطة العالم وكان بها ثلثمائة حدّاد يعملون اللجم الدلاصيّة Fol. 91 b
بيعة ابو قلتة الطبيب وكان قسيسًا واحرق بالنار حيًّا الناحية
المعروفة بشنرى وكانت مُقطعة لجماعة من الارمن النصارى وبها
سبعة بيع عامرة بالكهنة والشعب بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة
مرتمريم بيعة للملاك الجليل ميخائيل وبيعتين بو مكسين
وبيعتين على اسم الملاك غبريال • وبيعة على اسم بستين وبيعة
على اسم الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس • طوّة وهى اسم دابة
كانت لفرعون كبرت الدابة ونشت فسميت ذات الدعائم مدينة
القيس بناها منفاوس لرجل كان يعمل الوشى والرقم فصل تضمن
كتاب فتوح مصر ان القيس نزل بها قيس ابن الحارث فى
ولاية عمر ابن العاص فسميت به الناحية المعروفة بدلجة بها
دير وبيعة على اسم القديس المجاهد بو دفر له كان مائة فدان
طين سواد مفرقة فى عدة نواحى وذكر انها تحتوى على اربعة
وعشرين كنيسة منها ما يشاكل بيعة ابو سرجة التى بمصر ذكر
ان اهل هذه الناحية كانوا اثنا عشر الف نصرانى يدكّوا فى كل Fol. 92 a
عيد من عيدى ميكائيل فى كل سنة اثنا عشر الف خروف وهم
الان الى اخر سنة تسع وستين وخمسمائة الموافقة لسنة تسعين
وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار فى كل عيد منها اربعمائة راس ناحية
القلنديمون مقابل انصنا من الاشمونين بها تسع كنائس السيدة
الطاهرة العذرى مرتمريم بيعة ابو اقلودة بيعة بو بقطر بيعة
نادرس بيعة كفرى * * * الملاك ميخائيل بيعة الشهيد الجليل
مارى جرجس بيعة بو يحنس بيعة بو مرقورة بيعة ابو بغام

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السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم بيعتين على اسم الملاك غبريال
هدموا عوام المسلمين واحدة منهن فى سنة ثمانين وخمسمائة
فى مملكة الغز الاكراد بيعتين على اسم الملاك ميخائيل وبيعتين
على الشهيد ابا لوكوم بيعة على اسم الابا التلامين وبيعة للشهيد
ابو مينا وبيعتين للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم دير على اسم
الشهيد الجليل تادرس وبيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم
وبيعة على اسم غبريال الملاك وبيعة على اسم ابا فلوح الشهيد
وبيعة رفائيل الملاك وبيعة على اسم الشهيد العظيم مارى جرجس
سمسطا من الصعيد الادنا بيعة ابو هرودة الشهيد وجسده بها
بوتيج جسد بو بشونة وجسد سُنسّة فى تابوتين فى بيعة قبلى Fol. 91 a
بوتيج مدينة القيس ودفوا فيها بيعة وبها جسد ابو اسحق
الشهيد• اشنين داخلها وخارجها بيعة للملاك الجليل ميخائيل
كبيرة جدًا وهى على بحر النيل المبارك وبها اربع بيع بيعة
لستنا السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وبيعة للشهيد الشجاع
تادرس وبيعة لتلماوس الشهيد• بيعة للشهيد الجليل بو يحنس
وايضًا ستة بيع بيعة للملاك رفائيل بيعة للشهيد ابو مرقورة
بيعة للشهيد اكلودة بيعة وهى للشهيد الشجاع تادرس بيعة للنبى
الجليل دانيال بيعة وابا فو بيعة ومكائيل الملاك ايضًا اقفهس
بها ستة كنائس تفصيلها بيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة
مرتمريم وبيعة للملاك الجليل ميخائيل وبيعة للملاك الجليل
غبريال وبيعة للشهيد تادرس وبيعة للشهيد ابا سيون وبيعة
يولس الكاتب الشهيد من اقفهس[1]• دير ابا فيليمون الشهيد

[1] In margin من اهل اسكندرية.

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بقلبه وصلاته وسمع خبره طلائع ابن رُزيك من والى الصعيدين
قبل وفاته فحضر اليه وشاهده واختبره فوجد الحال صحيح
وبشره هذا الشيخ بانه يرتفع درجته ويصير وزير وان الله تعالى
فتح عليه بالوزارة فاطلق للدير مضافًا الى المقرر له فدن طين
Fol. 90a سواد ويصوم ايضًا هذا الشيخ القديس فى ايام الخمسين كل يوم
الى التاسعة ويفطر على قليل ترمس فقط دير ابو يحنس ويعرف
بابشاى دير على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم يعرف
بدير ازبلون تحته بستان عامر بالاشجار والنخيل• دير على
اسم السيدة ايضًا العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم ويعرف بدير ابو
الحارث دير يعرف بدير البنادة على اسم الشهيد ابو بغام دير
الشهيد مارى بقطر وبيعة فيها جسده وجسد داوود الشهيد
وقولوتس الشهيد هذا جسده فى ديره بسيوط وجسد بغام
الشهيد وله دير ابو بقطر بالخصوص من شرقيها فى الجبل
وفيه جسده الطاهر• ودير يعرف بابسديا وهو بين ريفة وبين
* * * بيعة على اسم القديس سرجيوس وتعرف بدير ابو
مقروفة شرقى سيوط طمبدى داخلها وخارجها دير وبيعة على
اسم القديس الشهيد تردمة جسده الطاهر فى الدير بيعة اسم
الشهيد بسمنتة وفيها جسده الطاهر بيعة على الصطير وهو
Fol. 90b سيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد دير ابا نوب الشهيد وفيه اجساد
ثلاثة وستين راهب شهداء وهو بحرى مدينة الاشمونين قتلهم
واحد من السودان اسمه حفاظ فى خلافة المستنصر بالله فى
وقت الهيج بالصعيد فى بطركية اخرسطادولس وهو السادس
والستون فى العدد فى سنة احد وثمانين وسبعمائة للشهدا
الابرار وبهذا الدير جوسف شاهق عالى البنا بيعة على اسم

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عمارتها الرشيد ابو الفضل بيعة ابو هقندا اسمية قريب صفى الدولة جددها هقندا ابو زكرى مينا ابن كفرى المعروف بابن بولس والنجيب اخيه بيعة السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم بيعة القديس الجليل مارى جرجس • بيعة القديس الجليل الشهيد ابو مرقورة • بيعة بندلوس دير هنادة للرهبانات فى ريفة من اعمال سيوط وفى سيوط فى الجانب الغربى ستين بيعة وفى الجبل مما هو دقر فى الجبل بالازميل ولكل منهم جوسق دير على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم يعرف بقرفونة دير على اسم ابو سوريس خارج المدينة دقر فى علو الجبل استخلص من الجبل فيه جوسق وفيه صهريج محمل الف راوية يملا من ماء النيل المبارك وفى هذا الجبل مكان فيه ثلاث طاقات دقر باعلاه وفيه سلالم قرقسات باقلالات وفيه مكان اذا كان خوفا عظيم يصعدوا الرهبان على القرقسات فاذا حصلوا فوق رفعوا القرقسات وفيه طاحون وعدة افران ومعصرة زيت حار وفيه ثلاثين Fol. 89 b راهبا وتحته بستان فيه انشات ونخيل عوان مثمرة وزيتون ورمان ومخضرات ومبقلة يتحصل من ذلك للدير فضة جيدة تقوم بما يحتاج اليه الدير فى كل سنة خارج عن ما يفتح الله لهم به من الصدقات وعلى ذلك من النذور وهو دير مستقل وسكانه رهبان رؤساء قديسين نساك مجاهدين علماء وكان بغير خراج ولما ملكوا الغز الاكراد قرّروا عليه وعلى غيره من البساتين التى هى برسم الاديرة مع اخذ رزق الاديرة دير ابو سوريس فيه راهب مريسى شيخ يصوم دائما اسبوع اسبوع ثم يتقرب يوم السبت ويصوم على قربانه ويتقرب يوم الاحد ويفطر هذه طريق هذا الشيخ فى عبادته وجهاده الى ان تنيح الرب يرحمنا

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دائر وفيه طاحون وفرن ومعصرة زيت خار وبجاورة جوسق كبير شاهق فى العلو وبستان فيه نخيل واشجار وله رزقة من الخلفاء فدن طين سواد عشرين فدانًا استولى عليه احد الغز الاكراد فى سنة تسع وستين وخمسمائة وجعله جامعًا واخذ البستان والفرن وسكن فى الجوسق وفى تلك السنة مات ولم يبلغ مقصودة دير العسل المجاور لمنية بنى خصيب وفيه بيعة القديس مارى
جرجس وعليه حصن دائر وفيه جوسقين وبستان احدهما قبلى Fol. 88 b
البيعة وفيه طاحون وقلالى الرهبان والجوسق الاخر بحرى البيعة ومعصرة زيت حار ذكر ان بها اربعة عشر بيعة• بيعة للقديس بو شنودة وبيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم• بيعة للملاك الجليل ميخائيل• بيعة على اسم القديس اكلوديوس الشهيد وبيعة على اسم القديس بو هدر بالاشمودين بيعة باسم القديس الشهيد مارى جرجس يقرّب فيها كل يوم طول السنة• وذكر انه كان بدير العسل المذكور راهبًا يسمى سيمون القديس وصار اسقفًا وكان بقلايته نخيل مثمرة وبها تعشش الغربان ومن اجل رحمته وصلاحه الف اليه الغراب الحذور ياكل من يده وعفّت الخطاة من شعبه عن خطاياهم وقبلوا تعاليمه المحيية وتابوا عن خطاياهم وعادوا يلازموا البيعة لسماع مواعظه وتعاليمه ويحملوا له من اتعابهم العشور والنذور ناحية الخصوص من سيوط فى الجانب الشرقى فيها للقبط خمسة وعشرين بيعة ودير داخل البلد للارمن
وبيعتين خارج البلد وبيعتين داخل البلد وهذه البيع [1]من اهتم Fol. 89 a
بتجديده من يانى ذكره• بيعة ابو فانة اهتم بمرمتها وتجديد

[1] Sic !

يخرج الشياطين باسم المسيح المعترين بالارواح النجسة ناحية
شُطب من اعمال سيوط بناها منفاوس الملك وتفسير اسمها Fol. 87 b
المحبوبة ورطلها الف درهم ومنها طريق الى واحات وكان بها
طباخين للملك وليس على وجه الارض طين ابليز احسن من
ابليزها واطيب رائحة يطيف به جبل ويرويه ماء النيل ومساحته
ثلاثين الف فدان فى دست واحد لو قطرت قطرة انبسطت على
اعتداله وفاضت على جوانبه يزرع فيه الكتان والقمح والبرسيم
وسائر اصناف المزروعات ويقال انه لم يكن على وجه ارض مصر
صفة اعتدال بساط الزرع ولا انزه وافرح منه عند كمال معوده
على الارض وظهور ازهاره ولا اعجب منه ويحيط بسائره فى
الغرب جبل ابيض على صورة الطيلسان كانه جدول فضة لا يسمع
فيه الكلام من عظم اصوات الطير وليس باسيوط ايضًا سكن ليهودى
ولا يمر بها يهودى الا عابر طريق وعليها حصن دائر طوب لبن
وابوابها سبعة وهى باب الجبل قبلى باب وردبس وشرقى باب
الارمن ويعرف بالقنطرة وباب ام حريز باب السودان باب المقياس Fol. 88 a
دير ابو السرى فيه جسد القديس ناودورس الامير الشهيد وجسد
هروفس الاسقف [1] وهروفس والجسدين على دكّة خشب فى بيت
المذبح دير يعرف بدير ابو سادر كان وصوله الى شطب اعنى
جسده فى خامس هتور ويجاوره جبل الطليمون طوله ثلاثة
ابرُد فى الجانب الشرقى الخربى بسيوط وبها حمام خراب بيعة
الشهيد ابو بغام وجسده بها وله بيعة اخرى بالخربة دير سملوط
بالاشمودين وبيعة على اسم الشهيد ابو بغام ايضًا وعليه سور

[1] An unintentional repetition.

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تمسك راس واحد منهم ويتعلق فى الموضع فيضطرب باجنحته
حتى يموت فعند ذلك ينفر جميع الطير حتى لم يبق منهم واحد
فى ذلك الموضع وهو من الديارات المشهور بالآيات العجيبة وكان
بانصنا بيت مارية القبطية الذى ولدت فيه وتربت هذه التى
كان المقوقس اهداها لمحمد فتزوج بها وقصد المقوقس بهديته
مارية القبطية ليصير بها نسيبًا لمحمد وصهره فجعل بيت مارية
مسجدًا • الناحية المعروفة بانصنا وهو اسم من اسماء اولاد قفط
ابن مصرائم واسكنها لقوم سحرة دير قديس يسمى ابو تبية
وجسده فيه دير على اسم القديس ابو قلتة وكان قسيسًا
واستشهد واحرق بالنار حيًا وكان حسن الوجه وذال الكليل
الشهادة وجسده فى هذا الدير وانصنا ايضًا بيعة على اسم Fol. 87 a
القديس العظيم فى الشهداء مارى جرجس وبيعة للشهيد الشجاع
تادرس المشرقى ودير للقديس الكبير ابو شنودة فى جبل اندريبا
وفيه جماعة من الرهبان القديسين وبخاصة القديس المجاهد
الناسك ادبا يسيب الطوبانى دير الخادم بانصنا ايضًا والبيعة
التى على اسم منسّا وعُمّرت على قبر يسيب هذا لكثرة العجائب
وشفاء الامراض التى تظهر منه وبانصنا ايضًا كنيسة تعرف بكنيسة
الماء ويعيّد بها للشهداء العظماء المجاهدين على اسم المسيح
وعدتهم احد واربعين شهيدًا • وكنيسة ايضًا على اسم القديس
تادرس بسراديلادس خارج انصنا دير متياس بالجبل اهتم
بمرمته وتجديده القس المبارك الصياد بانصنا وكان هذا القس
المبارك يعمل الشباك ويتم قانون الرهبنة وترهب فيه لاجله جماعة
كبيرة وكان متيوس من اهل اسقيت وكان يصلى على الزيت واى
مريض اندهن منه شفى من مرضه بقوة الله الحالّة فيه وكان

فليضرب بسيفه على عنقى وتبصروا قوة الله فى هذا السرّ العظيم
فتقدم اليها ذلك الرجل اشار له كبيرهم فضرب بقوته وحيله
فوقعت راسها عن بدنها للوقت وكان قصدها بهذا حفظ بتوليتها
لتصل الى المسيح بكراً عذرى كما خلقت بغير دنس الشهوة Fol. 86 a
الحيوانية فلما رأوا ذلك البشامرة الجهال ما كان منها عرفوا
حينئذٍ ما ارادته العذرى ثم ندموا وحزنوا حزنًا عظيم ولم يعارضوا
بعدها لاحد اولائك العذارى بل اطلقوهم وكفوا عن ما كانوا
عزموا عليه واعادوا للرهبادات ما كانوا ذهبوه من ديرهم • فصل
وفى مدينة اخميم سبعين بيعة الى اخر سنة اثنين وخمسين
وخمسمائة عربية وايضًا بناحية دمنو بيعة من البر الغربى على
اسم القديس الجليل ابو بغام وايضًا • دير القديس ابو بخوم
ببرجنوس من اعمال طحا دير ابو حلبانة شرقى اخميم عليه
عين ما يجرى من الجبل الى فسقية هناك • دير القديس انبا
بولا صاحب الدير بالصعيد • دير ابو بشونة صاحب الدير
باخميم • فصل وتضمّن كتاب الديارات للشابشتى ان بنواحى
اخميم دير كبير عظيم مقصود من كل مكان وهو بقرب الجبل
المعروف بجبل الكهف وفى موضع من الجبل شق فاذا كان يوم
عيد هذا الدير لم يبق من الطير المعروف بابو قير طائر من هذا Fol. 86 b
الجنس حتى يجى الى ذلك الموضع فيكون امرًا عظيمًا لكثر هذا
الطير وصياحهم واجتماعهم عند ذلك الشق ثم لا يزال الواحد
منهم بعد الواحد يدخل براسه فى الشق ويضع منقاره فى طاف
فى الجبل ويصيح ويخرج ويجى غيره ويفعل كما فعل الى حين

(؟) باخميم ١

الفائدة وهذا السرّ العظيم ودفعت لك ما عندى من هذا الدهن
وان كنت لا تصدقنى فادهن به من شئت وابصر صدق قولى
فقال لها ادهنى انتى من هذا الدهن فان احد ما يهون عليه
نفسه ولا اجربه انا فى احد من اصحابى فقالت له تحلف لى
قبل ما اظهر لك هذا السرّ انك تطلق سبيلى وتردنى الى ديرى
والموضع الذى ربيت فيه فحلف لها اننى اطلق سبيلك ولا ادع
احد من اصحابى يتمكن منك فقالت له دعنى ارجع الى مكانى
انا وانت لا غير حتى آخذ الدهن وادهن انا منه قدامك فمضى
معها الى الدير فدخلت الى صورة السيدة وصلت قدامها وسالتها
ان تعينها على الخلاص وانها ادهنت من زيت القنديل على
عنقها فقال ما اجرب هذا الا قدام اصحابى فعاد بها اليهم Fol. 85 b
وعرفهم جميع ما جرى وقال لهم اعلموا انى حلفت لهذه الصبية
انها انا صح ما قالت انا اطلق سبيلها ولا ادع احد من اصحابى
يتمكن منها فانتم موافقتى على هذا فقالوا كلهم نحن ما
نخالفك وهذا السرّ انا صح فنحن نبلغ به مقاصد كثير فقال
لهم هذه الصبية قالت جربه [1]فمن اردت فقلت لها احق ما
جربنا هذا فيك اجابت وقد دهنت عنقها منه ولم ارى ان اجربه
الا بحضوركم فامر احد اصحابه كان معه سيف ماضى الحد
فقال له قم اضرب بهذا السيف معك على عنقها فانا راينا هذا
توافقودى على اطلاق سبيلها فاجابوا الى ما امرهم وقام ذلك
الرجل وجرّد سيفه فحنت هذه العذرى ركبها وابرزت عنقها وهم
ما يعلموا ما فى قلبها ثم غطت وجهها وقالت من كان فيكم قويًا

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[1] فيمن.

فيه رهبانات عذارى عدتهن ثلاثين راهبة وكان مروان الجعدى
وهو اخر خلفاء بنى اميّة قد استدعى اهل البشرود وهم البشامرة Fol. 84 b
ان يساعدوه فى حروبه عند انهزامه من العباسى واطلق لهم
النهب والسبى والقتل فاعتمدوا ذلك ومن جملة ما قصدوه هذا
الدير فنهبوه وكان من جملتهم صبية عذرى تسمى فبرونية وكانت
هذه من الشام دخلت الى هذا الدير وعمرها ثلاث سنين ونشت
فيه وكانت صورة جميلة حسنًا فلما راوها شخصوا لها لحسنها
وجمالها وقالوا [1]لبعضهما بعض انه لم يرى فى العالم مثل هذه
الصورة الجميلة فاخذوها واخرجوها عن الدير وافردوها من [2]خواتها
العذارى وتشاوروا عما يفعلوه بها فمنهم من قال نتقارع عليها
ومنهم من قال نهديها للملك فبينما هم يتشاوروا فى هذا ومثله
قالت لهم اين كبيركم حتى اعلمه بسرّ عظيم يساوى اموال كثيرة
وتطلقونى ارجع الى خواتى فى الدير الذى ربيت فيه فاننى
عذرى منقطعة فى دير منفردة عن الناس عابدة لله سبحانه
فاجابها مقدم الجماعة وقال لها هاءنذا فما الذى تقولى وما
هو السرّ الذى قلتى انه يساوى اموال عظيمة قالت له ان اباى
كانوا حكماء شجعان مُقاتلين وكان لهم سرّ ورثوه عن ابائهم لم Fol. 85 a
يطلعوا عليه احد غيرهم وكانوا يدخلوا فى الحروب الكبار ويرجعوا
سالمين لا يجرح احدًا منهم والسبب فى هذا انهم يعرفون اسماء
يقولوها على دهن ويندهنوا منه ويخرجوا الى الحرب فما يفعل
فيهم السيف ولا النشّاب ولا الرمح فعل وانتم فمحتاجين الى
ذلك فان خليت سبيلى وديتنى الى ديرى فانى افيدك هذه

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[1] لبعضهم. [2] اخواتها.

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هذه النفقة وتدعى لى ان يغفر الله لى ولا يقابلنى بما استحق من المقابلة لكونى تجاسرت على بيت الله ودخلت راكبًا انا ومن معى فلاطفه الشيخ الراهب ولم يريد ان يقبل منه شى فحلفه ولزمه وتواضع فناوله اربعمائة دينار• وقال له انا استغفر الله اليك ايها الشيخ ان يستغفر الله لى عن هذه الزلة التى بدرت منى وكان فى البيعة تابوت خشب ساسم مطعم بالعاج فيه ثلاث طبقات كان القديس ابو شنودة عمله برسم الكتب وكان يرسم ما يحصل من النذور فالتمس شيخ كان معه اسمه الريان كان والى مصر قبل القاسم وكان صاحبه فطلب ان ياخذ التابوت Fol. 84 a فذكر له انه حبس ولا سبيل الى اخراجه فلم يقبل معما ذكر له من الاعجوبة العظيمة وتقدم الى جماعة من الرجال ان يخرجوه من البيعة فلم يقدروا على ذلك فلما شاهد هذه [1]العجوبة الاخرى استغفر الله تعالى ودفع من ماله ثلثمائة دينار وتوجهوا وقد نالهم رعب ومشقة ولم يزل الروح النجس موكلاً بالقاسم يعذبه فى كل وقت الى حين مات• فصل وكان بهرام النصرانى الارمنى وزير الخلافة الحافظية لما ان نفى من الوزارة ترهب فيه فطلب الى مدينة القاهرة وكان ضعيفاً ضعف كثير فحمل الى القاهرة فوصل حيًا• فصل وقبر نسطور المخالف الذى كان بطريرك القسطنطينية فى مدينة اخميم مُنفيًا اليها بعد سبع سنين فى سنة احدى وثلاثين وخمسمائة واذا مطرت المطر تحجب عن قبره ولا تنزل عليه لانه كان السبب فى مجمع خلقدونية• فصل الجيمدات من اعمال الصعيد بها دير شرقى هذه الناحية كان

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[1] الاعجوبة.

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حصن دائر وداخله بستان فيه من كل الاشجار وشهدت سيرة
البيعة فى بطركية انبا خائيل وهو السادس والاربعين فى العدد
ان القاسم ابن عبيد الله والى مصر كان جاهلاً كثير الظلم وكان Fol. 83 a
قد استعمل مراكب كبار عدد فيهم سراريه وكان يتوجه بهم الى
كل الاعمال فبلغ بهم الى اسوان فى جيوشه وعساكره وانه لما
كان فى بعض اسفاره وصل الى هذا الدير وصحبته سرية واحدة
من سراريه كان محبًا لها جدًا وكل منهما راكب فرس وكان فى
هذا الدير راهب شيخ مقدم الرهبان فخرجوا الرهبان للقائه
فوصّلوه الى الدير هو والسرّية التى معه فدخلا من الباب الاول
والثانى المحيط بالبيعة والى باب المدخل الى البيعة ركاب وبديا
ان يدخلا الى البيعة فصرخ هذا الشيخ رئيس الدير وقال له
انزل ايها الامير ولا تدخل الى بيت الله بهذا الكبريا وبخاص
معك هذه الامراة لانه ما دخل من باب هذه البيعة امراة منذ
قط ابدًا واخشى على هذه الامراة ان تدخل الى هذه البيعة
فلم يلتفت الامير الى كلامه بل دخل راكبًا هو والجارية والجند
الذين معه فلما توسط البيعة نفر الفرس به فوقع على الارض
فمن وقعته نفر الفرس الذى تحت الجارية فعند ذلك سقطت
على الارض وماتت لوقتها ومات الفرس الذى تحتها واما القاسم Fol. 83 b
الوالى المذكور فنزل عليه روح شيطان نجس فخبطه حتى ازبد
وصرّت اسنانه كالخنزير البرى ولما افاق واهتدى قليلاً عرف
سوء ما فعله وندم على تجاسره ولكونه ما قبل من الشيخ الرئيس
ما امره به ثم استدعا الرئيس وقال له انا اليوم اخطئت لكونى
ما قبلت منك ما قلته لى من النصيحة والان فقد ظهر لى من
سر هذا المكان ما لا اشك فيه واريد منك ايها الشيخ ان تقبل

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وملكوا الغز الاكراد واولهم شيركوه الكردى فصل المرج المعروف ببنى هُميم العرب بين الشرق فى الناحية المعروفة باقنوا كانت فى اقطاع مرا من العرب انشاها على ساحل البحر الاعظم كنيسة على اسم القديس الجليل الشهيد مارى جرجس من ماله وكان محبًا لهذا القديس وظهر له فى المنام وقال له ابنى كنيسة على اسمى وكانوا المسلمين ينكروا ذلك عليه ويعيّبوه وكان بسببها قد اخذه الماجد فارس صهر شاور عند كوده والى قوص وقيّده وقصد قتله فحمل اليه مالاً كثير وساعدوه النصارى بجملة كبيرة من اموالهم وتخلص من يديه ثم قتلوه الغربان فى البرية وحمل ودفن الى جانب هذه الكنيسة وحكى قبل قتله ان القديس ابو جرج فى حال اعتقاله كان يحضر اليه ويخاطبه واذه فك القيود من رجليه فى اعتقال واستجد فى هذه البيعة سقف خشب جديد وصور فيها صور الشهداء والقديسين والملائكة وعمارة اخرى مستجدة اهتم بذلك فخر الدولة ابو المكارم ابن الفتح الاسكندرانى الكاتب عند كوده بها وذلك فى سنة اثنى وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار فصل دير القديس العظيم ابو شنودة باخميم وبهذا الدير المذكور بيعة عظيمة كبيرة جدّاً شرحة تسع الوف من الامم وفيها جسدى التلميذين الطاهرين برتولوماوس وسمعان القانانى من الرسل الاثنى عشر وجسد الاب العظيم القديس ابو شنودة ارشى مدريدس وتفسيره رئيس الرؤوساء وهو فى دير علو الجبل المعروف بادريبة وكان فى صندوق الى حين وصول شيركوه والغز صحبته الى مصر واعمالها اكسروا الصندوق فنقل منه واخفى جسده فى الارض فى خزانة مجاور المذبح وليس الخزانة مكرزة وفى هذا الدير جوسق وعليهما

Fol. 82 b

بهجورة بها بيعة للقديس الجليل مارى جرجس وهى حسنة الوضع ذيرة شرحة • مدينة قوص وتفسيرها الكفن كان فيها من يكفن الملوك وعليها صور دائر وهذه المدينة بناها قوس ابن قفط ليسافر عنها فى الغرب الى الواحات وفى الشرق الى معادن التبر والزمرد والى الحجاز • الدير المعروف بابو بسندة اسقف Fol. 81 b قفط وبيعته على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وهو غربى قوص فيه قبر ابو بسندة ظاهرًا وغربى الدير عين ماء وردت عليها ستنا السيدة والسيد المسيح معها وصحبتهم الشيخ البار يوسف النجار وبه بيعة على اسم القديس ابو قُلتة بيعة على اسم القديس الجليل مرقوريوس • بيعة بو يُحنس • بيعة على اسم القديس ابو ندرة بيعة للشهيد الجليل ابو مينا • بيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس خارج العباسة • بيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل اصطفانوس رئيس الشمامسة بيعة للاباء التلاميذ بطرس وبولس بيعة الشهداء العظماء المجاهدين قرمان ودميان واخوتهم ووالدتهم • بيعة الملاك الجليل ميخائيل • بيعة الشهيدين العظيمين الجليلين بطرس وبولس خارج المدينة جدد عمارتها الشيخ المبارك عز الكفاة ابن الشيخ مصطفى الملك ابو يوسف فى مملكة الغز الاكراد • بيعة تعرف بالعباسة خارج هذه المدينة على [اسم] القديس الشهيد جرجيوس وقد تقدم ذكرها وكان شاور السعدى الوزير قد حضر اليها فى حال ولايته قوص واذذرها اذه متى صار وزيرًا حمل النذر اليها وبلّغه الله قصده وملك وزارة العاضد لدين الله الخليفة بمصر فى المحرم Fol. 82 a سنة ثمان وخمسين وخمسمائة وحمل ما كان اذذر به الى حين مماته فى ثامن عشر ربيع الاخر سنة اربع وستين وخمسمائة

النصارى اليعاقبة وبعد ثلاثة سنين من مملكة المسلمين والبطريرك بنيامين مُختفى سمع بقضيته عمر ابن العاص فكتب له امان ولجميع شعبه وهو يقول فى نسخة الامان فليظهر الشيخ البطريرك مطمأنًا على نفسه وعلى طائفة القبط جميعهم التى بالديار المصرية وغيرها آمنين على نفوسهم من كل مكروه وتتمة المكتوب فوصل هذا الامان الى الاب بنيامين البطريرك فظهر بعد ذلك وهو آمنًا على نفسه وشعبه وعاد الى الاسكندرية فصل كان ابتداء ظهور المسلمين انطرونيكس البتول الكاتب وهو السابع والثلاثون فى العدد فى السنة الثانية عشر لهرقل ملك الروم وهى سنة ثلاث وثلاثين وتسعمائة للاسكندر • فصل دير باعمال الصعيد هرب اليه هرب[1] يعقوب القس ليتعبد فيه وكان هذا القس اولاً فى دير ابو مقار عند خرابه وغيره من الديرة[2] بوادى هبيب من المفسدين Fol. 81 a
وهذا صار بطريركًا مدينة البلينا غربى بحر النيل ببلاد الصعيد الدير المعروف ببنى موسى والصفى صاحبه المهتم به وغربى هذه المدينة ذكر ان الاسم ابو ميسيس وبيعته وفى هذا الدير اثار عمارة لم يشاهد مثلها وعليه صور دائرة وبابه حديد صفائح مطبقة بمسامير وبه ساقية تسقى فرش خضر وجسده الطاهر مدفونًا فيه • تضمّنت سيرة انبا اخرسطادولس البطريرك وهو السادس والستون فى العدد ان اعمدة هذا الدير عرقت جميعها حتى صار عرقها كالماء الجارى وعقيب هذا حدث باطفال مصر جدرى مات منه احد وعشرون الف صبيًا فى دون شهر وبلغ القمح بمصر التلّيس ثمانين دينارًا وبالاسكندرية اثنين وسبعين دينار •

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[1] An unintentional repetition by the scribe. [2] الاديرة.

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متياس الراهب بانصنا وترهب فيه جماعة من الرهبان ولهذا
الراهب عجائب كثيرة منها ان صبية كان لها اخين اشقا فحش
الشيطان لهما ان يزنوا بها فضاجعاها فحبلت وظهر امر حبلها
ولم يعلم احد من اى رجل حل بها هذا فاحضروها اهلها اليه
واستعلم منها قضية حالها فاعترفت له بامرها فرفع يداه الى
السما وصلى فابتلعتها الارض لوقتها وابواها ينظرون ذلك وشهدت
به سيرة البيعة واخبار الاب الاكسندرس القس من دير هودانادون
البطريرك وهو فى العدد الثالث والاربعين • فصل الناحية المعروفة Fol. 80 a
بمير فيها ثلاث بيع • الناحية المعروفة بسنبوا فيها سبعة وعشرين
بيعة • الناحية المعروفة بمنسرة فيها ثلثة بيع فصل وبلطاشصر
ابن بختنصر عمر ارض مصر بعد خرابها اربعين سنة واول ما
عمّر بها ارض الاشمودين دير على اسم الملاك الجليل ميخائيل
بمدينة قوص دير ابو شنودة مثله • دير ابو بشونة مثله دير
باقفهس هرب اليه انبا سنهوت اسقف مصر خوفًا من انبا
ميخائيل السنجارى البطريرك وهو الثامن والستين فى العدد
وانشقّ عليه واقام فى الدير ثلاثة سنين • فصل دير فى البرية
بالصعيد كان ياوى فيه بنيامين البطرك مختفيًا وهو الثامن
والثلاثين فى العدد فى مملكة هرقل ملك الروم الخلقدونى
وجريج ابن مينا المقوقس بمصر الى انقضى مدّة عشرة سنين
خوفًا منهما كما وعده الملاك وهى مدة تسلطه على الارثدكسيين
وطلبه منهم الاعتراف له بالامانة المخالفة للحق الصحيح ونال
النصارى منهم صعوبة شديدة ولم يجحدوا امانتهم وفى وقتهم Fol. 80 b
ظهرت الامة الحنيفية فانزلوا الروم وقتلوا منهم كثيرين واستولوا
على بلاد مصر جميعها وبهذا السبب تخلص من جورهم

من ماء ذلك البئر وصار كل من يرد عليه بامانة ويشرب منه ويستحم فيشفى من اوجاعه وشفى كثيرين من امراضهم وصار هذا الماء فى فم من يشرب منه حلو مثل ماء جيحون اعنى نهر ديل مصر ويحج الى هذه البيعة من قديم الزمان لما شهر من الايات والاعاجيب وشفاء الامراض المختلفة عالم عظيم من جميع الآفاق وهو عند الفسح من كل سنة وامر السيد المسيح ان لا يوسع احد فى هذه البيعة زائد عما هى عليه بل تبقا بحالها واثر كف السيد فى الجبل الشرقى والغربى فصل ويجاور هذه البيعة جوسق كبير عتيق البناء وكان قد تهون فاهتم بمرمته وتجديد معالمه على ما كان عليه اولاً الشيخ ابو زكرى ابن بو نصر عامل الاشمونين رحمه الله تعالى ونيح نفسه فى الخلافة الحافظية وكان يسكن بهذه الناحية فى القدم خرتبا ابن ماليق من الجبابرة القُساة فرمى بصاعقة نزلت عليه من السما فاحترق بها ولم يجد له اثر فسُميت المُحرقة وكان خرتبا ابن ماليق هذا Fol. 79 b
الجبار له مالاً كثير وثروة وكان محبًا لفعل المعاصى ولم يراقب الله ولم يخشى عذابه فرماه الله بصاعقة فاحرقته حتى لم يبق له اثر فسميت المحرّقة كما تقدم القول اولاً • فصل وغربى هذه البيعة قبة نقر فى الحجر بالجبل كانت السيدة تاوى اليها وصار شعب النصارى تاتى الى هذه القبة ويتباركون منها وذكر ان فى عيد الفصح من سنة احد وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار تحول الماء خمرًا فى البئر بشهادة جماعة من الكهنة والاساقفة والشعب وكتبوا بذلك • فصل الدير الكبير بالجبل الذى انشاه

ولم يجد له

الطاهرة مرتمريم بالمحرقة من اعمال الاشمونين • فصل ومنها
عاد المسيح الى مصر ومنها الى الشام وهى اول بيعة انشئت
بالوجه القبلى وكرزت وهذه تعرف بقوص قام فى البرية وتفسير
قوس قام المكفن بالحلفاء للصعاليك بناها قوس ابن قفط ابن
مصرائم وهذه حل بها سيدنا يسوع المسيح والسيدة العذرى
الطاهرة مرتمريم والدته بالجسد والشيخ البار يوسف النجار عند Fol. 78 b
هربهم من هيرودس الملك الكافر قاتل الاطفال فى بيت بعلوها
ويصعد اليه بدرج وفى هذا البيت طاق انفتحت بنفحة السيد
فى الحائط ولم تفتح بيد ولا بآلة من الآلات وفى البيعة مذبح
واحد وكان تكريزه بحلول سيدنا المسيح فيه والتلاميذ الكبار فى
السحابة على ما شهد به مبمر فيلاتاوس البطريرك وهو الثالث
والعشرين فى العدد ومنها عمل مثال التكريز والقدور المملوءة ماء
والقراأة على الماء الى ان يتقدس والريحان والاوراق والسرج على
المنائر وان ترش بالماء حيطان البيع وتقدم الى بطرس بتكريز كل
البيع على هذا المثال مثال التكريز الاول بالمحرقة من اعمال
الاشمودين كنيسة السيدة العذرى الطاهرة وهى اول كنيسة بنيت
فى ارض مصر ومنها ورد المسيح الى مصر ومنها عاد الى الشام
وهذه البيعة تعرف بقوس قام وهذه البيعة لطيفة جدًا وكان
معهم موسى ابن اخى يوسف النجار وامره سيدنا المسيح ان
يجعل حجر تحت راسه فعمله وللوقت مات ودفن بها وقبالة
باب البيعة بئر ما معين وفى البيعة حوض يملاء ماء فصار بعد
ذلك خمرًا وكان هذا المثال فى تكريز هذه البيعة رسمًا جاريًا Fol. 79 a
الى باقى الزمان وكان ذلك فى سادس من شهر هتور ثم بارك
سيدنا المسيح فى ماء ذلك البئر لما شربوا هو ووالدته ومن معهم

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جميعها ولم يبق لهم سوى كنيسة واحدة على اسم ابو مينا الشهيد وقرر على ابقآء هذه البيعة الواحدة ثلاثة آلاف دينار فجمع الفى دينار من املئاء المدينة وبقى الف جعل الثلث منها مسجدًا على القيسارية • دروة الصريام بها بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وبيعة باسم غبريال الملاك وتعرف بمغير الثلج وتجاورها ناحية [1]سنبوا بها بيعة السيدة فى الاجران جبل اشتر وهلالية بيعة على اسم بو دديل الشهيد وقد تشعثت وهى واهية جدًا منية بنى خصيب الذى انشا هذه المدينة نصرانى كان انشاها يعرف بابن خصيب وعرفت به وكان يسكنها هو وجماعة اهله ومن يلون به وبنا بها اذر ودواليب وذكر ان منية بنى خصيب غلب عليها اسم القوم الذى عرفت بهم لانهم كانوا جماعة كبيرة ولهم ثروة وعبيد تخدمهم ومنية بنى خصيب تعرف Fol. 78 a
قديمًا بمنية بو قيس وهى فى البر الغربى وبها عدة بيع بيعتين للسيدة الطاهرة العذرى مرتمريم وبيعة للقديس الجليل مارى جرجس خارج المدينة بيعة للملاك الجليل ميخائيل وله ايضًا بيعة اخرى منهن بيعة داخل المدينة وبيعة خارج كنيستين واحدة للشهيد مرقوريوس والاخرى لابو قيس هذى وفى البربا للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وبيعة للشهيد مرقوريوس وبيعة للملاك ميخائيل وبيعة خارج المدينة على طريق دلجة • دير على اسم الشهيد نادرس خارج دهور فى بر الشرق وذكر ان منية بنى خصيب تعرف بمنية بو قيس القديس ابن قفط ابن مصرائم وفيها جسد بو هلبس الشهيد • بيعة السيدة العذرى

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[1] (؟) صَنَبُو

فراوا السيد المسيح والسيدة ويوسف النجار فسجدوا لهم وللوقت صارو حجارة عدتهم خمسة وفى هذه الجزيرة ثلثمائة ضيعة كان دخول سيدنا المسيح اليها من الباب الشرقى وبها سجدوا الهجن له وفى اخبار ابنا خائيل البطريرك وهو فى العدد السادس والاربعين ان هذه المدينة التى بناها الاسكندر المقدونى وسماها كلاوبطرا وتفسيرها الباكية وهو المكان الذى وصل اليه على Fol. 77 a
الصخرة مروان الجعدى اخر خلفاء بنى أميّة وقتل فيه تنباء الراهب الشيخ علية مما يشهد به * * * من نواحيه جسد ابو مقار الشهيد وفيها بربا عند بابها القبلى وفيه عدة كنائس • بيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم تحتوى على عدة منابع وعمد رخام احد الاعمدة التى بالبيعة هذه يعرف فى كل وقت وفيه اثر يد السيد وخارجها شجرة مخيط شامى وثمر مخيطها احمر وهى قريبة من البربا وهذه لما مرّ بها السيد والسيدة نكست راسها ساجدة له وان والى المدينة اراد قطعها وكان تحت هذه الشجرة اغاثوا البطريرك فضرب القطاع فيها بالفاس فعاد الفاس فى وجهه فخاف الوالى ولم يرجع يامر بقطعها وحمل الى البطرك ذهبًا من ماله وساله ان يقبله منه ويصرفه فيما اراد من وجوه الخير فنكس كان بها بيعة ولم اعلم هى على اسم احد من الشهدا طحا • المدينة كان بها فى القديم خمسة عشر الف نصرانى ولم يكن بها حنيفًا ولا يهوديًا وكان بها ثلثمائة وستين بيعة ولما كان فى زمن خلافة مروان الجعدى Fol. 77 b
وهو اخر خلفاء بنى اميّة ارسل اليها موت فاخرجوه منها ومنعوه ان يقيم بينهم فعاد الى مروان واعلمه بما كان منهم فاندفن لهم من جنده من قتل منهم جماعة كبيرة وشردهم وهدم الكنائس

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لا يفنا ابدًا وعلوها • بيعة مبنية بالحجار على اسم السيدة
العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم ويعيد لها فى الحادى والعشرين من
طوبة يوم دياحتها وتجتمع اليها جماعة كبيرة وهذا الجبل يقابل Fol. 76a
الناحية المعروفة بالبيهوا من شرقى البحر ذكر انه بمدينة الاشمونين
ويعرف بجبل الطير فان فى هذا الجبل صليبان حجر لونهما
احمر حجر كبير وحجر صغير بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة
مرتمريم بمدينة الاشمونين كبيرة جدًا نقلها الحاكم جامعًا وعلى
هذا الجبل ايضًا كنيسة نقر فى الجبل محمولة على ثمانية
عمد وقبالتها نقر مثل وسع الذراع وفيه رمل ابيض يخرج منه
كلمن يضع يده وياخذ منه لا يفنى ابدًا ولا تدخل فيه يد
خاطى ولو كان فى دقة الاصبع وذكر ان الفرنج لما وصلوا الى
الصعيد مع ملكهم لطرد شيركوه من الغز الاكراد ورجاله عن
البلاد المصرية نقبوا على مكان الكف من الجبل واخذوه صحبتهم
الى الشام فى سنة ثلاث وستين وخمسمائة عربية دير بيسوس
المجاور لاشنين ذكر ان بيسوس من الاشمونين وصل المسيح اليها
وصار بها بيعة فى ذلك الدير وفى وسطها بئر ماء معين يُصلّا Fol. 76b
عليها فى وقت زيادة النيل فى كل سنة فيزيد ماء البئر وفيه
اشارات اذرع النيل محكومة فاذا زاد ماء البئر ووقف على بعض
الاشارات فيُعلم منه ما تنتهى زيادة النيل اليه من الاذرع •
جزيرة الاشمونين الاشمون اسم احد اولاد قفط ابن مصرائم بناها
فرعون ولما خربت بناها بختنصر ملك بابل ذكر ان كان فى علو
هذه البلدة ديك وتحته صفة جمال هجن اذا ورد اليها غريب
يصفر الديك فخرج الهجن يهلكوا ذلك الغريب فلما وصل سيدنا
المسيح له المجد اليها صفر الديك خرجوا الهجن على العادة

وجسده فى بيعة قريبل بها وبيعة تادرس وبهذه الناحية عدة كنائس • الشهيد اصطفانوس ابنير برتولوماوس • التلاميذ الابا الحواريون • ستنا السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم • بيعتها فى المدينة وهى بيعة كبيرة شرحة جدًا وللملاك الجليل ميخائيل وغبريال الملاك اصطفورا الشهيد وذكر انه يعرف بوجه الكلب وهو احد الذين كانوا مع الاباء التلاميذ الاطهار وهذه البيعة على الخليج خارج المدينة مرقس الشهيد مرقوريوس له بها بيعتين القديس الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس ايضًا له بها بيعتين القديس ابو يحنس وبو حنا الشهيد • اشروبة للصليب بيعتين وللسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم بيعة داخل المدينة ولها ايضًا خارج المدينة بيعة ميخائيل الملاك الجليل بيعة للشهيد الجليل مرقوريوس بيعة على حافة البركة وللقديس الجليل مارى جرجس بها بيعة وللشهيد الجليل تادرس بها بيعتين Fol. 75 b وانبا بولا وتوماس بيعة بسفط رشين على اسم الشهيد الجليل تادرس المشرقى هدمها الغز الاكراد وقتلوها مسجدًا وبها بيعة الملاك غبريال كادت قد تشعثت فجددها بعض الاراخنة • الاماكن التى وصل اليها سيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد والسيدة العذرى مرتمريم والشيخ الباريوسف النجار فى بلاد الصعيد • بيعة جبل الكف على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وهذه البيعة دقر فى الجبل وفى الحجر اثر كف السيد المسيح له المجد لما لمس الحجر عند سجود الجبل له عند وروده من الشام فمسك الجبل عند اقباله له ساجدًا فرده بيده فصار اثر كفه طابعًا فى ذلك الجبل الى يومنا هذا وفى اثر ذلك الكف ثقب لطيف مثل وسع الميل ينزل فيه الميل ويطلع منه ويكحل به بكحل اسود

ايمين سفط ابو جرجا بها عدّة بيع بيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم • بيعة توماس بيعتى الملاك ميخائيل والملاك غبريال • الكفور بيعة على اسم الشهيد تادرس طحا المدينة من الاشمونين بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم • واخرى للسيدة ايضًا وبيعة للملاك غبريال وبيعتين للشهيدين الجليلين المجاهدين مارى جرجس ومرقوريوس وبيعة على اسم القديس مرقس الانجيلى وبيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل اصطفانوس رئيس الشمامسة سفط المهلى بيعة على اسم الملاك الجليل Fol. 74 b ميخائيل وبيعتى على اسم الملاكين الجليلين غبريال ورفائيل ملوى [بيعة] على اسم الشهيد الشجاع ابنير • وبيعة للشهيد مرقوريوس وبيعة للشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس • وبيعتين للملاكين غبريال ورفائيل • وبيعتى للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وللملاك الجليل ميخائيل • ريفة وادرنكة بيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم بيعة للشهيد الجليل بقطر • وبيعتى للشهيد الشجاع تادرس وبيعة على اسم الصطير وبيعة على [اسم] بو يحنس وبيعتى على اسمى الشهيدين توماس وساورس • دير على اسم القديس العظيم بو شنودة دجاج من البهنسا بيعة على اسم الشهيد بو يحنس ادفاف بها بيعة للشهيد الجليل مرقوريوس • طرفة بها بيعة على [اسم] برتولوماوس الساقية المعروفة بساقية محفوظ بها خمس كنائس الشهيد مرقوريوس ومرقس واصطفانوس وتادرس وبيعة على اسماء التلامين البهنسا تفسير اللفظة موضع التزويج بنيت لجوار من بنات الملوك عذارى تزوجو لابنا الملوك من هذه المدينة وبقربها معبد Fol. 75 a ليوسف الصديق • وبيعة على اسم بو برتاو الشهيد بواح البهنسا

كلمن ياتى اليه ويسمع اقواله وهذا صار بطريركًا على الاسكندرية
حجر اللاهون به دير ابو اسحق والبيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى
الطاهرة مرتمريم وهذه البيعة شرحة متسعة حسنة الوضع محكمة
Fol. 73 b البناء والهندسة تشاكل بيعة دير القلمون وفيه ايضًا بيعة لطيفة
على اسم الشهيد الجليل ابو اسحق وعلى هذا الدير ثلاثة
اصوار حجر وهو كثير الطارق وهو فى الجبل من بحرى اللاهون
فى الموضع الذى يقال له برديودة على الجبل قبلى الفيوم •
فصل • البهنسا انه بها عدة بيع بيعة ابمون بيعة مرقس • بيعة
بو يحنس بيعة الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس بيعة الشهيد
الجليل مرقوريوس • بهوملیس بها عدة بيع بيعة الملاك غبريال
بيعة ايضًا على اسم الملاك غبريال ثانية • بيعة على اسم الملاك
رفائيل • بيعة القديس الجليل بو شنودة وبيعة على اسم
القديس ابو هرمنية • ناحية قفادة بيعة على اسم السيدة
العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وبيعة الملاك الجليل ميخائيل • وبيعة
للملاك رفائيل بيعة الشهيد الجليل مرقوريوس • بيعة الملاك
الجليل غبريال • ابطوجة بيعة رفائيل الملاك بيعة الملاك
ميخائيل • بيعة السيدة العذرى القديسة الطاهرة مرتمريم •
Fol. 74 a بيعة ديوسقورس جلفة بها بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم •
بيعة على اسم القديس ديوسقورس • بيعة على اسم القديس
الشهيد الجليل بقطر ابن ارمانيوس بيعة على اسم بو تليهة •
بردنوهة بها عدة بيع بيعة ابا قسطول بيعة للملاك ميخائيل •
بيعة للملاك رفائيل • بيعة للملاك غبريال بيعة مرقوريوس
الشهيد الشجاع بيعة القديس الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس •
بيعة على اسم الشهيد الشجاع المجاهد تادرس • بيعة القديس

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دقر حجر وعليها قلالى للرهبان وذكر ان الاب انبا صامويل كان يتعبد فى الجبل اعنى مدبر هذا الدير المشهور وهذا الجبل المعروف بالريان قبالة الدير المذكور وعدة الرهبان الذين فيه الى اخر امشير من سنة اربع وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهداء الابرار مائتى راهب مجاهدين نساك فصل دير الشهيد الجليل ثاودوروس على المنهى بافلاح الزيتون وتادرس هذا هو من الفيوم واستشهد بالصعيد وحمل جسده على عجلة خشب ودمه عليها سائلاً ولم تزل تسير به الى هذه الناحية التى هو منها وفيها بيعة على اسمه وجسده بها • وبها عدة بيع بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم ودير على اسم الابسطليين وبيعة على اسم الشهيد مرقوريوس وبيعة للملاك غبريال • وبيعة على اسم ابو يحنس وبيعة الصطير • ناحية فاذوا وتقليفة هولآ الناحيتين بهما عدة بيع بيعة القديس الجليل مارى جرجس • بيعة Fol. 73 a
للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم اهتم بتجديدها الشيخ المهذب ابو اسحق ابراهيم ابن ابو سهل المشارق [1] كان ويعرف بالرقزوق بيعة الملاك الجليل ميخائيل • دير الصليب بناحية فاذو يقدس فيه دفعة واحدة فى السنة فى عين الصليب • بيعة للقديس الجليل جرجيوس • بناحية سيلة دير على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة العذرى مرتمريم يجاورة جوسق مستجد الانشا على الطريق المسلوك ولم يكمل • الدير المعروف بدير الاخوة وبه بيعة على اسم الشهيد الجليل ابو مينا وكان ياوى فيه القس يوحنا السمنودى وكان هذا القس ناسكًا عالماً متواضع مُعزى بتعاليمه

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[1] وكان يعرف.

بيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم هذه البيعة
متسعة جدًا رسمت فى رابع عشر هتور وابنا صاموبل رئيس هذا
الدير ومدبره كان عالمًا ومعلمًا وله من التعاليم كثيرًا وكشف الله
له ما سيكون فى آخر الزمان وتكلم به وكتب عنه وصح فى وقته
من الزمان كما تنبأ عنه فصل وهذا الدير ايضًا بنحصن دائر عليه
وفيه بستان كبير فيه نخيل وزيتون وبقولات وفيه اربعة جواسق
ويشتمل على اثنا عشر بيعة وباعلاه صومعة راقوبة وبها راهب مقيم
Fol. 72a ينذر الرهبان بالقاصد الى الدير من البعد ان كان من الجند او
من الامراء او من الولاة فيضرب الناقوس على كل منهم ضرب
مختلف فيعلموا الرهبان عند سماعهم ما القاصد للدير فيهتموا
بما يلائمه قبل وصوله للدير وتشتمل هذه البيعة على اثنا عشر
بيعة علوية وسفلية وفيه عين ماء مالحة تجرى ليلاً ونهارًا
ويخرج منها الى بركة متسعة فيكون فيها على ممرّ الايام بلطى
يوكل منه وهو طيب ولونه اسود ويحلوا الماء فى هذه البركة فى
الشتا قليلاً والرهبان يشربون منها على ممر الزمان وخارجًا عن
الدير مغارة فيها راهب يسمى مُهنا لا يخرج منها ليلاً ولا نهارًا
ويصوم اسبوع الجمعة مستمرًا والرهبان يقومون به ويتباركون منه
وحول مغارته نخيل كثير مثمرة وكان معه من المال مائة دينار
ولما وصلوا الغز الاكراد الى هناك ساعد بها الرهبان ولم يبق
معه شى وكانت الوحوش يجتمعون اليه ولا يوذيه منهم شى
والفوا اليه حتى صار يطعمهم من يده وكانوا الشياطين يتشخصون
Fol. 72b له ويقابلوه مواجهة ولا يجدوا اليه سبيل فصل وباب هذا الدير
مصفح بالحديد متقن الصنعة وعمل هذا الراهب مهنا المذكور فى
بداية رهبنتة قبل ان يصير حبيسًا فى المغارة فى الجبل كنيسة

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Fol. 71 a كبيرة جدّا وفيها عمد كبار طوال تامة لم يشاهد اتم منهم الّا قليل وهذه البيعة قريبة من باب المدينة المعروف بسورس • بيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم خارج المدينة وبيعة للشهيد مرقوريوس اهتم بمرمتها وتجديدها الشيخ ابو زكرى • بيعة للملكية فى حارة الارمن الدير المعروف بدير النقلون شرقى الناحية المعروفة بنوسا وبهذا الدير بيعة على اسم الملاك ميخائيل وفيها عامود رخام يعرق عرق مثل الماء الجارى وفيه جوسق كبير يشرف على جبل فيه شقيف وذكر ان اساس هذه البيعة وضع فى ثالث عشر هتور وكرزها السيد المسيح وتلاميذه فى ثامن عشر ابيب وتجاورة بيعة على اسم الملاك غبريال عمل حصنها قبلها دائر فى ثالث عشر امشير كمل الصور فى هذه المدة اللطيفة وابتدى فى عمارتها فى السادس والعشرين منه وكملت فى الثالث عشر من بوونة وكرزت فى العشرين منه وذكر ان الجبل المعروف بالنقلون هو المكان الذى كان فيه مظلة يعقوب ابن اسحق ابن
Fol. 71 b ابرهيم عليهم السلام وكادت عبادته فيه [1]وفى رفع القرابين لله ايام يوسف ولده عند تدبير يوسف لعمارة الفيوم وحجر اللاهون وكان تكريز كنيسة جبل النقلون فى اسقفية انبا اسحق على يد اورا ابن بنت الملكة الذى رزقته من ابراشيت الساحر وكتمته عنها وعن والديها • الدير المعروف بالقلمون وهو كثير الطارف وله فدن طين فى عدة نواحى بالصعيد له فى شبرا ستة عشر فدانا وله ملاحات يحصل منها فى كل سنة ما يناهز ثلاثة [2]الف اردب ويحصل من ثمرة النخل ما يُباع فى كل سنة بجملة فصل •

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[1] فيه. [2] الاف.

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فى مملكة الريان ابن الوليد ابن دومغ بعد تفسير يوسف له المنام الذى رأه وعند ما فسر له المنام اخلع عليه ودفع له خاتم الملك من يده وسلم اليه تدبير مملكته وتميز عنه بصعوده على المنبر • فصل ولما حفر يوسف الخليج واخرج الماء عنه جرى ماء النيل وداخل فى راس المنهى وجرى فيه حتى انتهى الى اللاهون فقطعه الى الفيوم فدخل الى خليجها وسقاها فصار فيه لُجّة عظيمة وذلك جميعه فى تسعين يومًا فلما شاهد الملك ووزراه Fol. 70 b ذلك قالوا هذا عمل الف يوم فسمى الفيّوم وجعل الماء على نوعين مطاطئًا للمرتفع ومرتفعًا [1]للمناطى باوقات وساعات فى الليل والنهار واحكم لها قبضات لا يقدر احد من الناس ياخذ من الماء فوق حقه شيئًا • فصل واول مدينة اعمرها يوسف فى الفيوم شانة وهى التى كانت ابنة قرعون بها ثم وزن الارض والماء قياسًا ومنه عرفت الهندسة ويوسف اول من قاس النيل بمصر بالذراع وجعل مقياس بمنف ثم وضعت العجوز [2]دلوك مقياسًا باذصا ومقياسًا باخميم ووضع عبد العزيز ابن مروان مقياسًا بحلوان ثم اقطعت الاعمال الفيومية للغز الاكراد فى مملكة يوسف ابن ايوب الكردى على ما استقر الى اخر سنة ثلاث وسبعين وخمسمائة بما مبلغه مائة الف وثلاثة وثلاثين الفًا ومائتى اربعة وسبعين دينار ثم اقطعت لبورى اخوه ولرجّالته لسنة ست وسبعين وخمسمائة بما مبلغه مائة الف وستة واربعين دينارًا ثم اقطعت لتقى الدين عمر ابن شاهنشاه وابن اخته للسنة المذكورة بالمبلغ المعين • وبالمدينة الان بيعة الملاك الجليل ميخائيل وهى

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[1] للمطاطئ. [2] دلوكة.

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مرقوريوس وبيعة على اسم غبريال الملاك • وبيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة • مدينة الفيوم واعمالها الفيوم اسم احد اولاد قفط ابن مصرائم هذه بناها لابنة له فهجرت فنفاها اليها وكادت الفيوم قبل يوسف ابن يعقوب ابن ابراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام وخربت وجدّد عمارتها يوسف الصديق وعمل المقاييس وبنا الفيوم وحجر اللاهون الذى بنى بالحكمة واسس بالتقوى والمعودة من الله واتقن بالوحى له من الله سبحانه وحفر خليج المنهى وعمّر ارض مصر وعدة النواحى به ثلثمائة وستين قرية عدد ايام السنة تميز كل قرية يوم وخراجها الف دينار وهذه الاعمال تروى اراضيها من اثنا عشر ذراعًا ولا تغرق من ثمانية عشر ذراعًا وهذا من العجب العجيب وبها من المباح مما ليس لاحد فيه ملكًا بل مباح للناس يتصرفون فيه ويستعينوا به على احوالهم والمباح سبعين صنفًا • فصل واستخرج منها فى ايام كافور الاستان امير مصر المشهور بكافور الاخشيدى فى الدولة العباسية على يد ابن طرخان سنة خمس وخمسين وثلثمائة للعرب ستمائة الف وعشرون الف دينار وذلك بازاء عقد الرملة Fol. 70a
وطبرية ودمشق • فصل وكان بهذه الاعمال خمسة وثلاثون ديرًا وكان الاسقف بها افراهام فى بطركية انبا تاودورس وهو الخامس والاربعون فى العدد والخراج عما يزدرع برسم هذه الديارات مما يحمل فى بيت المال فى كل سنة خمسمائة دينار وذلك مما شهد به كتاب فتوح مصر بيد عمر ابن العاص وذكر ايضًا ان الفيوم كان يعرف بنا بجوبة وكان مصلحة لماء الصعيد وفضوله فاستنبطه يوسف الصديق وحفر الخليج واخرج الماء عنه وكان ابتدى جرى النيل اليه • فصل وكان عمر يوسف ثلاثين سنة

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يسمى بساورس والكبير استخرج بعد اربعمائة دورة طول ملكه حتى مات فى زمان صاحب الرسالة ويجاور هذه الاهرام الصنم الصوان العظيم الهائل وهو غائص فى الرمل الى وسطه • فصل وسنذكر ايضًا بعد ذلك الوجه القبلى بالديار المصرية • بوصير بنا وهذه سميت باسم ساحر اسمه بوصير كان مقيمًا بها وسميت باسمه وبهذه البلدة • البيعة الكبيرة العظيمة التى بنيت جميعها Fol. 69a بالحجر المانع على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم داخل القصر بهذه المدينة وهذه البيعة عمرت فى القدم ولما توانرت النوب واحتاج الملوك الى حجرها نقل منها معظمه وهى الان معطلة ومعالمها ظاهرة وهى قريبة من سجن يوسف الصديق ابن يعقوب ابن اسحق ابن ابرهيم الخليل عليهم السلام • بناحية بنا بيعة على اسم القديس العظيم مارى جرجس • منية القائد بها بيعة وهى للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم اهتم بتجديد عمارتها الشيخ مُفضل ابن الصالح من اصحاب الوزير ابى الفرج ابن كلمين جددها فى الخلافة الحاكمية وجدد ايضًا بيعة على شاطى بحر النيل المبارك فاقامت مدة وعدى عليها البحر واقتلعها فلم يبق لها اثر • وبنا بوصير بها على اسم الشهيد العظيم ابو مرقورة بيعة وللسيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم بيعة • وللشهيد القديس مارى جرجس بيعة وللملاك العظيم ميخائيل بها • بيعة وللشهيد ابو بجوش بها بيعة وجسده الطاهر فيها • [1]اديجة من قرى بوش • بها بيعة على اسم القديس مارى Fol. 69b جرجس طنسا بها بيعة على اسم شهادة وبيعة على اسم الشهيد

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[1] ادريجة.

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فصل منف نزلها بيصر ابن حام ابن نوح وعمره سبعمائة وثمانين
Fol. 68 a سنة فى ثلاثين من ولده واهله فسميت منافة وتفسير هذه
اللفظة ثلاثون واولاده مصرائم وفارق وباح وماح هولا اولاد مصرائم
قفط اشمون تفسير هذا الاسم لا تصل اليها اتريب هذه بها
صنم عظيم صوان يسمى بو الهول مطروح على جنبه ثم حققت
اعنى منافة وبها كان ملك الفراعنة ولما مات بيصر دفن فى موضع
يعرف بابى هرميس وهو اول من قبر فى ارض مصر والنيل كان
يتقلب اليها قال اخرون بناها مصرائم لابنة قفط الذى يسمى
بريم وقال اخرون بناها منفاوس ابن عديم وجعل طولها ثلاثون
ميلاً فى عشرين ميلاً وجعل حولها ثلاثون حصنًا فى كل حصن
حمام فى ايام ساروع ابن ارعوا بناها فرعون الملقب بمحب امه
وهو ملك الفراعنة • فصل ويوسف الصديق عمل مقياساً عظيم
بمنيف وهو اول من قاس النيل بمصر بالذراع وبها من العجائب
والابنية والاصنام والدفائن والكنوز ما لا يحصى وبها بيت صوان
اخضر مانع ملمع قطعة واحدة مربع وسقفه منه وبيعته مفرش
Fol. 68 b حصير فصل وبها بيعة جددت فى مكان منها وقيل انه المكان
الذى كمن فيه موسى للرجل المصرى فقتله كما ورد فى اخباره
وكان كل ذراع من ارضها تباع بمائة دينار • فصل وتجاور هذه
البلدة الاهرام وهى ثلاثة فصل طول الهرم الكبير اربعمائة ذراع
وهى الاوتاد والمنازل التى بناها اصغوسا الملك الاعظم فى ملوك
الارض وارغاش اخو شداد وشداد ابن عاد ومالك ابن عاد
وفرمشات اخو عاد الذين جدهم الملك ارزقوشا بنى فيها ثمنمائة
دورة ثم مات وجعلوا كنوزهم وقبورهم فى هذه المنارات العاليات
وهما الوتدان العظيمان واستخرج مال احدهما احد ملوك الروح

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فيه وينام فيه • طمويه وهى بازاء حلوان من الشرق الدير المعروف بها شهد به كتاب الديارات للشابشتى ويحيط بهذا الدير حصن دائر وبيعته على اسم القديس مرقوريوس وهو مُطل على البحر راكبًا عليه ويجاوره جوسق يتوصل اليه من هذه البيعة وعلوه مناظر حسنة ويشرف على البساتين والاشجار والاراضى المزدرعة والكروم المعرشة وهو عامر آهل وبه جماعة من الرهبان فصل وجدد عمارته الشيخ ابو اليمن وزير متولى ديوان اسفل الارض والشيخ ابو المنصور ولده وذلك فى الخلافة الامرية ووزارة الافضل شاهنشاه وكان الافضل هذا ينزل فيه ويقيم به منتزهًا ومتفرج وانشا بستانًا يجاوره واغرس فيه من جميع الاشجار والنخيل وحفر ابار وركب عليها سواقى وادار على البستان سياج ماكن والحكر عنه مما يحمل الى بيت المال فى كل سنة عشرة Fol. 67b دنانير فصل ثم اقطع ايضا الحكر المذكور واعمر به معاصر للزيت من داخل حصن الدير مكملة العدد والآلات وله اراضى مبلغها سبعة واربعين فدانًا واقطعت هذه الاراضى الغز الاكراد وغيرهم فى مملكة الناصر يوسف ابن ايوب الكردى • فصل وبهذه البيعة جسد القديس ببنودة رئيس هذا الدير يعيد له فى خامس عشر امشير وفيه صورة الست السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم وكان الافضل يهوى مقامه فى علوه فصل واهتم الشيخ ابو اليمن المذكور بتحصيل آدية لهذه البيعة من الفضة الحجر فعمل صينية وكاس وملعقة ومجمرة وصليب وكسوة حرير فاخرة • فصل وهذه الناحية البيعة الكبيرة الحسنة الوضع للقديس الجليل المجاهد مارى جرجس • وبيعة على اسم الشهيدة مهرابيل وبيعة ابا بيمة • وبيعة الملاك ميخائيل وبيعة للسيدة العذرى الطاهرة •

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ادم فى تابوت على وجه الارض ذكر ذهب جسده حسين ابن
الحافظ بين العرب وكان الدير قد تشعث ايضًا فجدد عمارتها
انبا غبريال البطريرك [المعروف] بابى العلا صاعد ابن تريك فى
الخلافة الحافظية وهو السبعين فى العدد وهو من الديارات
المذكورة وفيه جماعة من الرهبان وقبالته جوسق كبير يتوصل
اليه من الكنيسة وفيه مناظر حسنة وله بستان واراضى واملاك
Fol. 66 b بمنية الشماس ابتناعها بنى سورس من اجداد الشيخ مصطفى
الملك ابو سف يعقوب ابن جرجس وهم من اهل دميرة القبلية
من الغربية وهذا الدير كان من كرسى منف وطموية ايضًا وصار
بطريركى واليه يحمل الميرون ويكرّز به الطرقات مخيفة ودعت
الحاجة الى ذلك وكان انبا مينا البطريرك وهو الحادى والستون
قد عمل مذبح على اسم مارى مرقس بمحلة دانيال التى كان
يسكنها البطاركة ورفع عليه الميرون لخوف الطرقات من الغلا فى
ابتداء خلافة المعز بمصر • منية الشماس و بهذه الناحية بيعة •
والناحية المعروفة بالصراف غربى دير الشمع وكان يسكنه انبا
يوحنا ابن ابو غالب وهو الثا[لث والسبعون فى العدد] ومدة
بطركيته ثمانية وعشرين سنة • فصل وغربى دير الشمع بيعة على
اسم الشهيد الجليل نادرس • دمرة بيعة ابو قرمان ودميان
واخوتهم ووالدتهم جدد عمارتها الشيخ ابو سعيد الكاتب كان
بديوان المكاتبات ويجاورها بستان وفيه بئر ساقية على الطريق
Fol. 67 a المسلوك ولليهود بهذه الناحية متعبد وعليه صور دائر وبه منازلاً
لهم وبستان فيه انشاب ونخيل وبئر ساقية دائر وبين طائفة
الربانين والقرائين فيه منازعات بسبب وقود السرائج وذكر ان
موسى النبى فى ايام فرعون كان يحضر الى هذا المكان ويصلى

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غربى طمويه • الدير المعروف بدير الشمع • فصل يعرف بدير الشياطين والسبب فيه ان فى ايام المستنصر فى سنى الغلا بعدوا الرهبان عنه وبقى خراب وكانت البهائم ترتع فيه بعد ذلك وكان يخرج منه اشخاص ويركبوا الخيل من اول الليل الى بُكرة فيدخلوا ضيعة خربة فعُرف بذلك وصار اليه ببنودة وسكنه وحده قيمًا به وكان قبة لطيفة فاهتم الاراخنة بتجديد عمارته الى ان صار على هذه الصفة التى هو عليها الان وببنودة هذا كان قد حضر الى ابو نفر القديس السائح واقام عنده مدة وانا سمع باحد القديسين يمضى اليه ويأخذ بركته وكان فى وقت وفاة ابو نفر حاضره وكان بموضعه نخلة واحدة مثمرة ففكر فى قلبه ان يكون مقامه عوضه فارسل الله ريحًا عاصف فاردم وارما تلك النخلة التى كان ابو نفر يقتات من ثمرتها فى ايام حياته واردم العين الماء التى كان يشرب منها فوجه الى غيره وكلمن يبصر صورته يعتقد انه كان تلميذه وليس الامر كذلك ثم صار تلميذ ابو مقار الكبير بوادى هبيب وصار الى دير الشمع ويحيط به اعنى دير الشمع البيعة التى به بها ثلاثة مذابح المذبح الوسطانى على Fol. 66a
القديس اندونة والبحرى على اسم ابو شنودة والقبلى على اسم ببنودة وهذه البيعة على اسم القديس ابو شنودة وعلى هذا المذبح الذى على اسم القديس ببنودة يقدس عليه فى نصف من صوم الاربعون فى كل سنة وفيه كانت نياحته وشهدت سيرته ان نياحته فى اليوم الخامس عشر من امشير وعمر هذا الدير فى سنة سبع وستين وستمائة للشهدا الابرار مما وجد فى الحجر المكتوب تاريخه على باب الجوسق وفى هذا الدير جسد القديس ابنا ببنودة تلميذ القديس ابو مقار الكبير بوادى هبيب فى مرقد

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علم صنعة الكيما وصنع الجوهر ومولده بمنف وقيل انه ادريس المذكور انه رُفع مكانًا عليًا والصابة يحجون الى الهرمين الكبرى ويزعمون ان هرمس قُبر فى احدهم وقُبر اغاذيمون والصابة يحضرون اليهما من حران ياتون حجاجًا • فصل وليس على وجه الارض بنيانًا باليد حجر على حجر اطول منها وهولا الهرمين هما قبر هرمس واغاذيمون • فصل ذكر ان مساحة الهرمين الكبار كل منهما اثنا عشر فدانًا وفى كل منهما بئر لا يعرف قراره وكان يجاوره دير يعرف بدير الكرام يسموه المخالفين دير الكلاب
Fol. 65 a وهرم ثالث دونهما سفله مبنى حجر صوان جافية ملمعة الدير ملاصق الاهرام فى الجانب الغربى وبيعته تعرف ببيعة طيماناوس الراهب من اهل منف وجسده مدفونًا بها وكان لهذه البيعة شفاعة عظيمة حتى ان من زاره وصلى فيه وطلب من الله بقوة امانة قضيت حاجته ومن رام يقدم على شى وطلب من الله يرشده لما فيه خيرته فانه يظهر له فى منامه ما سيكون له فيه من الخير او يحذره عن القدوم على ذلك الشى وشهد له بذلك كتاب قصص المجامع • لحف الجبل فيه مدينة تسمى مسيانة وفى لحف الجبل بالجيزة خمسون دير عامرة اهلة كانت اخربت واحرقت من المخالفين بين المغاربة البربر الذين لا يعرفون الحق ولا يرجعون الى الشرع ولا يفرقون ما بين الحلال والحرام وهذا الجبل الغربى يتصل لجبال الغرب ويتشعب منه الى ان يبلغ بعد اجتيازه برقة والسواحل الغربية كلها الى ارض برغواطة وشاطى البحر المظلم وفيه مدينة تسمى مستانة كانوا يحملون اليها موتى الملوك بجميع اموالهم وذخائرهم واكثر طلبة المطالب يدورون هذه
Fol. 65 b المدينة وسموها دار مادويل منبة الشماس وهو ببنودة المترهب

بالهرمين بالدير المعروف بدير الكلاب والصواب دير الكرام وادما
الملكية حرقوه لبغضهم لليعقوبية ذكر ان جسديهما وجسد العازر
Fol. 64 a بالقسطنطينية نقلا اليها من جزيرة قبرس وشهد دلال الاعياد ان
ميلاد السيدة يعيد له خارج اورشليم فى مملكة اوغسطس قيصر
ويسمى عيد السنبلة فى اول شهر بشنس من كل سنة وفى
نسخة دلال اخر ان تكريز دير نهيا على اسم السيدة • فصل
كان هذا الدير لاسقف الجزيرة وجزيرة مصر افرد هذا الدير ابنا
مرقس البطريرك لنفسه وهو الثالث والسبعين وسامحه من الدياية
بما مبلغه فى كل سنة ثلاثة دنانير • الناحية المعروفة بنهيا بالجيزة
الدير المقدم ذكره بها يحيط به صور دائر والبيعة التى فيه على
اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مرتمريم جددها انسان تاجر وصل
من الغرب وكان الامام الامر باحكام الله ياتى الى هذا الدير
ويتنزه فيه وانشا فيه منظرة وجدد عمارة الحصن الدائر عليه
وشهد قانون الاعياد ان بيعة هذا الدير باسم مرثا ومريم اختى
العازر ويعيد لهما فى ثامن عشر طوبة من كل سنة او تاسع
عشر • فصل شهد كتاب الديارات للشابشتى ان هذا الدير من
Fol. 64 b احسن ديارات مصر وانزهها ومنظره عجيبًا جدًا سيما فى ايام
النيل والزراعة وله خليج تجتمع الناس اليه يتنزهون وهو ايضًا
مصيد سمك متسع وماء النيل المبارك يحيط بهذا الدير من
جهاته الاربع • سفط ميدوم بها بيعة جامعة فيها ثلاث مذابح
احدهم للقبط وهو الوسطانى باسم الشهيد الشجاع تادرس والثانى
للارمن على اسم الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس • والثالث
للسيدة العذرى مرتمريم وهو للملكيين • الاهرام بناهم هرمس
الحكيم المثلث بالحكمة وهو الذى بعلمه سر الطبيعة استخرج

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فكان ثمنية عشر ذراعًا بالمرفق ومن مكان القبر الى صدر الحائط القبلى الذى للبيعة الداخل فيه ذرع البئر تسعة وعشرون ذراعًا بالمرفق ايضًا والله عالم انه لم يكن بيدى شيئًا اجعل على قبرهما قبة ليعرف بها فصل وفى البيعة هذه مغطس كان يجرى له الماء فى قناة من هذا البئر فعميت وفى الدير طاحون فارسى وكان فيه مقشرة فبطلت • فصل وبجاور هذه البيعة جوسق كبير وفيه ثلاث طبقات شاهق البنا ومدخله من داخل البيعة اسقالة وكان هذا الجوسق تشعث فرمّه الشيخ المكين ابو البركات الكاتب المعروف بابن كتامة وجدد عمارة الحائط الملاصق للمرحاض اسفل وجدد عمارة القناة فصل وقريبًا منه بيعة على اسم الاب Fol. 63 b
القديس اندونة وهو انطانيوس وقد تشعثت وقبالته اعنى الدير من خارج عدة قلالى كانوا للرهبان فى وقت خروجهم من دير ابو مقار فى بطريركية انبا بنيامين الثامن وثلاثين فى العدد وهو الان خراب فصل وفيه طافوسين احدهما لدفن اساقفة الجزيرة قريبًا من بيعة انطانيوس طافوس الاساقفة والاخر لدفن الرهبان تحت الجوسق وفيه مدافن لاهل القرى• فصل وكانت الارضة قد استولت على اخشاب هذا الدير والبيعة فاهتم هذا السيد ايضًا بنقضها وجعل عوض السقوف اقبية وجعل العمد مدفونة فى اركان ولم يبق من العمد ظاهرًا الا العامودين الصوان القديمين الذين قبالة صورة السيدة العذرى الطاهرة والبستل الخشب باقٍ لكونه دهن بالصبر فمنع الارضة ان تفسده وعدة من اجتمع فى هذا الدير فى وقتنا نحن من سبع نفر الى ما دونها• فصل شهد دلال الاعياد بخط انبا يونس الاسقف الدمياطى ان فى ثلاثين يومًا من بوونة من كل سنة يعيّد لمريم ومرثا اختها الذين

الغز الاكراد فى سنة اربع وستين وخمسمائة انتزعوها من ملك
الدير ولم يبق لهم سوى المصيدة ينتفعوا بما يصيدوه منها • فصل Fol. 62 b
وكان احد الكُتاب المصريين قد دخل الى هذا الدير يطلب ما
يشرب منه ويغسل يديه فوجد الماء عندهم قليلاً جداً فاهتم وحفر
بئر من داخل الحصن قبالة حائط البيعة القبلية وكان تحت
الحفير صخرة فتسبب فى قطعها وقطعها من حساب كل ذراع
بدينار وكان عدة ذرعها اربعة عشر ذراعًا خارجًا عما انفقه فى الحفر
والعمارة وهذا البئر هو الذى يشرب منه اليوم ذبح الله نفسه
ويصالح ذية المهتم طلع ماء هذا البئر حلو طيب خفيف هضّام •
فصل وقال ناقل هذا الخبر وكنت قد اعلمته ان بيعة هذا الدير
على اسم مرثا ومريم اختا العازر الذى اقامه سيدنا يسوع المسيح
له المجد من بين الاموات وعاش بعد ذلك تسعة سنين وصار
اسقف قبرس مدة طويلة وعدة الشاهدين لقيامة العازر من اليهود
سبعة الاف رجل واربعمائة سوى النسا والصبيان وقال لى ناقل
هذا الخبر الصحيح اننى كنت تحت راى ابى الراهب بالروح
ولقد كان يخبرنى بكل ما سمعته منى وكان مقيمًا بهذا الدير
وراى فيه مشائخ اخبروه بما اخبرتك به وكنت فى بعض الاوقات
اردت ان [1]ارق الماء فى مكان مقابل هذا البئر فمنعنى هذا Fol. 63 a
الشيخ من ذلك قائلاً هذا المكان الذى اردت ان تزيل فيه ضرورة
الجسد بالاراقة فيه يا ابنى قبر مرثا ومريم تحته فى طافوس
عمل لهم وهن فيه فامتنعت وصرت اوقر هذا المكان واصلى فيه
واننى ذات يوم قمت من هذا المكان المذكور الى حد هذا البئر

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[1] اريق.

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داخل الباب وزحف الى ان دخل اليه واستقام الى ان دخل الى
المذبح فقال لاحد الرهبان اين مكان وقوف القس فاوراه وقال
اين موضع وقوف الشماس فاعلمه به فوقف مكان القس وقال
للراهب اقف مقابلتى مكان الشماس ففعل ذلك ثم طاف الكنيسة
ودفع للرهبان الف درهم بعد ضيافتهم له وخرج من الدير يتصيد
ولم يبات فى الدير فى هذه الدفعة وكان المذبح ينزل اليه بدرج
ويصعد منها الى المذبح فنقلها الشيخ ابو الفضل ابن الاسقف وردم
المكان وبلطه وعمل سترة بلاط على الاسكنا على ثلاثة عمد رخام
ثم صار الامام الامر يتردد الى الدير فى مواكبه وعساكره يتصيد
فانشا فيه منظرة عالية وعمل قبة طالعة الى فوق من الجانب
البحرى وبابها من خارج الدير ولها سلم معقود حجارة يصعد
اليها منه والباب الان مسدود كانت الارضة قد استولت على هذه Fol. 62 a
المنظرة وغيرها فسقطت ولم يبق لها اثر وبات فى الدير ليلتين
متفرقة وصار فى كل يوم يتردد للصيد ويضيفوه الرهبان فجعل
لهم فى كل ركبة يطرق الدير فيها الف درهم فحصل لهم من ذلك
خمسة وعشرون الف درهم ورقًا صحاحًا وكان الصور القديم قد
تهدّم فجدد الحصن القائم الان من هذا المال وكان عدة الجمال
الذين يحملون له الحجر والطوب فى كل يوم اربعين جملاً ويجاور
الدير من داخل الحصن فى زاويته الشرقية القبلية بئر ماء معين
مستوفة • فصل ثم ان الرهبان لما راوا من الامام الامر مثل هذه
الانعام وصار لهم ادلال عليه سالوه ان يطلق للدير طين يزرعوه
فى كل سنة فاجاب سوالهم وانعم على الدير من اراضى ناحية
طهرمس من الجيزيّة تمليكًا ثابتًا منه بخط يده قطعة ارض قبالة
بغير مساحة ما يقارب ثلاثون فدانًا واستمرت بايديهم الى ان ملكوا

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تادرس جدّد عمارتها الشيخ ابو اليمن البزاز واهتم بها وسيم بيعة
السيدة جدد عمارتها القس جرجة الصعيدى كاتب الاستان صندل
المظفرى وذكر انه كان بوسيم ثلثمائة وستة وستين بيعة يقدس
فيها كل يوم ولها كهنة قسوس وشمامسة ويجتمع اليها شعب
المحرّقة تتلوا بنمرس • بيعة عظيمة ودير كبير وبه جماعة كبيرة من Fol. 61 a
الرهبان • فصل قضية دير دهيا على ما اطلعت عليه من سعيد
الشماس ابن دجاج المترهب وهو من اهل دهيا عند حضورى اليه
فى شوال سنة تسع وستين وخمسمائة فى عيد الخمسين المقدسة
للقربان فيه ذكر انه وقف فى تاريخ على ان هذا الدير المقدس
اهتم بعمارته انسان تاجر ورد من الغرب الى ديار مصر ولما حضر
الى مصر من ثغر الاسكندرية قبل مملكة دقلاديانوس الكافر الذى
سفك دما الشهدا وامر الناس ان يعبدوا الاوثان ويذبحوا لها
الذباح ويقربوها ويبخروا لها حضر هذا التاجر من الغرب قبل
ذلك باربعين سنة ولما وصل المعز لدين الله من المغرب وملك مصر
دزل تحت هذا الدير واقام سبعة شهور وانشا قبالته بستان وبئر
ساقية تحت الكوم غربى الجميزة وحوض سبيل وهو الان مردوم
وحوض السبيل قد دثر ثم دخل الى مصر والبستان خراب اليوم
هذا ولم يبق فيه غير اصول جميز وسدر واحرق الحاكم هذا
الدير المذكور الى ان وصل بالارض ثم جدد عمارته انسان ارخن Fol. 61 b
من اهل وسيم من الجيزية واطلق الحاكم للرهبان رزقة هناك
وبقيت باقية الى اليوم وعملت عمد هذا الدير بعد تجديده
صوان وكان الامر باحكام قد حضر الى هذا الدير فى وزارة محمد
ابن فاتك ووجد بابه قصير وعليه باب حديد فلم يرى ان يدخل
اليه منكس الراس بل جعل وجهه الى خارج وجعل ظهره الى

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طلوع نجم السماك وقطع الاياس من وفا النيل• فصل ثم قال
فارون والى مصر كيف تقبل الله سوال النصارى وبالجيزة ايضاً•
بيعة على اسم الملاك ميكائيل تتلوها الخيزرانيّة الى سبعة عشر
ذراعاً واكثر من ذلك وتضمنت سيرة انبا خائيل ان نهايته كانت
ثمانية عشر ذراعاً• فصل واليها صار انبا خائيل البطرك وهو فى
العدد السادس والاربعين ومن معه من الاساقفة عند خلاصهم
من يد مروان الجعدى اخر خلفاء بنى اميّة ثم عدى عليها
البحر ولم يبق لها اثر• دير على اسم الشهيد الجليل مرقوريوس
وبيعته هدمها الخراسانيين عند تعديتهم الى البر الغربى لقتال
مروان الملقب بحمار الحرب• بيعة للبشير مرقس الرسول بالقصر
الذى بناه خوش ملك الفرس وقصر الجمع بمصر وكان ينزل الى Fol. 60 b
كل منهما من المركب بيعة الملاك ميخائيل وتعرف بالدير الاحمر
على شاطى بحر النيل المبارك• وبيعة باسم قزمان ودميان بقبة
حجر شاهقة بالدير المذكور الخيزرانية بيعة القديس بمين فيها
نخيل مثمرة ودويرة انشاب• منية اندونة بها بيعة القديس
ابو بيمة• وبيعة باسم ابو بغام الشهيد وجسده فيها وديره
بسيوط• وداب الكوم بيعة واحدة بنمرس وقصر خاقان• بيعة
على اسم القديس الشهيد مارى جرجس جدد عمارتها علم الصرف
ابو المكارم الوزان بالشفائف وبها مقطع خشب ضرب خيط• بولاق
بها بيعة مارى جرجس وبها سدرة عتيقة• بيعة الشهيد الشجاع
فادرس مخنان بيعة• [1]منا الامير ببعة• تمها بيعة الشهيد

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[1] مُنَى.

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المومنين الذين شاهدوه وغيرهم من الثقات وهذه البيعة عمل البحر فى اصولها وكادت تذهب فاهتم بها وبتقوية اصولها وانشا لها زريبة فى البحر ماكنة الثبات الشيخ عز الكفاة ابى الفخر ابن سليمان الكاتب واصرف على ذلك جملة كبيرة من ماله وللمذكور من المعروف والصدقات ما هو مشهور عنه فى جيله وكانوا الغز الاكراد قد هدموا بعضها فاظهر الله بسبب ذلك آية عظيمة فلم يعودوا يعرضوها وهو ان الذين اعرضوها لم يبق منهم احد فى دون السنة ويجاور هذه الكنيسة بستان وبعد مدة استولى عليها Fol. 59 b البحر وغلبوا المهندسين عن الحيلة فيها فاخذ البحر منها جانباً من الشرق واخذ فخر الدين والى مصر المعروف بغلام البانياسى ثمانية عشر عامود وعليها رسم الصلبان اعمر بها فندق له واملاك وعزل من ولاية مصر وصودر عقيب ذلك واخذ جميع ملكه فى المصادرة ومات فى الاعتقال واما فخر الكفاة كان دار سكنه على البحر فخاف ان يهدمها البحر مثل غيرها فهدمها وحمل جميع نقضها واخشابها واخشاب جملون البيعة المذكورة واتقاضها وجدّد بها بيعة كانت قد وهت على اسم مرقس الانجيلى واوسع فيها كثيراً وعمرها عمارة حسنة واقامت سنين فى ترتيب حسن وعدى عليها الغز وعوام المسلمين وشعثوها ولم يعود احد يهتم بها وهى الان قائمة الجدران خراب معطلة من القداس والصلوات وذلك فى تقدمة انبا يوحنا ابن ابو غالب وهو الرابع والسبعين فى العدد • فصل بيعة مارى بطرس بالجيزة على شاطى البحر واساسها فى البحر واليها اجتمعوا النصارى فى وقت كان النيل Fol. 60 a قد تأخر فعلوا من اجل ذلك صلوات ليلية ونهارية وصوم مدة اسبوع كامل واخر ذلك الاسبوع اوفا ما النيل وزاد عن الوفا بعد

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وذكر ان بحر القلزم وهو البحر الاحمر قبالة دير انطاديوس الذى
غرّق الله فيه فرعون وجنوده واجاز موسى النبى وبنى اسرائيل فى Fol. 58 b
اليبس منه فى اثنا عشر زقاقاً ومنها ما هو باقٍ الى الان لم يغيب
شاهدهم وهو بحر سوف • فصل شهد تاريخ سعيد ابن بطريق
الملكى ان الغلا كان فى المدينة بمكة وكانوا اهل المدينة من الملة
الحنيفية فى جهد عظيم فكتب عمر ابن الخطاب من الحجاز الى
عمر ابن العاص ابن عدى امير مصر بذلك وهذا فى السنة الثامنة
من خلافة عمر ابن الخطاب فبعث اليه عمر ابن العاص قوافل من
الجمال موقرة حنطة اولها المدينة واخرها مصر وكتب عمر ابن
الخطاب الى عمر يامره ان يحفر خليجا حتى يصل الى القلزم
فيسهل حمولة القمح فحفر عمر الخليج الذى فى القنطرة المعروف
بامير المومنين فكانت المراكب تحمل القمح والشعير من الفسطاط
فى الخليج الى القلزم ويحمل فى البحر المالح الى المدينة وهى
مدينة افرم من كرسى القلزم بناها بنو اسرائيل لفرعون فى ذلك
الزمان • فصل وذكر ان خليج القاهرة اوله السد قريبًا من الروضة
بمصر ومنتهاه السدير من الشرقية وهناك قنطرة ينقل القمح من البز
الى الجلاب الذى يسير الى مكة وارض الحجاز الجانب الغربى Fol. 59 a
الجيزية حصن الجيزية بناه عمر ابن العاص سنة اثنين وعشرين
للهجرة وكمل لهمدان وهى قبيلة من العرب وهم سكنوها عند فتح
الاسكندرية • فصل الجانب الغربى من الجيزية مقابر الملوك الفراعنة
وفيها ذخائرهم مطموسة الاثار • وبهذه الناحية بيعة الشهيد
بقطر ابن ارمانوس بساحل البحر كان يهتمّ بها ابو الخير الصيرفى
من اهل الجيزة وشوهد النور على صورة السيدة التى فى شاو
هذه البيعة عدّة دفوع وشهر هذا الامر وتحدث به جماعة من

باسما اولاده منهم تنيس ودمياط ونوبة ودقهلة وجدد بنا سمنود وقيل ان فرعون بنا الفرما وكانت بحيرة ماء فغرق فيها الف مركب ورمى البحر منهم الف رجل فسميت الف رما• فصل وبنت اكلاوبطرة ملكة الاسكندرية حائط الحجوز فى الجانب الشرقى من بلاد النوبة الى الفرما وفى الجانب الغربى من بلاد النوبة الى الاسكندرية تحصّنا من اوغسطس قيصر ملك الروم وهذا فتح اورشليم ونقل اليهود منها الى رومية فصل وكان سير بادويل ملك الفرنج بالشام قد وصل فى خلافة الامر ووزارة شاهنشاه الافضل الى الفرما فى السنة الخامسة عشر من بطريركية انبا مقارة وهو التاسع والستين فى عدد الابا البطاركة ووصل ملك الفرنج المذكور Fol.58a بعساكره وجنوده فنهبها واحرقها وعول على الوصول الى مصر ليملكها فمرض بها فى اليوم الثالث من وصوله اليها واشتد مرضه فامر اصحابه ان يحملوه ويعودوا به الى الشام ففعلوا كما امرهم ولما وصل الى قرب العريش مات فصبّروه وعادوا به الى البنيت المقدس ودفن هناك• القلزم [1] حرصا للملك من ناحية الحجاز وسماها بحبل المنسج الذى يمسك الثوب واسمه قلزم به كنيسة انبا سيوس دير بناحية رانة انشا يسطيانوس الملك• فصل والى القلزم كان ينتهى الخليج بالقاهرة هاهنا الحاجز وهو البرزخ وهو اضيق بر على وجه الارض بين البحرين وهما الشامى والحجازى وهو ما بين الفرما والقلزم مسيرة يوم وليلة وهمّ بعض الملوك بحفر بينهما ليلتقى البحران فخاف ان يفسدوا الروم بسفنها فى الحجاز• فصل والفرما عليها حصن دائر حجر بغير ابواب وهى خراب فصل

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[1] حرسا.

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تذكر وذكر انه كان منها طريق الى جزيرة قبرس فى البر وغلب
Fol. 57 a عليها البحر وغلب البحر ايضًا على مقطع الرخام الغزانى الابلق
ومقطع الرخام الابيض فهو بلوبية وكان بها عدة كنائس واديرة
اخربها الفرس والعرب وذكر ان حصن المدينة باق الى الان •
فصل شهد كتاب فضائل مصر ان كان بمدينة تنيس عاملاً يعرف
بابن المدبر وجّه الى الفرما من يهدم حجارة ابواب شرقى الفرما
فلما وصل اليها المتوجهين لقلع الحجر خرج اهلها لهم بالسلاح
فمنعوهم من قلع الحجر وقالوا ان هذه الابواب من حجارة قديمة
لم يتعرض له احد من الملوك ولا من الناس جميعًا فكيف تمكنكم
من قلعه ونقله الى ارض اخرى وهذه الابواب ايضًا دخل منها
يعقوب ابو الاسباط ابن اسحق ابن ابراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام
ولعل قائمًا يقوم[1] الملوك المومنين بالله يجدد لهم العمارة فيكون
حجرهم سالمًا فيوجد فمضوا ولم يقلعوا حجر واحد فصل وكان
اوطيس ابن خرتبا الذى اوهب لسارة امراة ابراهيم الخليل الامة
جاريتها هاجر فى السنة الخامسة والثلاثين من عمر ابراهيم وفى
نسخة الخامسة وثمانين وهو الصحيح وولد له منها اسماعيل
Fol. 57 b فسمّى ولده من هاجر وسموه العرب نسبة لانه تزوج منهم
وسميوا اسماعيليين لاجل ان ابيهم اسماعيل ولان اسماعيل
نشا بين العرب وتكلم بلسان العربى وعاش اسمعيل مائة وتسعة
وثلاثين سنة وولد له من النسا العربيات اثنا عشر عظيمًا من
الجبابرة العرب وهم افخان ونبش من اولاد اسماعيل وكان سكنه
اعنى اوطيس بالفرما وقيل ان اسمه صادوق وبنا مدن عدة

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[1] Add من.

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اسم السيدة العذرى مرتمريم الطاهرة • وبيعة على اسم الشهيد
الجليل الشجاع تادرس المشرقى وبيعة القديس الجليل ابو
يحنس • ناحية اطفيح ايضًا فى المدينة وخارجها كان بها اكثر
من عشرين بيعة ولم يبق منها الى وقتنا نحن غير عشرة بيع
منها البيعة بناحية بالوجة على اسما التلامين بحصن دائر
عليها وبستان وساقية بئر معين حلوة وفيها • كنيسة ابو مرقورة
وكنيسة للسيدة للرهبان • وكنيسة على اسم الشهيد الشجاع
تادرس وكنيسة على اسم ابو قرمان وبيعة على اسم السيدة
العذرى الطاهرة • وبيعة على اسم القديس اباجول • وبيعة
للشهيد ابو مينا المعروفة بكنيسة العامود وعليها قونة وتحمل Fol. 56 b
اليه نذور كثيرة وللملكية بها هيكل يقدسون عليه وبيعة اخرى
على اسم الشهيد ابو مينا مجاور البربا • دير اخر فى البرية
يعرف بدير البغل وفيه عدّة رهبان وداخل البرية دير القديس
انبا بولا • وهو على شاطى البحر المالح بينه وبين دير الجمّيزة
الى ان يصل اليه فى البرية يومين ويحضر اليه من هذا الدير اعنى
دير القديس العظيم انطانيوس قسوس رهبان وشمامسة يقدسون
فيه بالنوبة وهو بوادى العربة وبحيرة مريم وهو قريبًا من طور
سينا بينهم تعدية فى المالح • جهة العريش بهذه الجهة
كنيستين كبار من قديم الزمان وهما خراب وجدرانهما باقية
الى وقتنا نحن وصور البلد الذى من جانب المالح باقى الى
الان • فصل ذكر ان جميع الرخام والعمد التى بمصر معظمها
والاكبر منها من العريش • مدينة الفرما بنا هذه المدينة فرعون
واسمها بفرمونوس على نهر النيل وهى الفرما فى سنة ثمان
وعشرين من مولد موسى النبى وهى اكبر عجائب واقدم اثار

تاريخ سعيد ابن بطريق وهو الذى صار بطريرك الملكية وفى
مملكة اردشير فى سنة خمسمائة وثمانين للاسكندر وفى نسخة
اخرى سنة خمسمائة واربعة وخمسين للاسكندر • فصل وشهد
تاريخ محبوب ابن قسطنطين المنبجى بمثل ذلك ومعه ايضًا بدقوش
الراهب وهما اول من لبس الصوف وسكن البرارى وذلك فى
بطركية ديونوسيوس وهو الرابع عشر فى العدد وكان فى وقته Fol. 55 b
اثناسيوس الكاتب بطريرك الاسكندرية واذنا بخوم الراهب المصرى
وباسيليوس اسقف قيسارية وداخل هذه الناحية سبع بيع للقبط
منهم ستة وللارمن واحدة على اسم الشهيد مارى جرجس •
فصل الدير المعروف بدير الجميزة على شاطى بحر النيل المبارك
ويجاورة جوسق وبستان وطاحون ومعصرة وهو قريبًا من دهروط
وفيه الى وقتنا نحن ثلاثون راهبًا فصل وكان بالدير المعروف باذنا
اذودة وهو اطانيوس راهب يسمى بلوطس وكان عالمًا ومعلمًا
خبير باوضاع الدين المسيحى وسيرة الرهبنة ماهر فى حقوق ما
يلزم من القوانين الشرعية واصاده الشيطان فى شرك من شراكه
واعتقد اعتقاد مخالف لما وضعه الابا الثلثمائة وثمادية عشر وافسد
عقول جماعة كبيرة ممن ليس له معرفة ولا دراية بالامانة
الارثدكسية واشاع من فمه النجس ومنطقه الخبيث ان المسيح
ربنا له المجد كاحد الانبياء وصار مجتمع بالاشرار من اهل الملة
وهو لابس شكل الرهبنة منتطقًا بالزودية والاسكيم واذا سئل عن Fol. 56 a
مذهبه واعتقاده فيقول انه موحد وظهرت مقالته فى سنين اخرها
سنة تسع وثلاثين وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار ومات وانقطع ذكره الى
الابد بناحية البرديل • بيعة للسيدة العذرى مرتمريم الطاهرة
ومعه اخرى على اسم القديس ابو الارة • ناحية صول بيعة على

البحر ذيل ثلاثة ايام فى البرية التى هى برية القلزم وجسده
الطاهر فيه مدفونًا فى مغارته التى كان يصلى فيها وهو مسدود
عليه وبيعته على اسمه على علو الجبل المقدس وله بمصر وقوفات
واملاك عدّة وعليه حصن دائر وفيه جماعة كبيرة من الرهبان Fol. 54 b
وداخل الحصن منه بستان كبير وفيه نخيل مثمرة واشجار تفاح
وكمثرى ورمّان وغير ذلك وارض مغارش بقولات وثلاث عيون
مياه تجرى دائمًا يُسقا منها البستان ومنها يشرب الرهبان ومن
جملة البستان فدان وسدس كرم عنب لما يحتاج اليه وقيل ان
عدة نخيله الف راس نخل وبه جوسق كبير محكم البنا وقلالى
الرهبان مُطلة على البستان وله باطفيح ايضًا املاك وبساتين ولم
يكن مثله فى سائر الديارات التى يسكنها رهبان المصريين وهو
بين اليعاقبة من الرهبان فصل وكان ظهور انبا انذونة المصرى
وسمى ايضًا انطانيوس نجم البرية واب الرهبان وهو اول راهب
سكن البرية واجتمعت اليه الرهبان ببرية مصر وابتدا عمارة
الديارات واجتماع الرهبان اليها وبنى هذا الدير المقدس فى
مملكة يوليانوس الملك الكافر وهو ابن اخت قسطنطين الملك
المومن ومملكة سابور ابن اردشير ابن بابل من نسل ساسان Fol. 55 a
فصل وهذا القديس العظيم انطانيوس اول راهب لبس الصوف
واظهر شكل الرهبنة وخرج عن العالم وسكن البرارى وظهر له ملاك
الرب واوراه كيف يلبس شكل الرهبنة وعرفه الملاك كيف ينبغى له
ان يفعل فى سكنة البرية ليكون مثالاً لغيره من الرهبان الذين
يقتدون به ويسيرون مثل سيرته الطاهرة فصل وهذا الملك المذكور
اولاً اعنى اوليانوس قتله الشهيد مرقوريوس مما ذكره باسيليوس
اسقف قيسارية وشاهد شبه الدم فى سن رمحه مما شهد به

النساك يعيد فى هذا الدير فى سابع عشر من طوبة من كل سنة القديسين العظيمين فى الرهبنة مكسيموس ودوماديوس اخيه ولدى الملك اولتديوس اصحاب دير ستنا السيدة المسمى ببرموس ببرية ابو مقار ووادى هبيب وكان عادة الزوار من النصارى ان يخرجوا لهولا القديسين للزيارة ثلاثة دفوع فى السنة من ذلك عيد الصليب فى سابع عشر شهر توت وعيد الغطاس فى الحادى عشر من طوبة وثانى عيد الفصح وكان للشعب فيهما فرح ومسرّة واجتماع روحانى ومن جملة ما لهذه البيعة وهذا الدير بالناحية المعروفة بدهشور من اعمال الجيزية مما اجراه على هذه البيعة وهذا الدير شى يحمل اليهما من العين والغلة معما يتحصل لهما من الاوقاف والنذور وغير ذلك فتغير ذلك الحال وذهب لذهاب الناس اهل الخير وصارت هذه الكنيسة مسجداً ونعت بمسجد موسى والدير عدى عليه البحر جميعه بيعة على اسم السيدة مرتمريم العذرى الطاهرة Fol. 54 a
جدّدت فى بطركية انبا اسحق وهو الحادى والاربعين فى العدد على يد اغريغوريوس اسقف القيس وهذه نقل طوبها وخشبها فى تغلب الامير حسين ابن الحافظ واختلاف الريحانية والجيوشية العبيد وقتل من الفريقين عدة كبيرة وجدد به عمارة المسجد المعروف بالدب باطفيح فى سنة ثمان وعشرين وخمسمائة هلالية قضى ذلك بخراب هذه البيعة وبلغت للارض • اطفيح سُمّيت باسم ولد من اولاد ماليق ابن تدراس من اولاد مصرائم لان اكثر البلاد الكبار سميت باسما اولادهم وسار هذا نحو المغرب الى ان بلغ الظلمات وعاين عجائب كثيرة • الدير المعروف بانبا اندونة وهو شرقى اطفيح من قبلى مصر ومن هذا الدير الى

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العزيز هدم الجامع العتيق بمصر المعروف بانشا عمر ابن العاص
والى مصر وبناه وزاد فى اتساعه وانشا بحلوان بركة عظيمة وساق
اليها الماء من عيون داخل الجبل المسمى الجبل المقطم على
قناطر بناها الى البركة وعمل عليها عرش من زجاج وبنا بها
مساجد كثيرة وانفق فى حلوان مالاً كثير وتضمنت نسخة
التاريخ ان الذى انفقه الف الف دينار وغرس بها نخيل واشجار
وكان يستخرج الخراج دفعات فى كل جمعة يخشى من فتنة
تقوم وتنزل به فيحتاج فيها الى المال وبنا القناطر على خليج Fol. 53 a
امير المومنين واراد ان ينقل الساحل والجسر والاسواق والتجار
اليها ويُعطّل الفسطاط وكان بيت المال بحلوان • فصل دير على
اسم السيدة مارتمريم العذرى الطاهرة اهتم بعمارته الاساقفة فى
بطركية انبا اسحق الراهب وهو الحادى والاربعون فى العدد
وانبا سيمون السريانى بعده وهو الثانى والاربعون فى العدد
فى ولاية عبد العزيز ابن مروان على يد اغريغوريوس اسقف
القيس ويعرف بدير ابو قرقر مشتق من اسم اغريغوريوس
دير ثانى جُدّد مثل ذلك ورسم عبد العزيز ابن مروان ان ينشا
ليوداس البطريرك والاساقفة بيعة فانشوا هذه البيعة النصارى فرّاشى
عبد العزيز ابن مروان على اسم الشهيد الجليل مارى جرجس
وكانت هذه البيعة لطيفة وتعرف بكنيسة الفراشين وكانوا هولا
النصارى الفراشين ملكية • بيعة موسى كليم الله وهى من البيع
العظيمة المتسعة فى العمارة على شاطى نهر النيل المبارك قريبة
من حلوان ومنية السودان وفرعون موسى هو الوليد ابن مصعب
فصل الدير المجاور لها وهو من الاعمار الكبار محكم فى البنا Fol. 53 b
والهندسة فى وضع العمارة وفيه جماعة كبيرة من الرهبان والشيوخ

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وصار معه جماعة من التابعين له مقيمين معه واقام به مدة
عشرين سنة ومات فى يوم الاثنين اول جمعة البيضا من الجمعة
الثانية فى الثالث والعشرين من امشير سنة تسعمائة واربعة Fol. 52 a
وعشرين للشهداء الابرار وهو الان بين تابعيه وهم جماعة كبيرة
ولكن احوالهم غير مستقيمة وذكر ان كان فيه متقدّما وفى المغائر
المنقورة التى بالجبل ما يناهز ستة الاف راهب فصل وكان
كلكلى ابن حرابا ابن ماليق من اولاد بيصر ابن حام ابن
نوح ذو حكمة بالغة ويقال ان معلمه هرمس وهو اول من عمل
الكيميا وجعل الرصاص ذهبًا وعقد الزيبق حجراً ذهبيًا ابيض
وسبك من الرمل زجاجًا وكان مطبخ الزجاج فى موضع يقال له
التنور فى علو الجبل الشرقى ظاهر مصر• بيعة السيدة مرتمريم
العذرى الطاهرة بالقنطرة المعروفة بكنيسة الروم وعرفت بالفراشين
النصارى جدد عمارتها فراشين المامون عبد الله ابن الرشيد هارون
قريبًا من قبة الهوآء الذى انشاها على جبل المقطم وكانوا النصارى
يلبسون السواد ويركبون الخيول الى خلافة المتوكل جعفر فابطل
ذلك• حلوان وكان عبد العزيز ابن مروان ابن الحكم ويكنّا ابو
الاصبع سكنها وحلوان اسم ولده الاكبر وبهذه الناحية نزل الامام Fol. 52 b
الحاكم بامر الله عن الحمار الذى كان راكبه وتقدم الى الركابى
الذى كان يصحبه حيث يذهب بان يعرقب الحمار وذهب هو
وحده الى داخل البرية ولم يرجع يعود ولا عرف الى اين توجه
الى يومنا هذا وكان ذلك فى شوال سنة احد عشر واربعمائة
واعمر بها هذا عبد العزيز عمائر حسنة ومقياسًا لماء النيل وانه
اعتراه الداء المعروف بداء الاسد وهو الجذام وانه استعمل ادوية
كثيرة ولم ينجع فيه الدوا واحتار الاطبا فى مداواته وهذا عبد

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كبيرة واسعة شاهقة وفيها صور الاربعين شهيد من سبسطية وتحتها قبر ابى الفضائل هذا• بيعة الشهيدة بربارة لطيفة• مارى توما بيعة قزمان ودميان واخوتهما واسمهم الذين استشهدوا جميعهم على اسم المسيح وفى سفلها• بيعة مار يوحنا المعمدان السابق فى مغارة سقفها حجر محمول على عامود كدار خافى وفى وسطها وفى السقف صور كنائسيّة قد محى اكثرها وقريب منها قبر يوحنا الراهب الذى هندس صور القاهرة وابوابها فى الخلافة المستنصرية ووزارة امير الجيوش بدر وعلى هذا القبر لوح رخام فى الحائط• وبيعة القديس مارى جرجس المقدم ذكرها فى جملة هذه الكنائس العدة خارجة على قرنة الجبل
Fol. 51 b انشاها الشيخ ابو الحكم اخو ابو الخصيب صهر ابى البركات ابن ابى الليث وفى الجبل المذكور عدة مغائر دقر فى الجبل سقوفها منها احدهم مغارة القديس ارسانيوس الذى بُنى على اسمه والحجر الذى كان يتوسده بها وداخل هذا الدير صهريج يصل الماء اليه من الجبل فى وقت المطر وكان به بئر ماء معين دقر فى الجبل منه يشربوا الرهبان ومن يطرقه وفيه طاحون دقر فى الجبل وكنائسه كذلك وتجاور كنيسة مارى سابا الذى انشاها ابى البركات منظرة عملت للامركان يحضر اليها فى زمان صيد الوحوش ومكان لاصحابه وفيه منظرة خمارويه ابن احمد ابن طولون فى علو الدير من الجانب الشرقى وقد تشعثت وفيه الان فى وقتنا نحن خمسة رهبان ضعفاء الاحوال الى اخر برمهات سنة احدى وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار بعد ذلك فيه فخر ابن القنبر [1]المُظل الجُهّال باعتقاده المخالف للحق

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[1] المضل.

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سنة احدى وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار عشرة ببيع وهى فى العلو • بيعة القديس ارسانيوس معلم اولاد الملوك وجسده مدفونًا تحت مذبحها وهو مذبح واحد وعليه قبة وفى وسطها قبو طولانى • بيعة على اسم سيدنا السيدة مرتمريم الطاهرة العذرى Fol. 50b
القديسة وفيها مذبح واحد مثل ذلك • بيعة الابسطليين التلامين وكان فيها صورة السيدة حاملة للسيد والملائكة عن يمينها ويسارها وصور التلامين الاثنا عشر تلميذ جميعهم فصوص وميناء محكمين الصنعة كما فى بيت لحم وفيهم فصوص زجاج مذهبة وملونة وكان خمارويه ابن احمد ابن طولون يقف عند هذه الصور ويتبصّر فى حسن صنعتهم ويتعجب كثيرًا من ذلك وبالخاصة صورة السيدة العذرى حتى انه انشا فى هذا الدير منظرة لنفسه يتنزه فيها وكانت هذه البيعة كبيرة جدًا فهدمها الحاكم فى سنة اربعمائة للهجرة ثم جدد منها بعد ذلك بيعة على اسم بطرس وبولس وفيها مذبح واحد وعليه قبة وفى وسطها قبو • بيعة اسطفانوس رئيس الشمامسة واول الشهدا على اسم المسيح من بنى اسرائيل • بيعة على اسم القديس مارى جرجس • بيعة القديس مارى سابا الاسكندرانى اهتم بتجديدها الشيخ ابى البركات يوحنا الكاتب ابن ابو الليث فى خلافة الامر ووزارة الافضل شاهنشاه وتولى المصروف عليها ابى الفضائل اخيه وكان ابى البركات هذا متولى ديوان التحقيق فى [1]الخلافة الافضلية Fol. 51a
وبعد هذا الى ان قتل فى سنة ثمان وعشرين وخمسمائة وفيها مذبح واحد وعليها قبة لطيفة فوق المذبح ووسطها قبة واحدة

[1] Read الوزارة.

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من حبيس وهو مطل على القرية المعروفة بشهران وعلى الصحرا وهى قرية كبيرة عامرة على شاطى البحر على ما شهد به كتاب الديارات للشابشتى ودير شهران والقصير هذا احد الديارات المقصودة للتعبد والتنزه واصطات البطريرك انشا فى هذا الدير بيعة الابسطلى وانشا قلية للاساقفة وهو بين الملكيين وفيه جماعة من رهبانهم ويُعيد له كل سنة عيد القديس ارسانيوس فى ثالث عشر بشنس واصطات هذا كان تاجرًا فى الكتان فوجد كنز فى المدق وترهب فى هذا الدير وبنا فيه ما تقدم ذكره وصيّر بعد ذلك بطريركًا للملكيين واقام مدة بطركيته اربعة وستين سنة وفى هذا الدير ثمانية كنائس وعليهم حصن دائر وفيه منظرة وفيه مدافن وتحته مغائر كثيرة دقر فى الجبل وكان هذا الدير هدم منه كنيسة الابسطليين فى الخلافة الحاكمية فى شعبان سنة اربعمائة وحضر اليه جماعة من العوام واخذوا توابيت الموتى واخشاب من دقضه ثم رسم لهم بتجديد ما تشعث منه ورتب له Fol. 50a الياصال اخو تاج الدولة بهرام ستة عشر فدانًا رزقة وكان فيه بغل لحمل للدير الماء من البحر والصعود به الى الدير وكان ينزل معه احد الرهبان يملا عليه النقلة ويبقا الراهب مقيم عند البحر والبغل مترتد فى الرواح الى الدير والمجى بمفرده الى حين يكمل حاجته منه وعلى هذا الدير حصن حجر دائر وكان فى بعض النوب الحادثة قد صعد عوام المسلمين اليه وتمّوا على الرهبان حيلة ففتحوا لهم الباب فدخلوا الدير ونهبوه وقتلوا من الرهبان جماعة والدير المعروف بالقصير الحقانى داخل البرية غامرًا غير اهل وهو من الدير المقدم ذكره مسافة نصف نهاره عدّة البيع الذى فى دير القصير على ما شوهد فى برمهات

بعمارتها اولاً ابن مشكور وفى تكريرها ابو المنصور متولى عمارة صورى القاهرة ومصر وفى الدير المذكور جوسق وطاحون وبستان كان للارمن ولما خلا منهم صار لليعقوبية بعد سنة ستمائة هجرية ومات القس ابو ياسر وصار الدير المذكور بين تلاميذه. وبين القبط مستمرًا فيه الى وقتنا نحن الان • الجبل الشرقى المعروف بالمقطم اسم ابن مصرائم ابن مصر ابن حام ابن نوح والمقطم اول من تعبّد فيه مقطم المذكور وانقطع فيه لعبادة الله وعرف الجبل بعده بالمقطم وهو مجاور طرا عند مقطع الحجارة وهو متصل بالطول الى طرا وهو مقدس فصل والجبل الغربى متصل بجبال الغرب Fol. 49 a والسواحل الغربية كلها الى ارض ابن غواطة وشاطى البحر المظلم والنهر بين هذين الجبلين الدير المعروف بالقصير على قرنة الجبل الشرقى وهذا الدير يشرف منه على بحر النيل المبارك وطرا انشاه ارغاديوس الكبير ابن تدوس الكبير ملك الروم على قبر معلمه القديس ارسانيوس وسماه باسمه وكان ارسانيوس هذا قد هرب منه وتعبد فى برية القديس ابو مقار بوادى هبيب ثم انتقل الى هذا الجبل وتعبد فيه وعرف هذا الدير بقصير ويعيّد له عيد عظيم ويجتمع اليه خلق كثير وتحت بيعته على الجبل بيعة اخرى دقر فى الجبل بالازميل فيها مذبح وهذا الدير فى اعلا الجبل على سطح فى قرنة الجبل وهو حسن الوضع فى العمارة ودره المنظر وله بئر منقور فى الحجر يستقى الما منها وفيه صور جميلة صنعة محكمة مليحة فى الغاية وفى اعلاه طبقة ابو الجيش خمارويه ابن احمد ابن طولون ولها اربعة طاقات على اربع جهات والطريق اليه من مصر فيها صعوبة واما من Fol. 49 b قبلية فسهل الصعود اليه والنزول منه والى جانبه صومعة لا تخلوا

الشهيد تادرس • وايضًا بيعة على اسم القديس الجليل مارى
جرجس التى هى بناحية طرا على ساحل البحر وكانت لطيفة
وهى للقبط اليعاقبة ولما وصل اغريغوريوس بطريرك ارمنيّة وكانوا
الارمن مع امير الجيوش بدر فى بطركية ابنا كيرلس بطريرك
اليعاقبة واقطع للارمن طرا فاخذوا هذه البيعة وهدموها وجددوا Fol. 48a
عوضها كنيسة كبيرة متسعة بعدة قباب وكرزت على اسم مارى
جرجس وعلوها جوسق بابه من داخل البيعة وعليها حصن دائر
وفيها بئر وساقية وعليها وجه دائر وزرع عليها اصول دارنج
ودويرتين فهما نخيل مثمرة وشجر ولما جرى للارمن ما جرى
دفعة بعد اخرى رجعت الكنيسة لليعقوبية فى بطركية ابنا مرقس
المعروف قبل تقدمته بابى الفرج ابن زرعة الكاتب وهو فى العدد
الثالث والسبعين وبها القس المذكور امره فى بيعة المرتونى المسمى
ابو ياسر المعروف بالعدوية وجدد عمارة ما احتيج اليه فيها
وعاد الشعب يمضون اليها فى كل وقت وخارجها اساس حجر
ظاهر على وجه الارض وذكر انه كان عمل ليبنا عليه منظرة فلم
يتهيّا ذلك وهو الان ثلمة قطعة واحدة وحضر هذا البطرك الى
هذه البيعة وكرزها بحضور جماعة من الاساقفة والكهنة والشعب
المسيحى وفى نسخة ان دير القديس مارى جرجس صار بيد
القس ابو ياسر المذكور المعروف بابن القسطال وكرز هذا الدير فى Fol. 48b
بوودة سنة تسع وخمسين وخمسمائة فى بطريركية انبا يوحنا
برضا من الارمن وجدد علوه بيعة للشهيد ابو مينا وبيعة على
اسم القديس العظيم يوحنا المعمدان واغريغوريوس وهذه البيعة
قبلى الهيكل الكبير الوسطانى بدير الارمن بطرا وكرزت فى الثلاثين
من بوودة سنة اثنين وتسعمائة للشهدا الابرار وهذه البيعة اهتم

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تحت الجميزة القبلية بطرا قبلى صلى موسى النبى عليه السلام
وبها اثار عبد العزيز ابن مروان وطرا مقطعة منن ملكوا الغز الاكراد
واطفيح اسم واحد من اولاد مصرائم• وشهران قرية كبيرة كادت
عامرة آهلة على شاطى البحر ويذكرون ان موسى النبى عليه
سلام ولد فيها ومنها القته امه الى البحر فى التابوت الخشب
وشهران من المزارات الجليلة المقصودة لحسن وضعه واشرافه على
مصر وبحر النيل هذا على ما شهد كتاب الديارات للشابشتى
وقبالة هذا الدير اعنى دير شهران فى الجبل الشرقى مغارة
كبيرة على عمق كدار دقر فى الجبل واسعة جدًا ذكر انها تعرف
بالمدينة لا يعرف اخرها• الدير المعروف بشهران جدده بمين
الراهب الذى كان انتقل الى دين المسلمين وعاد الى مذهبه
فى خلافة الامام الحاكم وعاد صاحبًا له وهذا الراهب كان سبب
فتح الكنائس بعد غلقها وتغيير الغيار الذى كان الحاكم امر به
واستمر تسع سنين وفيها اعتقل ابنا زخريا البطريرك وهو فى Fol. 47 b
العدد الرابع والستين وطرح ايضًا للسباع ولم تونيه ومنع الله
السباع ان يدنوا منه لاجل قدسه وقوة ايمانه بالله وكان السبب
فى هذه العقوبة راهبًا من دير ابو مقار يسمى يونس عند ما
التمس الاسقفية من هذا البطريرك فمنعه عنها ميخائيل ابن اخى
هذا البطرك بسبب ملا التمسه منه وتتمّة خبره فى سير البطاركة
وفى هذا الدير المذكور جوسف يتوصل اليه من هذا الدير وهذا
كان له بستان مساحته ستة افدنة وفيه نخيل مثمرة واراضى
زراعة وكان الامام الحاكم ملازم البرية بهذا الدير والتنزه فيه
ومنه كان يخرج الى الجبل ويسيح فى البرية• الدير المعروف
بدير الفخّار على اسم القديس مرقوريوس وذكر انه على اسم

ابو ياسر ابن القس ابو سعد المعروف بابن القسطال اعتمد اسباباً تخالف ما حده الاباء الاطهار وهو تربية الشعر وكشف راسه فى وقت القداسات وتنصير الاطفال بغير ختانة والفسحة لمن يملك بنات الناس ان يشاهدهم العريس قبل الملاك وانا قدس قساً محلوق الشعر مغطى الراس لا يتقرب من يده بل يجدّد قداس ثانى لنفسه واقسم البيعة قسمين واذكر ذلك عليه عدة دفوع ولم يرجع ولم ينتهى عن رايه اقتضى الحال لحفظ القوانين ابعاده عنها والله يصلحه لنفسه• فصل وكان لبيعة هذا القس المذكور بستان وقد تقدم ذكره فملك هذا البستان الامير جبريل ابن Fol. 46 b الامام الحافظ وانشا قبالة هذه البيعة مما يلى البحر فى المكان المعروف بالخيمة القبلية لحفظ المكوس منظرة وحل بها الامام الحافظ والامام الظافر ولده فى حياة الامير جبريل هذا وحضر بعد وفاته الامام العاضد وكل منهم يراعى هذه البيعة ويقبل ما يحمل اليه من طعام الدير وهذه البيعة فى وسط البساتين وينظر من علوها بحر النيل المبارك والى بر طموه من الجيزية ومنية الشماس وغير ذلك فى البر الغربى وهى من اماكن العبادات الفرجة وهذه البيعة مقصودة جداً لان لها شفاعات مقبولة وايات ظاهرة لاصحاب الايمان• فصل ملك هذا البستان والعدوية وكنيسة السودان وساحل البحر بها الاجل سيف الاسلام طغيتكين اخو الملك صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ايوب الكردى وعمر هذه المنظرة وزان فى علوها طارمة وزرع انشاب كثير فى البستان وانفق مالاً كثيراً وبالعدوية مقاطع الطين الاصفر الذى يعمل منه الخزف وهو بحرى فى ملك الوزير ابى الفرج المغربى الخط Fol. 47 a المعروف بطرا المسلوك منه الى اطفيح على طريق دير شهران•

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السوباسى التركى والى القاهرة وكملها من ماله واهتم لها بقبة
وجملون وعمل على القبة قبة خشب حسنة وبنا بها مذبحين
احدهما على اسم القديس مارى جرجس والاخر على اسم الملاك
ميخائيل ووسطها قبو طويل وفتح فيه باب الى المذابح التى
بالبيعة القديمة واتصل بعضها ببعض وصار عدة مذابحها خمسة
Fol. 45 b قديمًا ومستجدًا وكملها بالبياض والتصوير وكرزت فى يوم الاثنين
الحادى والعشرين من برمهات وهو اليوم الثانى من الجمعة
الخامسة من الصوم المقدس بحضور انبا مرقس ابن زرعة البطريرك
وهو الثالث وسبعين فى العدد وميخائيل اسقف بسطة والخندق
وانبا غبريال اسقف مصر وانبا سيمون اسقف البهنسى وانبا
بطرس اسقف الفيوم وجماعة من الكهنة والاراخنة واعمر الخولى
سيد الاهل ابن توماس الارشيدياقن بها فوق علوها بيعة على
اسم القديس مرقوريوس بمذبح خشب وكرزها انبا يوحنا البطريرك
وهو الرابع وسبعين فى العدد فى عشر بشنس تسعمائة وعشرة
للشهدا الابرار وكان الشيخ ابو اليمن وزير قد نقل جسد القديس
ابو يحنّس من البيعة بدمنهور من ضواحى القاهرة الى هذه
البيعة لما ذكر انه بقرب منه ولما كان فى بعض الليالى سمع من
تابوت الشهيد يقول فيه ما يمكن ان يبقا فى كنيسة السيدة
وليس لى الا البيعة التى كنت فيها اولاً وعند ذلك اعيد اليها
Fol. 46 a وكان للنسطور بهذا الخط دير كبير كانه قلعة عظيمة بحصن دائر
حجر منحوت وفيه بيعة كبيرة مشخصة ظاهرة وجميع معالمها
باقية الى الان بل انه جعل مكان الشاو قبلة وعلوه مائدة شاهقة
ودائره بيوت كانت للرهبان سكنها المسلمين وذلك فى الخلافة
الحاكمية فصل وكان فى بيعة المرتوتى المشروح حالها قس يسمى

وانشاها القبط على اسم السيدة فاما ادها عرفت بالمرتوتى وهى Fol. 44b
لفظة بالرومى متيرتا اعنى ام اللة الكلمة ولما تقادم بها العهد
وهت وتشعثت فاهتم بتجديد عمارتها الشيخ ابو اليمن وزير
كان من اهل سنهور متولى ديوان اسفل الارض وابو المنصور ولده
فى الخلافة الامرية ووزارة الافضل شاهنشاه وعمّر علوها منظرة
حسنة وسميت هذه المنظرة السلوقية وكان يجمع اليها الكهنة
ويفرح معهم وذلك فى ابيب سنة ثمان وسبعين واربعمائة الهلالية
فى بطريركية كيرلس واسقفية دانيال واهتم بعمل آنية مصاغة
لهذه البيعة كاملة برسم القربان والبخور وما تحتاجه البيعة وعمر
علوها عدة حقوق ومرافق وكان برسمها بستان لطيف يتوصل
اليه من داخل البيعة والباب شاهدا به فوضعت عليه اليد
السلطانية وخرج عنها فصل وكان قد تنصر يهوديًا يسمى ابو
الفخر ابن ازهر الصانع ورغب فى المذهب المسيحى وتعمد فى
هذه البيعة وعمده انبا يوحنا اسقف طموية من الجيزية والقس
ابو ياسر ابن ابو سعد ابن القسطال فى الخلافة الفائزية ووزارة Fol. 45a
طلائع ابن رُزّيك وبطركية يوانس الثانى وسبعين فى العدد وذلك
فى رجب سنة اربع وخمسين وخمسمائة هجرية ونور اللة على
ذلك اليهودى حتى قرى القبطى وفسّره عربيًا وكرّز شماساً ببيعة
السيدة الطاهرة بحارة زويلة بمدينة القاهرة من يد انبا غبريال
اسقف مصر مما انفرد فى قسمته لنفسه فى خامس عشر ابيب
سنة احدى وتسعمائة كنائسية وتجاورها كنيسة كانت قد وهت
اهتم بتجديدها ابو الفضائل ابن الشبرامريقى وعاضده فيها
جماعة من النصارى وذلك فى سنة اثنين وتسعمائة للشهدا
الابرار وكمّل عمارة البيعة المذكورة الشيخ ابوالفرج ابن زنبور كاتب

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وستين فى العدد مدفونًا بها وتبرك الناس به لادة اوصا عند وفاته بان يدفن بين المصريين لما شاهده من جودة ايمانهم وما قاسوه فى الخلافة الحاكمية وبها ايضا مدافن اساقفة مصر وبالقرب من هذه المدافن بئرين ما معين احدهما اعمره ابو الحسن سعيد ابن منصور الكاتب والاخر نصير حفار القبور وفيها علامة ظاهرة حجار صوان منقوشة صليب نقط وتجاورها بئر الدرج والجميزة عليه والمحرس وفى علو هذه الارض مقابر لليهود والسامرة وان قربوا من المقابر الذى للنصارى ظهرت لهم علامة Fol. 44 a
الصليب يعودوا الى فوق الى القطعة الارض التى اباعها لهم ابنا خائيل البطريرك لليهود وهو السادس والخمسون فى البطاركة فى وقت مصادرة احمد ابن طولون له واباع كنيسة لليهود بقصر الجمع[1] واملاك البيع بالاسكندرية وزمازم الرهبان بدير ابو مقار وليس لفرقة الملكية مقبرة بارض الحبش بل مقبرتهم فى كنائسهم وفى الجبل الذى فيه دير القصير وكذلك الارمن والنسطور فى كنائسهم البستان المعروف بالعدوية ومنية السودان عرف بامرأة اسمها عدوية وصلت من المغرب فى الايام المعزية وكان لها مال جزيل ودزلت بهذا المكان وعرف بها بيعة السيدة الطاهرة مرتمريم المعروفة بالمرتوتى داخلة قبة وكانت فى القدم معبد لبنى اسرائيل لما كانوا فى العبودية بارض مصر ولما ورد سيدنا يسوع المسيح الى مصر ووالدته بالجسد ستنا السيدة العذرى الطاهرة والشيخ البار يوسف النجار من الشام جلسوا فى هذا المكان الذى فيه صورة السيدة الان قبالة المذبح المقدس

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[1] الشمع.

علية القس يوسف النسطورى وحكر ارضه لقومًا من المسلمين
واباع علو كنيسة مصر حتى والفرن وحكّر اكثر الاملاك المحبّسة
على كنائس النسطور بمبالغ خسيسة للمسلمين الى مدن مديدة
والنسطور لم يكن معه احدًا منهم بل مقيمون بالمشرق وارض فارس
والعراق والموصل والفرات[1] والحبرة ومنهم بمصر عدة يسيرة حقيرة •
فصل وهذا الدير صار الى القبط بمصر فى بطركية انبا مرقس ابن
زرعة وهو الثالث وسبعين فى العدد وصيّره بطريركى والكنيسة
فيه على اسم القديس فيلاثاوس الانطاكى وعلوه مناظر وجميع
ذلك حجر منحوت باطنه وظاهره وكرز وقدس فيه فى اول جمعة
من الصوم المبارك وهو سادس عشر امشير فى يوم الثلثا سنة تسع
وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار الموافق للرابع والعشرين من
شهر رمضان سنة ست وسبعين وخمسمائة هجرية بحكم انه لم
يبق بمصر من النساطرة الا رجل او رجلين لا غير وكرز هذا
الدير انبا بطرس الاسقف بالفيوم وبه ثلاث مذابح احدهم على
اسم فيلاثاوس الانطاكى والثانى على اسم يوحنا الانجيلى والثالث Fol. 43 b
على اسم توما التلميذ والذى اهتم به الشيخ ابى المنصور ابن
بولس وهو المهتم ايضًا بقداساته وما يرفع عليه من القرابين وغير
ذلك ولم يزل يقوم بجميع ما يحتاج اليه الى حين تنيح المذكور
بقى ولده بعده مهتم به كاهتمام والده نيح الله نفسه واقام له
كهنة قسوس وشمامسة وهو الان مستقيم الحال والصعيديين
يلموا به ويفتحوا بابه ومدافن النصارى اليعاقبة القبط والاساقفة
بمصر بارض الحبش وجسد انبا زخريوس البطرك وهو الرابع

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[1] (؟) الجزيرة

مصر وهذه القرافة تعرف ببنى حجص وبنى يوسف ابن وائل نزلوها فى فتوح العرب لمصر وكانت تعرف بقرافة وتفسير هذه اللفظة النساخ اى نساخ الكتب وكانوا الرهبان بها فى صوامع وديارات وبيع كثيرة العدة هدموها المسلمين العرب الذين وصلوا مع عمر ابن العاص ابن عدى وكان فتوح مصر فى المحرم سنة عشرين هجرية ومن الصوامع ما هو باق الى الان جعلهم المسلمين موذن ثم امتدت الايدى الى ان عمّروا من بعض جدرانها اساس هذا البستان وهى فى المشاهدة عامرة وانشا الاجلّ تاج الملوك بورى الكردى اخو صلاح الدين يوسف عدّة مناظر فى هذا Fol. 42b
البستان وخارجه وزخرفها بالرخام والذهب وانفق فى ذلك جملة كبيرة من المال وفى هذا الخط ايضًا دير وهو المعروف بدير النسطور كان على اسم القديس مارى جرجس وهو بحصن دائر حجر منحوت وهو من العمارة الحسنة المحكومة ومن المستنزهات المشهورة الموصوفة وكان الشيخ ابى الفضائل النسطورى المعروف بطبيب الطائفة المعروفة بالعظميّة فى الخلافة الامرية اهتم بعمارة ما تشعث منه وجدده احسن عمارة بالحجر المنحوت وكان فيه عدة كبيرة من رهبان النسطور فانتهى ذلك الى الامر فرسّم عليه وصادره واخذ جميع ماله واستمر به الترسيم الى ان انشا فيه مسجداً والسبب فى ذلك جميعه ابو الفضل جعفر ابن عبد المنعم المعروف بابن ابى قيراط متولى الديوان الخاص الامرى ولهذا الدير اراضى للزراعة ملكًا للدير من خارج الحصن وهذه الاراضى محتكرة من ابى البركات ابن كتامية اليعقوبى الكاتب وليس فى الدير احد وهو خال معطل من القداسات والصلوات ياوى فيه احد عمالين كتامة فى بستان ملكًا له هناك واستولى Fol. 43a

الجوامع والمساجد مخلد الانصارى وكتب عليه اسمه• بيعة القديس مارى جرجس للقبط كانت قريبة من دير مارى يوحنا المعمدان وكانت كبيرة جدًا فعدى البحر عليها فلم يبق لها اثر• ارض الحبش وبئر الدرج وعليها اصل جميز كبير متسع الظل Fol. 41 b مدور مثل الخيمة وبئر الغنم وثلاثة فدادين طين سواد ذكر ان هاتين البئرين والفدن ملك تاج الدولة الشامى ابن سبيل المعروف بانف الذهب وذكر ان جميع ذلك كان للوزير ابى الفرج المغربى فى الخلافة المستنصرية ومقاطع الطين الاصفر بالعدوية الذى يعمل منه الخزف بيعة للشهيد ابو بقطر بارض حبش وبئر الدرج وجد مكتوب فى شاو هذه البيعة بالقبطى تاريخ تصوير الصور سنة تسع وخمسين وسبعمائة للشهدا فى بطركية انبا شنودة وهو الخامس والستين فى العدد جعل فى اخرها مذبحين احدهما باسم الشهيد ابو قرمان واخوته ووالدتهم والاخر باسم بو يحنس الشهيد باسوان مما اهتم به ابو البركات المذكور فى سنة اثنين وسبعين وخمسمائة هجرية وعلوها كنيسة على اسم جرجيوس الشهيد اهتم بامرها الشيخ المكين ابو البركات ابن كتامة الكاتب فى الخلافة الفائزية وجدد المذكور مجاورها كنيسة على اسم الشهيد ابو مينا سنة ثلاث وسبعين وخمسمائة وفيها بئر ماء Fol. 42 a معين ويجاورها بستان ملكًا لها وهو خراب من الانشات ولم يبق فيه سوى نخل قائم• بيعة قبالتها داخل حصن البستان المعروف بادشا الوزير ابو الفرج المغربى فى الخلافة المستنصرية على اسم ابو بقطر ايضًا وهى الان عامرة مكملة القباب والحيطان ولها مدة طويلة بغير قداس ولما تمادى حالها تقدم الوزير طلائع ابن رزيك باخذ بعض عمدها لعمارة المسجد الذى كان انشاه بقرافة

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ابى الفرج هذا وانتقل من الملة النصرانية واسلم واختتن وعمره يناهز اربعين سنة ووضع يده على البستان المذكور وملكه على حكم الموروث وتسلط على الرهبانات واخرجهن منه وهدم المنظرة وجعلها مسجداً واضعف الدير وعمل فيه همّة للامام الحافظ وحضر عنده فازداد الدير ضعفًا وامتنع الملكيين من زيارته ثم توانرت الفتن وهدم معظم الدير والكنيسة وصار امره التلف وكان للملكية اسقفًا بمصر يسمى يوسف فجدد ورم فيه ما وصلت قدرته اليه وهو باقٍ الى الان لم تكمل عمارته كما كان لضعف الطائفة وقلة عددهم واهمال رئيسهم وتغفّله عن النظر فيه وفى غيره وعاده اسقف مصر على هذه الطائفة بالحضور الى هذا الدير فى يوم الاثنين دائمًا اول الجمعة الثانية من الصوم الكبير وجماعة كبيرة من طائفته ومن القبط لسماع وصية الصوم وما يجب ان يعمل فيه وهذا الدير وايضًا يُعيّد فيه فى ثانى يوم عيد الغطاس Fol. 41a

وشهد كتاب الديارات للشابشتى ان هذا الدير على شاطى بركة الحبش وهو قريب من البحر والى جانبه بسانين شتى احدهم انشاه الامير تميم اخو العزيز بالله وفيه مجلس على عمد وهو حسن الوضع محكم البناء والصنعة مصوّر وبقربه بئر وهى المعروفة ببئر نجاى وعليها جميزة كبيرة جدا ولها ظل ثخين يجتمع اليه الناس للظل والفرجة ويتنزهون عندها فى ايام النيل وزيادتها فى البحر وامتلا البركة وكذلك فى ايام الزرع والنوار وقريبا من الجميزة المذكورة القنطرة التى يتوصل منها الى عدة طرق وبها ينصب فى البريم لصيد السمك فى ايام النيل وهو منظر حسن جدًا • فصل وكان الحاكم قد اخذ من الدير والبيعة جزء له من ذلك وبناه مسجدًا بمانذة وهو اول من ابتدا بعمل الموذن فى

فاعيد له الدير فرجع الى نميم قصده ولم ينفع فيه الدوا فاخرج منه وسلم غيره ذكر ان الذى ساعد على اخراجه منه ابو شاكر الكاتب الاسكندرانى قصدا منه بان يفوز بسكن الجوسق والنزهة فيه فحسن له الشيطان الخروج من الملة النصرانية فاسلم وجعل فى بيت العجين قبلة وعلى باب المدخل الى الدير قبلة فاضر بالدير مضرة زينة واحتاز الزقاق الذى كان منه باب المدخل الى Fol. 40a
هذا الدير وافصل الجوسق منه والبستان وتصرف فيهما دون النصارى وتخيل النصارى فى فتح باب يجاور الباب الاول ومنه المدخل اليه وذلك فى الخلافة الحافظية واستولى على الجوسق ايضًا والبستان ولما هلك هذا الجاحد بالوفا بعد ما داله من الندم والتفريط فى جوهر دينه ملكوا اولاده البستان والجوسق وتصرفوا فيهما وهم مسلمين • وبهذه البركة قريبًا من هذا الدير الدير المعروف بمار يوحنا المعمدان المشهور بالنزهة والفرح وهو الان بيد الملكيين واهتم بتجديد عمارته قديمًا ابو الفضل ابن البغدادى وابو نصر ابن عبدون يعرف بابن العداس متولى ديوان الشام فى الخلافة الحاكمية ورفع فى امور الدولة ونظر فيها وكانت علامته الحمد لله على ما يستحق • وعلو هذا المكان المنظرة العجيبة المعدة لاجتماع المترهبين وكان بها عدة من الرهبانات الملكيين وكان تهتم بهم ابو الفضائل ابن ابى الليث الكاتب ويجاور هذا المكان بستانًا ملكًا له محتكر من الديوان السعيد فيه من النخيل الفاخرة والرمان والمرسين وانواع كثير من الاشجار Fol. 40b
المنتخبة الثمرة ما لا يجمع مثله فى غيره واتفق وفاة ابى الفضائل هذا وكان له ابن اخت يسمى ابى المكارم محبوب ابن ابى الفرج العابودى وكانت اخت ابو البركات ابن ابو الليث زوجة

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Fol. 39a بسراديلادس جددها المعلم زوين الضامن بمصر فى الخلافة
الحافظية ثم وهت وتشعث بنيانها فجددها الشيخ المكين ابو
البركات المعروف بابن كتامية ثم تشعثت فجددها امين الدولة
ابن المصوف واضاف قبليها هيكل على اسم الملاك الجليل
ميخائيل وكرزها انبا غبريال اسقف مصر فى دولة صلاح الدين
يوسف الكردى • وبيعة بمين المعترف وبجاورها هيكل على اسم
السيدة بينها وبين بيعة بو قلتة المقدم ذكرها بيعة الملاى الجليل
غبريال • وبيعة على اسم القديس يوحنا المعمدان علو المغطس
اهتم بتجديد عمارتها القس ابو الفتح الصعيدى بالمعلقة وكان
سقفها صوارى كبار فعمد السودان فى بعض النوب الحادثة الى
نهب هذا الدير وفعلوا هذا السقف اقتضى ذلك بهدمها وهى
خراب الان ثم جددوا عمارتها المذكورين بعد ذلك وكرزت فى يوم
الاحد الثانى والعشرين من برمهات سنة تسعمائة للشهدا الابرار
بين غبريال اسقف مصر وانبا بطرس اسقف الفيوم وبجاورها
Fol. 39b الجوسق المتوصل اليه من الكنيسة والبستان تحته وهو يشرف
على بركة الحبش وبحر النيل وبستان • دير مارى يوحنا وهو من
المناظر المستنزهات العجيبة من درة بركة الحبش سيما فى ايام
النيل والربيع وحرث الارض وزراعة الصيافى وكان يحيى ابن
العبيدى الكاتب يتولا امر هذا الدير واتضح لانبا غبريال البطريرك
المعروف بابو العلا صاعد ابن تريك الكاتب السبعين فى العدد
من ذميم طريقته وخسارته بمساعدة المسلمين فى القرابين فاذكر
ذلك عليه مرّة بعد اخرى وهو لا يرجع ولا ينتهى اقتضى الامر
اخراجه منه وتسليم الدير الى من يرجع الى امانته فناله من ذلك
صعوبة شديدة ثم عاد الى التوبة يجيب ان يترك عادته الردية

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ميخائيل فى السابع من هتور وقدس بها سنة تسع وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار• وكنيسة تجاورها على اسم الشهيد الجليل ابا نوب اهتم بها ابنا غبريال البطريرك وذكر ان ابو نصر اخو ابو العلا ابن تريك انشاها ولم يكملها وجدد عمارتها الشيخ الصفى بطرس ابن مهنا الكاتب ثم اختار القس ابو الخير المعروف بابن الامدى يصيف بكنيسة ابا نوب وبعض الساحة التى قدام ميكائيل وكانوا البطاركة يجلسوا بها فى اكثر الاوقات على دكة خشب يتبردوا فى ايام الصيف وجددها كنيسة بعد الحريق على اسم القديس ابنا انطونة وكرزها ابنا يوحنا التاسع والسبعين فى عدد الابا البطاركة فى اول بطركيته فى السنة الثالثة للتسع مائة للشهدا الابرار وكان كل منهم يهتم بعيدها فى كل سنة وتنيح Fol. 38b فى سنة تسعمائة وثلاثة وعشرين للشهدا فى يوم الخميس اول بشنس وفى تلك السنة بعينها تنيح القس اخوه الكبير بها• كنيسة عتيقة متسعة رحبة توهنت جدرانها وتساقط بعض اصوارها تعرف قديمًا باجيا صفيا وكانت رسومها عجيبة الوضع والبنا والهندسة اهتم بترميمها الشيخ صفى الدولة ابن ابو ياسر ابن علون الكاتب• كنيسة على اسم القديس ابو مقار بهذه البيعة وتجدد ما تشعث منها من جهة الشماس ابو اسحق ابن عبد المسيح• كنيسة الاربعة الملائكة الحيوانات الحاملين المرتبة العليا جدّد عمارتها الشيخ ابن امين الملك ابن المهدث ابو سعيد ابن يوحنا الاسكندرانى الكاتب واتقن لها جملون خشب متقن الصنعة فى شهور سنة ثلاث وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا وكرزت فى يوم الاربعا ثامن هتور وهو عيد الاربعة وجوه بمذبح مفرد ومذبح على اسم السيد عند دخوله الى الهيكل ومذبح للشهيد الشجاع نادرس

الاساقفة الذين قسموا على الكراسى الخالية على حكم التبرع منهم بحكم ان هذا البطريرك منع من اخذ الشرطونية اقتداً بما امر به الناموس اذ ملعون من ياخذ وملعون من يدفع وهو من حسنات هذا البطريرك وذلك فى الخلافة العاضدية ووزارة الاجل يوسف الناصر ابن ايوب اخو اسد الدين شيركوه الكردى وهى دولة الغز وتولا عمارتها ثلاثة صناع بنائين من اكابر صناع مصر Fol. 37 b
وهذه البيعة كادت اسقفية الى حين وفاة انبا فيلاثاوس اسقف مصر نقلها بطركية اخرسطادلوس وجعل لانبا غبريال الاسقف بعد انبا فيلاثاوس رسوماً اخذها منها وقداسات معلومة يقدسها فيها فى كل وقت مما تشهد به المنظرة وكان باعلاها كنيسة ابو جرج ذات القبة العالية اعمرها الشيخ ابو الفضل يوحنا ابن كبيل الاسقف وسمى ابوه يوحنا عند تقدمته اسقفًا على كرسى اتريب والقبة والهيكل وهو المذبح وحيطانها سالمة لم تضطرب فى حال الحريق عمل لها ابن ابو الفضائل ابن فروج حصن وبيضها وبلطها وكرزت فى سنة سبعين وخمسمائة • كنيسة ميخائيل الملاك وكانت قلاية البطاركة منذ تقدمة انبا غبريال ابى العلا ابن تريك الكاتب وهو السبعين فى العدد وبعده انبا يونس الثانى والسبعين فى العدد وكان تريك هذا قسيسًا وترمّل وطلب الاسقفية وطلب منه مالاً فلم يفعل ان يتقدم لدرجة الكهنوت برشا وكان له مالا ونعمة فاعمر هذه الكنيسة وكف عن طلب الاسقفية وذلك فى بطريركية انبا Fol. 38 a
ميخائيل السنجارى جدد عمارتها الشيخ السديد ابو الفضائل المعروف بابن ستمائة كاتب امير على ابن احمد الكردى فى خلافة المستضى من اولاد العباس ووزارة الناصر يوسف ابن ايوب فى شهور ثمان وستين وخمسمائة للعرب وكرزت يوم عيد الملاك

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المذبح الاوسط وكان يوم عظيم الفرح والسرور بما فعله الله فى Fol. 36 b
الاول والاخر وشرع الاب البطرك بعد ذلك فى ترميم ما تشعث
فى البيع واصلاح ما فسد منها وخبر ذلك جميعه مكتوبًا فى سير
البطاركة ويختصر القول ليلا يطول الشرح فى ذلك واستمر حال
البيع وظامها فى احسن الحالات • فصل بعد حريق مصر بين
عوام المسلمين من المصريين والاسكندرانيين وذلك فى الخلافة
العاضدية ووزارة شاور وذلك فى شهر صفر سنة اربع وستين
وخمسمائة وكان ابدا يودس البطريرك وهو الثانى وسبعين فى العدد
قد تنبّا على حريق هذه البيعة وان ذلك يكون فى ايام غيره
وهكذا كان والسبب فى حريق هذه البيعة ان النصارى كادوا
يحملون الى هذه البيعة ارزاق كثيرة ويعملون لها من الاوانى
الفاخرة اشيا كثيرة فاراد عوام المسلمين ان ينهبوا ما كان فيها
حاصلاً فلم يقدروا فاجتمع منهم جمع كبير وتعصبوا واحرقوا
البيعة وبقى جدرانها قائمة وكنيسة لطيفة داخلها لم تحرق وهى
كنيسة يوحنا المعمدان وصار القداس فيها مستمرًا الى ان رسم Fol. 37 a
النصارى تجديد عمارة البيعة المذكورة فجددوا عمارتها وكملوا
الاسكنا وعوضوا عوض الاخشاب قببًا واقبية طوب اجر وجدد القبة
الخشب على المذبح الوسطانى وعمل عليه ايضًا مقطع خشب والقبة
الخشب التى عملت على المذبح الوسطانى حسنة جدًا محكومة
الصنعة محمولة على اربعة عمد رخام جافية اهتم بذلك الشيخ
ابو البركات ابن ابو سعيد هبلان الكاتب فى سنة اثنين وتسعين
وثمنمائة للشهدا من ماله دون العمد قادها من حاصل البيعة
وذلك فى بطركية ابدا مرقس المعروف قبل تقدمته بابى الفرج ابن
زرعة الكاتب مما اجتمع لها من جماعة الاراخنة وما احضروه

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سواله ولما لم يمكنوه المعترضين من اعادة البيعة لما كانت عليه
واقاموا الغاية وتعصبوا فى ذلك فبلغ امير المومنين العزيز بالله ان
البطرك لم يمكن من العوام ان يفعل ما رسم له به من اعادة
البيعة لما كانت عليه فرسم لجماعة من جنده ومماليكه ان يخرجوا
يقفوا على عمارة البيعة واى من يعرض لهم فى ذلك يردعوه
ويقابلوه بما يستحقه من خلاف ما رسمنا لهم به فلما راوا العوام
ذلك كفوا عن التعرض وبدوا فى العمل واتفق فى ذلك الوقت ان
الشيخ ابو اليمن قزمان ابن مينا الكاتب استوجه الى فلسطين
واعمالها واقام بها مدة من الزمان فى الشغل متصرفا فى خدمته
التى دب اليها فاكتسب مالاً جزيل وكان بمفردة فاذه كان بتول Fol. 36 a
لم يتزوج ولم يكن عنده سوى غلمانه ومن يخدمه لا غير مع
زهده وقناعته وترتيب حاله فحمل ما اجتمع له من المال الى
البطريرك المذكور وعاد متوجه الى الشام مستمرًا فيما دب اليه
من اشغال دولة الخلافة وقال للبطريرك اصرف هذا المال جميعه
فى سبيل الله من العمارة فى البيع وغير ذلك من الصدقة الى
الضعفا والايتام والمساكين كما يريد الله تعالى ويجريه علىّ بدل
من الخير وانصرف متوجه الى الشام ودفع من قبل توجهه الى
الشام الفى دينار للاديرة التى فى برية القديس ابو مقار وسالهم
ان يذكروه فى صلواتهم ويدعوا بدوام السلامة وجميل العاقبة فبدا
البطرك فى العمارة وجماعة الاراخنة والشعب الارثدكسى يعاضدوه
ويقفوا فى خدمته فى تحصيل ما يحتاج اليه من الاصناف التى
يحتاج اليها فى العمارة وغلمان امير المومنين وجنده ومماليكه
واقفين معه يمنعوا من يتعرض له فيما يفعله الى حين كملت عمارة
البيعة بمعونة الله تعالى وكرزت وقدس فيها اول قداس على

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وهو فى العدد [الثانى والستون] وذلك فى خلافة الامام العزيز
بالله ابن الامام المعز لدين الله وكانت فى القدم كنيسة على
اسم مرقوريوس على شاطى النهر وهدمت وجعلت شونة قصب
وفى ايام هذا البطريرك اختبر اعتقاد النصارى وان كانوا على
Fol. 35 a الحق ام الباطل فجمع النصارى وخرج الى الجبل وخرج
لخروجهم المسلمين واليهود لامر اتفق فى ذلك تضمنته سيرة
البيعة فتقدموا جماعة السادة المسلمين وصلوا وكبروا واستعانوا فلم
تظهر لهم اية ثم بعدهم اليهود وكان كذلك ثم تقدم الاب البطريرك
والدباغ الذى اظهر الله له الاية يتبعه وجميع الشعب الارثدكسى
يتبعهم فدعوا الى الله تعالى وصلوا ورفعوا البخور وصرخوا
كريالیصون ثلاث دفعات فاظهر الله عجائبه وتحرك الجبل المعروف
بالمقطم مما يلى الكبش بين القاهرة ومصر وذلك بامانة الدباغ
الذى قلع عينه بالشفا وذلك بحضور العزيز واشراف دولته وقضاة
المسلمين فلما شاهد هذه الاية العظيمة قال له العزيز حسبك يا
بطرك قد عرفنا ما فعله الله لكم ثم قال له تمنى علىّ ما اخترت
فافعله لك فشكره ودعا له ولم يزل به الى ان تمنى عليه بيعة
له كانت قد دثرت فامر له بتجديدها وقيل انها بيعة القديس
ابو مرقورة فلما اراد ان يبتدى فيها بالعمل تعرض اليه عوامّ
Fol. 35 b المسلمين وذلك ان الكنيسة لما دثعثت ولم يبق من معالمها سوى
حيطانها وقد تهدموا فعملت شونة للقصب فوسم له بعمارتها وان
يطلق له من بيت المال ما يستعين به فى العمارة فاخذ السجل
واعاد المال معتذرا له قائلا ان الله سبحانه الذى اظهر قدرته
العظيمة قادر ان يعين على اقامة بيوت عبادته وهو غنى عن مال
العالم وسأله ان يعيد المال الى مكانه ولا يلزمه باخذه فاجاب

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بيعة ابو قلتة كادت كنيسة مفردة فى الخلافة الامرية قد تقدم
ذكرها وكنبسة ابو منا من الحمرا الوسطا• فصل وفى حال
الحريق المقدم ذكره نقلت العتبة الصوان السودا المقدم ذكرها
وجعلت لباب المدخل ويجاورها بئر ماء معين وبها مدافن فصل
والبستان قبالتها كان ملكًا لها ثم انتقل الى الديوان السلطانى
فى الخلافة الامرية• فصل وجميع الآدر التى كانت تجاورها
ملك ابن زنبور ابيعت انقاضها وصارت ساحة واحدة وفيها بئر
ساقية محكوم البنا حبس جميع ذلك الشيخ صنيعة الملك ابى
الفرج ابن الشيخ علم السعداء ابو اليمن ابن الشيخ صنيعة الملك
ابى الفرج ابن الوزير وجعل الولا للشيخ ابى المكارم ابن حنا ولمن
يختاره ابن حنا بعده وصارت هذه البيعة من داخل الحصن
الذى كان شاور الوزير انشاه وجعل لها خوخة يتوصل اليها من
مدخل مسجد القرون من الحمرا الدنيا بنا هذا المسجد السحرى
ابن الحكم وكان فى هذه البيعة الاغمونس بشير ابن النشر من
اهل منية الامراء وكان عالمًا خبير حسن الكهنوت شجى الصوت Fol. 34 b
مليح الوجه تامّ القامة كهل فى الرجال وكان الشيخ ابو الفضل
ابن الاسقف كاتب الافضل شاهنشاه يلازم الصلاة فى هذه البيعة
ويتناول القربان فيها وكان اذا عطا قربانه يطرح فى الطبق لهذا
القس فى كل يوم يحضر اليها دينارا واحد فرحًا بكهنوته وشجاءة
صوته وغرق هذا القس فى بحر الجيزة ديح الله نفسه الحمرا
الدنيا الخط المعروف كان بالبواصير قديمًا وكان البحر فيه ويعرف
بساحل السعير وشهد كتاب الخطط بمصر قيسارية الجمال بيعة
الشهيد مرقوريوس الخطيرة وكادت هذه البيعة على شاطى البحر
وقد تعدى الان عنها جدد عمارتها الاب ابنا افراهام السريانى

الآدر سكن امين الامنا ابو اليمن سورس ابن مكراوة ابن زنبور وكان ناظر الريف وولده الوزير الاوحد سيد رؤسا السيف والقلم ابو سعد منصور واخرج للقا ناصر الدولة ابن حمدان وقيس ولواتة المنافقين وجماعة معه من مقدمى الجيوش فى الخلافة المستنصرية واقام فى الوزارة ايام قلائل وطالبه الجند بارزاقهم فوعدهم وهرب وبطل امره وكان فى مدخل الاسكنا عتبة صوان اسود عليها شخوص ونقوش بالقلم البرباوى تمنع العصفور الذرورى من الدخول اليها وكذلك الحمام وذكر ان رجل صعيدى حضر الى هذه البيعة بات فيها وتخيل الى كشط منه اجزف فصار الحمام دون العصفور الذرورى يدخل اليها واحرقت فى حريق مصر فى صفر سنة Fol. 33 b اربع وستين وخمسمائة فى الخلافة العاضدية ووزارة شاور وجدد عمارتها قباب واقبية الشيخ ابو المكارم ابن حنا الكاتب وغيره من النصارى وبها من الكنائس فى السفل كنيسة ابو قُلتة جددها ابو الفخر ابن فريج ابن خوير بكنيسة جزيرة مصر • العلو كنيسة ابو مينا عمرها الشيخ سعيد الدولة ابن منجا ابن بو زكرى ابن السريد كنيسة الابا الاطهار ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب جددها الشيخ ابو سعيد جبريل ابن بقطر المعروف بابن الاعرج ثم جددها ابو الفخر كاتب الرواتب المعروف بسعيدان • كنيسة ابا هور جددها الشيخ ابو الفخر كاتب الرواتب ديوان المجلس ايضًا الكنيسة الكبيرة جدد عمارتها ابو الفرج ابن زنبور فى برمهات سنة تسع وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا وصارت هذه البيعة بطركية فى طوبة سنة تسعمائة بعزم المذكور • فصل فى دلال الاعيان ان فى السابع من كيهك اخذت راس ابن كاتب الفرغانى وكان هذا الفرغانى تولا عمارة مقياس النيل فى سنة سبع واربعين ومائتى هجرية وجسده فى Fol. 34 a

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بابن عقيل • فصل وشهد كتاب الخطط للكندى ايضاً ان الحمراوات
الثلاث الحمرا القصوى والحمرا الوسطا والحمرا الدنيا فاولها ما
خطه بلى ابن العمر ابن الحاف ابن قضاعة من درب الزجاجين
الذى يخرج منه الى سوق وردان الى زقاق ابو فروة وغيره
وينتهى الى خوخة الاسطبل فى الحمرا وما خطه بنى بحر ابن
Fol. 32 b سوادة ابن اقصى من الحمرا الدنيا مقابل مسجد القرون الى
سقيفة السرى وغيرها ما خطه هذيل ابن مدركة من الحمرا الوسطا
من محرس ابو المهاجر وغيره الى بين الكومين ما خطه بنى
الازرق من الحمرا القصوى الى خط يشكر ابن جزيلة ابن لخم
والى القنطرة ودربها تام الى الخندق وهو النهر الذى فى اصل
جبل الكبش والى المجائز والدير لمريم وغيره وسهل الجبل كله
بيشكر من المقبرة ومسجد الخلوف وبركة قارون وجبل يشكر ابن
عدوان بن لخم • فصل وتضمن كتاب الخطط ايضاً ان بنى كنادة
ابن عمر ابن القبر ابن فهم انه خط بالحمرا الوسطا من زقاق سهل
ابن عقيل الى القناة حيث القماحين وزقاق الترمس المقابل
لكنيسة ابو منا وان بنى روبيل وكان يهوديا خطوا بالحمرا الى
ان بلغوا الى دير مريم بحرى جنان حوى ومسجد الخلوف
فى السهل مما خطه بنى يشكر ابن جزيلة ابن لخم بالحمرا
القصوى فاما فضى الدنيا وفضى الراية وخولان من درب القنطرة
Fol. 33 a الى سوق وردان مما كان من شارع الحمرا وما وراه من النيل
يسمى فضا القبائل فمنه الاسطبل الى حمام الصليب والكنيسة •
وبالحمرا ايضاً بيعة ابو دفر القديس السائح المتوحد جدد عمارتها
امراة اسمها ثُرفة مما شهد بها لوحاً كان مضروباً على بابها المجاور
للبئر وقد سد الان وكان دخول النسا اليها منه وكان يجاورها

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ما كانت عليه وكرّزت وقدس فيها• فصل وعمّر الشيخ خاصة الدولة Fol. 31 b
ابى الفضائل المعروف بابن دخان كنيسة ابو يحنس فى علو هذه
البيعه وكرزت وقدس فيها وقد تقدم ذكرها وكذلك وانشا قبالتها
جوسقًا كان قديمًا وهدم يجاورها وعمله ثلاث طبقات فى بعض
مكان من الدير اهتم بذلك وعمارتها الشيخ الاسعد صليب المقدم
ذكره ولم يكمل وسبب تأخير كماله ابو البركات ابن الشيخ السعيد
ابى الفخر ابن سيبويه وفى حال تجديد عمارة البيعة المقدم ذكرها
هدم معظم الدير وحفر فيه بئر كبيرة بئر ساقية وعمر فى الجوسق
الطبقة الاولى ونصف الطبقة الثانية وكان مجتهد فى تكميله
فعارضه ابو البركات المذكور وقال ما يكمله الا انا من مالى وبهذه
البيعة مدافن فى ساحاتها الخارجة عنها وبقية الدير والجوسق
لم يكملوا الى الان ويكمل فى هذا المكان اعنى الدير وما حوله
من الساحات التى من حقوقه خمسة ابار• فصل فاما الاملاك
والحوانيت المتاعة لهذا الدير لما تجددت عمارتها فان اكثرها
تهدم وخرب والذى بقى منها خلى من المسكن واشرف على
الخراب فاباعهم انبا مرقس اسقف مصر لمن هدمهم وحمل طوبهم Fol. 32 a
واخشابهم وبقى هذا الدير فى الخراب بين الكيمان فصل ومن
حقوق البيعة من داخل الحصن الدائر عليها من الجانب
البحرى• بيعة على اسم القديس تادرس معلقة محمولة على
عمد رخام فهدمت واخذت اعمدتها وجعلت مسجدًا فى الخلافة
الحاكمية وجعل عليه مادنة ومعالم هذه البيعة وصورها باقى ظاهر
البنيان• وايضا كنيسة على اسم القديس ابو قلتة بالحمرا الوسطا
فى الخلافة الامرية وولاية سوار ابن رفاعة مما ابتاع النصارى من
الارض من بنى فهم وهى عند حمام ابن نجاح والزقاق المعروف

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العجين وفيه قبر مرمن فاختار هذا البيت الشيخ الاسعد صليب ابن ميخائيل ابن الاغمونس واقرده وجعله كنيسة على القديس مارى جرجس بباب مفرد يجاور البيعة الكبيرة ولها باب من الاسكنا وكمل عمارتها وكرزت بين الاسقف انبا مرقس اسقف مصر بحضور انبا يونس البطريرك وقدس فيها وجرى فى عمارتها خطوب كثيرة من اشرار المسلمين وعملت النصارى مشارع اذها من حقوق هذه البيعة ولم تكن مستحدثة ونصر الله الحق وشهد من المسلمين من يعرف انها كانت بيت داخل الكنيسة ممن يقبل شهادته من
Fol. 31 a جيران البيعة وهذه البيعة بين البساتين حسنة الوضع كثيرة المتردّدين من الرهبان وغيرهم • فصل ولما كان فى شهر جمادى الاول سنة تسع وخمسين وخمسمائة عند وصول الغز الاكراد مع صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ايوب والاستنصار عليهم بملك الفرنج احرق هذا الدير والبيعة الى ان صاروا ارض ما خلا [1]الجاف وجانبى الاسكنا البحرى والقبلى فانهم سلموا وجددت العمارة منهما وبنيت قباب واقبية واركان عوضاً من العمد الرخام فى الخلافة العاضدية ووزارة شاور واهتم بذلك الشيخ الاسعد صليب المذكور وكريم الدولة ابن عبيد ابن قروص ومنصور ابن سليم الجلالين بالقاهرة وغيرهم وبما احضره مكارم ابن ابو المنا القس بكنيسة السيدة المعلقة بمصر الى انبا يونس البطريرك من الشرطونية التى منعت القوادين من تناولها ليصيّره اسقفاً على طنبدى فتناول ذلك لهذا الوجه وقدم اسقفاً وبما يحصل من ثمن ما ابيع من الاوانى الفضة التى للبيعة وتكملت هذه البيعة بالعمارة على

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[1] الشاو.

كبيرة وكان فى هذا الصقع جماعة من رؤسا النصارى ففسح لهم
فى تجديد كنائسهم فابتدوا بعمارة الحمرا وتجديد ما هدم منها
فجددوا البيعة وعملوا لها اوانى حسنة من الفضة وغيرها وابتاعوا
Fol. 30 a عدة املاك وبستان وفيه بئرين ساقية وكان جميع ذلك الملك مسكون
وبها مغطس كبير وجدد فى علوها كنائس عدة وهى كنيسة مارى
جرجيوس وذكر انها اولاً كانت على اسم الشهيد نادرس وكنيسة
على اسم الشهيد ابو يحنس وكان بها ايضا بيعة ابو مينا الكبيرة
جسد الشهيد ابا يحنس فى دكّة خشب نقى وكان البحر قريب
من هذه البيعة ثم بعد البحر من هناك فنقل الى بيعة نادرس
بدمنهور على البحر فعدى البحر على هذه البيعة وانتقل الى كنيسة
السيدة بشبرا وجدد عمارتها اعنى بيعة ابو يحنس بعد الحريق
الشيخ الاكرم ابن ابى الفضائل ابن ابى سعيد فى الخلافة
العاضدية ووزارة شاور كنيسة الميلاد المقدس مطلة على صحن
البيعة الكبيرة وبيعة لطيفة جدا اهتم بتجديدها ابو غالب ابن
ابى المكارم البلبيسى على اسم القديس مرقوريوس وبها اعنى
البيعة الكبيرة ادبل رخام ملون اكثره احمر شفاف محمول على
عمد رخام محكم الصنعة وكانترة خشب ويجاوره من الجانب
Fol. 30 b البحرى مذبح وعليه مقطع خشب باسم الشهيد مرقوريوس اهتم
به الشيخ ابو الفضل ابن الاسقف وعلى المذبح فى الاسكنا قبة
خشب محمولة على عمد رخام ومقطع خشب ويجاور هذه البيعة
الدير بباب مفرد وفيه عدة من الرهبانات فى مساكن متفرقة وفيه
بئر ماء معين اهتم بحفره وغوصه وعمارته الشيخ ابو زكرى الصيرفى
وذلك فى الخلافة الحافظية • فصل وكان داخل الاسكنا بيت

محمد موكدًا الله الله فى اهل الذمّة اهل البرية السود الجعد الادم فان لهم دسباً وصهراً ولهم ميزة على جميع اهل الذمّة وكان محمد قد سير حاطب ابن ابى بلتعة من لخم الى المقوقس صاحب الاسكندرية ان يكون على دينه فلم يفعل ولما عاد الى محمد سير اليه على حكم الهدية اربعة جوار منهم مارية القبطية وسيرين اختها وبغلته دلدل وحماره يعفور وكيس وخصى بعثه معهم اما مارية فرزق منها ابراهيم واما سيرين اختها فاهداها الى حسان شاعر محمد فرزق منها عبد الرحمن ولده فصل يذكر فيه الحمراوات ثلاثة الكبرى وهى القصوى والوسطا والحمرا الدنيا مما شهد به كتاب الخطط للكندى فى نسخة فتوح مصر ان الحمرا قوم من الروم منهم بنو نبيه وبنو الازرق وبنو روبيل وقوم من الفرس وسماهم عمر ابن العاص الحمرا لانهم من العجم وتنصروا • الحمرا الوسطى وتعرف الحمرا بالقنطرة وهو المكان الذى Fol. 29 b
كان يقف فيه الراية الحمرا فى فتوح العرب مصر وكان يجتمع اليها من يستأمن اليهم ويسير فى الساقة فعرف بالحمرا فصل •
الدير المعروف بالشهيد ابو مينا صاحب الثلاثة اكاليل النازلة عليه من السما وهو من اهل نقيوس وجسده الطاهر مدفون فى كنيسة مربوط جدد بناها فى خلافة هشام ابن عبد الملك ابن مروان فى ولاية الوليد ابن رفاعة باهتمام من جماعة من النصارى الساكنين بهذا الخط فى سنة ومائة هجرية بعد ما جرى من العرب لما ان شكوا له النصارى ان حرمهم واولادهم عند ما يمضوا الى الكنائس الداخلة بمصر وفى عودتهم لا يامنوا من معترض يعترضهم وخاصة فى ليالى صوم الاربعين فقتل من العرب جماعة

من الخليج وعادت مستقيمة الاحوال وبها رهبان مقيمون وهو
مهتم بالكنيسة وبهم وعاد يحضر اليها فى كل احد جماعة من
القسوس والشمامسة والشعب المسيحى وذلك جميعه فى بطركية
ادبا يوحنا وهو الرابع وسبعين فى العدد وبهذا الخط ايضًا كنيسة
للملكيين فكان عدة البيع بهذا الخط خمسة يخرج من احديهم
الزيتونة ويصعد بها الى القاهرة فاستولوا الغز الاكراد على اربعة
منهم وذهبوا اخشابهم وهدموا الحيطان الى ان لحقوا بالارض
لضعف الملكية وقلة عددهم وبقيت منهم بيعة واحدة تجاور بيعة
القديس مارى جرجس التى بين القبط بهذه الحارة وهذا الخط
وشهدت سيرة المعتمد من الخلفاء العباسيين وهو الخامس عشر Fol. 28 b
منهم ان عدة من قتله احمد ابن طولون ومات بحبسه الفى نفر•
فصل وشهد كتاب فضائل مصر فى عدة روايات ان قبط مصر اصهار
ابراهيم الخليل ويوسف الصديق والاسناد عمن يانى ذكره من
اصحاب محمد قال اشهب ابن عبد العزيز اذا افتتحتم مصر
فاستوصوا فان لهم ذمة ورحم وقال اسمعيل ابن عباس مخبرًا
عنه استوصوا بقبط مصر فانكم تجدوا منهم دعم الاعوان على [عدوكم]
وقال ابى سلمة قال محمد عند وفاته اوصيكم ان تخرجوا اليهود
من جزيرة العرب ثم قال اللة اللة اوصيكم بقبط مصر فانكم ستظهرون
عليهم ويكونون لكم عدة واعوانًا فى سبيل اللة وقال استوصوا
بالادم الجعد قبط مصر فانهم اخوال واصهار واعوانكم على عدوكم
واعوانكم على دينكم فقيل له وكيف يكونون اعوانًا لنا على ديننا
[قال] يكفوكم اعمال الدنيا فتتفرغون للعبادة وباسناد عبد اللة
ابن عمر ابن العاص ان محمد قال القبط اكرم الاعاجم واسمحهم
يد وافضلهم عنصرا واقربهم رحما للعرب عامّة ولقريش خاصّة وقال Fol. 29 a

كبيرة مستوطلة يحيط بها سور طوب لبن بباب مفرد يدخل منه
الى هذه البيعة وهى بين البساتين والمنازه وتشرف على الخليج
ولما احرقت مصر فى شهر صفر سنة اربع وستين وخمسمائة ذهبت
هذه الكنيسة وهدم بعض حيطانها ولم يجد احد من النصارى
Fol. 27 b فى الوقت يهتم بها وبقيت باقية الى الان بين الرحا والتلف
وهدم سور الرابعة المذكورة ولحقت بالارض وانهتكت هذه البيعة
بهدم سورها واختلطت بغيرها من الطرق واضيفت الى دويرة فى
البستان تعرف بدويرة صندل وعدم بعض الجملون الخشب من
علو الاسكنا فاهتم به الشيخ الجلال ابراهيم وعاضده بعض
الاراخنة واصلحوا بعض هذه البيعة وقدس بها دفعة واحدة
وبقيت معطلة لبعدها عن العمارة وبقيت تزار فى السنة دفعتين
او ثلاثة وكان اصلاح بعضها بعناية وكلفة عظيمة من ضمناء البستان
المجاور لها وهو فى السادس والعشرين من بوونة وهو ان ما بقى
يتوصل الى الكنيسة من الرجال والنسا الى من البستان بسبب
ما اضافوه للبستان من الارض التى كادت داخل حصن الكنيسة
ولما كان فى السنة الثالثة للتسعمائة للشهدا فى عشر التسعمائة
وعشرة اهتم بها الشيخ ابو سعيد ابن اندونة المستوفى بالديوان
الخاص العادلى وجدد ما هدم منها وكمل الجملون وبيضها
وكرزت بين انبا غبريال اسقف مصر وحضور جماعة من الاساقفة
Fol. 28 a والقسوس والشمامسة والاراخنة والشعب الاثدكسى بمصر والقاهرة
واستمرت بها القداسات فى كل عيد وكل احد وليلة الاحد ويحضر
الشيخ ابو سعيد المذكور ومعه جماعة قسوس وشمامسة من اولاد
الاراخنة الى هذه الكنيسة فى كل وقت وكل عيد وكل ليلة احد
ويوم الاحد واشترى الساحة التى قدام البيعة وفتح الطريق اليها

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فى الحائط والخط المذكور• فصل شهد كتاب فضائل مصر ان الوليد ابن زواعة تولى الخراج بمصر فى خلافة هشام ابن عبد الملك الاحول فخرج لاحصآ الرؤس فاقام ستة اشهر بالصعيد وباسفل الارض ثلاثة اشهر فاحصى فوق العشر الاف قرية اصغر قرية منها فيها خمسمائة رجل من القبط تكون جملة ذلك من القبط خمسة الاف الف نفس• فصل واجمع اهل العلم انه ليس بالدنيا نهر اطول مدًا من نهر النيل وهو انه يسير مسيرة شهر فى بلاد المسلمين واكثر من ذلك وشهرين فى نوبة واربعة فى الخراب حيث لا عمارة الى ان يخرج من جبل القمر خلف خط الاستوى وليس فى الدنيا نهر يصب من الجنوب الى الشمال غير نهر النيل وليس فى الدنيا نهر يصب فى بحر الروم والصين غير نيل مصر وليس فى الدنيا نهر يزيد ويمد فى ابتداء ما يكون من البحر فى الوقت الذى تنقص فيه الانهار ويجفّ بعضها من الانهار والعيون باسرها وكلما قوى البحر قويت زيادة النيل وليس فى الدنيا نهر يزيد وينقص بترتيب غير نهر النيل ولا Fol. 27 a يعجبى من خراج نهر من انهار الدنيا مثل ما يعجبى من ما سقا النيل وبالخط المذكور بيعة للملاك غبريال جددها صعلوك الجلال وعلوها كنيسة ميلاد سيّدنا يسوع المسيح بالجسد وقبّة الاسكينا عالية جدًا تنظر من البعد انشا عمارتها الاخ عبد المسيح وكانوا الغز وعوام المصريين قد نهبوها وكسروا اعمدة البستلات واحرق بعض علوها فاهتم بتجديد عمارتها الشيخ الثقة جبريل الكاتب فى الخلافة العاضدية وجدد تكريزها وقدس فيها وكان بهذه البيعة سدرة كثيرة هائلة معتدلة صاعدة الى علو البيعة قطعت وابيعت بثمن جزيل واصرفت فى عمارة البيعة• فصل ولها رابعة

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الان وبهذه البيعة مغطس وبئر مآ معين • فصل فاما الاسعد ابو
الخير ابن الميقاط المذكور احضره شاور الوزير وانكر عليه بغير سببا
يوجب الانكار وبدا يعاقبه فمات شهيدًا وحمل اليها ودفن فيها
الرب ديح نفسه الطاهرة وقبر فى الرواق البحرى منها وتجاور
هذه البيعة مدافن النصارى خارجا عنها وكان يجاور كنيسة يوحنا
المعمدان المقدم ذكره مطبخ فابطله الشيخ السعيد ابى الفخر صاعد
ابن بسيوة واعمره بيعة على اسم سيدنا السيدة العذرى الطاهرة
وكملت وكرزت من يد الاب الاسقف انبا غبريال اسقف مصر وحضور
انبا بطرس اسقف الفيوم فى يوم الاحد وهو الاحد الرابع من Fol. 26 a
الصوم المقدس فى خامس شهر برمهات سنة ثلاث وتسعمائة للشهدا
الابرار الموافق للتاسع عشر من ذى الحجة سنة اثنين وثمانين
وخمسمائة وعلو هذه البيعة يشرف منه على بركة قارون ومنظر هذه
البيعة نزه لما يحيط بها من البساتين والمنازه والعمائر الحسنة
وهى شرحة نزهة فى حالتى النيل والزراعة وكبيرة الانس بما
يجاورها من البساتين والمناظر ومن القاصدين لها فى كل وقت
وكان طائفة من الرجال السودان يعرفون بالجيوشية قد طغوا كثيرًا
وبغوا وامتدت ايديهم الى قطع الطرقات واخذ اموال الناس وسفك
الدمآ فلما ملكوا الغز الاكراد اقليم مصر فى ربيع الاخر سنة اربع
وستين وخمسمائة تسلطوا عليهم جمعة من طائفة الارمن النصارى
وطردوهم وقتلوا منهم جماعة كثيرة وخليت الحارة سكنهم المجاورة
بالقرب من الحمرا كما تقدم القول وابتاع الحارة حطلبا الغزى
والى مصر من الديوان وحرثها وانشا بها ابار معين وسواقى
واعمرها بساتين وزرع عليها نباتات كثيرة وزرع ارضها خضر اولاً
ونقل المدخل الى هذه البيعة من غير باب بهذه الحارة بل هو Fol. 26 b

Fol. 25 a سبع وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار واهتم باصلاح البيع التى بالقرب من البيعة الكبيرة الشيخ الوجيه ابى الحسن ابن الامّ الكاتب فى سنة اثنين وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهداء الابرار فصل واستمرّت العمارة الى حين دخول شاور السعيدى وزير الخلافة العاضدية والغز والاكراد التى مع يوسف صلاح الدين ابن ايوب الكردى الذى صار ملك مصر وسمى على الدراهم والدنادير بقسيم امير المومنين بدخول ملك الفرنج للنصرة عليهم فى شهور سنة تسع وخمسين وخمسمائة فعدى على هذه البيعة الغز الاكراد وعوامّ اهل مصر واحرقت بالنار واهدمت للارض مع غيرها من البيع فى جمادى [1]الاول سنة تسع وخمسين وخمسمائة ثم جددت فى سنة ستين وخمسمائة اهتم بتجديدها الشيخ السعيد ابو الفخر كاتب الروائب فى الخلافة الحافظية وعاضده فى ذلك الشيخ الوجيه ابو حسن ابن الامّ فى سنة اثنى وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار ثم جدد ما تشعث من البيع المشائخ الاراخنة الشيخ السعيد شديد الملك ابن الفخر ابن بسيوة وابو البركات ولده والاسعد ابى الخير جرجة ابن وهب المعروف بابن الميقاط Fol. 25 b وكرزت الكنائس التى تجدّدوا بمعونة الله واستمرّ فيهم الصلوات والقداسات الى يومنا هذا. فصل ولما تجدد ولما عمرت هذه الكنيسة الكبرى اعنى الحمرا غاروا لاقامتها الحسدة والمعاندين واستعانوا بعوامّ القوم فنهبوها وهدمت ايضًا ثم استرم ما تشعّث منها وجدد تكريزها واستمر بها القدّاس والصلوات على جارى العادة فصل وتربة المعلم سرور الجلال المقدم ذكره باقية بها الى

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[1] الاولى.

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المذكور نو مالا وجاه حتى انه كان انا صعد مولانا المستنصر الى المنظرة المعروفة بالسُكرة لكسر سدّ الخليج الذى حفره عمر ابن العاص امير مصر فى خلافة امير المومنين عمر ابن الخطاب يقدم له المعلم سرور الجلال المذكور تقادم حسان من انواع الاطعمة والاشربة والحلوة وكان يعمل له الوان من الاسماك الطرية والسكر ذا ايات المتنوعة فيقبلها منه ويخلع عليه ويقضى حوائجه وانفذه الى القلزم وهو حرسًا للملك من جهة ناحية الحجاز واسم هذا المكان بحبل المنسج وهى التى تمسك الثوب واسمه قلزم وكان جوهر المعزى قد بنا قنطرة فى هذا الخليج تخرج الى ساحل المقسم وفيه المجراة المعروفة بالمجنونة وقد كان قبل هذه القنطرة Fol. 24 b
قنطرة هدمت واثارها باقية وكانت من الجانب الشرقى وبعضها من الجانب الغربى تحت البستان مجاور الطريق المسلوك منه الى الزهرى لحمل الميرة فيه الى الخليج من مصر الى القلزم ومنه مكة والمدينة ومنها الى ارض العباسة ومولانا المستنصر متوّج بمنديل الجوهر والمظلة منشورة عليه وهو فى * * * جالس فوق دكّة الوقار فخرج اليه المذكور لخدمه ويسلم عليه وعليه ثوب نضافى وعمامة صقلى مشدود الوسط بشملة دبيقى مذهبة ويستدعا باسمه فى حالتى صعوده وعودته الى القاهرة اعنى هذا المعلم سرور الجلال • فصل وكان المذكور فيه خير ومعروف وخدمة لسائر الناس كل احد بما يلائمه واهتم لنفسه بعمارة تربة وهى قبة وقبو تحت الارض ملاصق شاو البيعة وعمّر ولده نجاح علوها كنيسة على اسم القديس يوحنا المعمدان وكانت جميعها خشب دقى منقوش • فصل جدّد عمارة كنيسة يوحنا المعمدان الشيخ السعيد ابو الفخر والد النجيب ابو البركات المعروف بابن صاعد وكرزت فى توت سنة

Fol. 23 b سبعين الف دينار وكان الزائد فى النفقات عن الارتفاع مائتى
الف دينار وفى سنة اثنين وستين ومائة فى خلافة المهدى ابن
المنصور من العباسيين عقد الخراج بمصر الف الف وثمنمائة الف
وثمانية وعشرين الف وخمسمائة دينار • فصل وبختنصر مرزبان
الشرق دخل مصر على اشد مغنم بمغيان • فصل وبلطاشصر ولده
اعمر مصر بعد خرابها اربعين سنة واول ما عمر بها ارض
الاشمونين • فصل واول من قسم اساقفة على بلاد مصر واعمالها
دمتريوس البطريرك وهو فى العدد الثانى عشر فصل وشهدت
سيرة البيعة واخبار انبا مرقس الحديد وهو فى العدد التاسع
واربعين ان البيع التى بفسطاط مصر بنيت وامر بعمارتها فى
نظره بعد هدمها اولاً فى بطركية انبا يوحنا الثامن فى العدد •
مدينة مصر وخارجها مدينة الشمس ومصريم بناها وهو ابن كنعان
ابن حام ابن نوح ابن لامك الاعمى سميت باسم ملك القبط
مصريم وخارجها ما بين السخرتين خلف العريش واول كنيسة
بنيت بفسطاط مصر الكنيسة التى خلف القنطرة ايام مسلمة ابن
مخلد الانصارى واسم مصر باليونانى جبت وبالرومى الفرنجى
بابلون القلعة بالحارة بين القاهرة ومصر من كنيسة القديس
مارى جرجس المسماة الحمرا وكانت فى وسط حارة وتسمى بحارة
الروم وكانت سكن النصارى والاخوة الحبش الرهبان وغيرهم
ولما تلاشت الحارة كما تلاشا غيرها من ظاهر مصر وهدمت الآدر
التى بها وحمل طوبها واخشابها الى عمارة اخرى بمصر والقاهرة
Fol. 24 a وبقى فيها بعض رسوم واهية سكنها رجال ميمون • بيعة القديس
جرجيوس الحمرا كانت قد وهت وتشعثت اهتمّ باصلاحها
وتجديدها المعلم سرور الجلال فى الخلافة المستنصرية وكان

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العاص ابن عدى اسود قصيرا عظيم الهامة ناتى الجبهة واسع
الفم عظيم اللحية عريض ما بين الكتفين والثديين وكادت وفاته
فى سنة ثلاث واربعين ودفن فى المقطم من ناحية الفج على
طريق الناس الى الحجاز• فصل ووجدت فى تاريخ محبوب
ابن قسطنطين المنبجى فى الجزو الاول منه ومدينة منبج تعرف
بمدينة الكهان العتيقة على شطر الفراة ان ملك يسمى اقطوطيس
فى عصر اسحق ابن ابراهيم اول من احدث الكتب والعلوم
والنجوم والحساب من كتب الكلدانيين واهل المشرق وحملها
الى مصر وعلم السحر والاقسام وفى ذلك الزمان بنيت سدوم
وغامورا وبنيت بابلودية ايضًا على بحر النيل واقام هذا الملك Fol. 23 a
اثنين وثلاثين سنة فصل و بلغ خراج مصر على يد يوسف ابن
يعقوب بعد عمارتها بعزمة اربعة وعشرين الف الف وستمائة الف
دينار واستخرج فرعون موسى واسمه الوليد ابن مصعب تسعين
الف الف دينار وحفر خليج سردوس على يد قارون وهامان وهو
اكبر عطوفا واستخرج الروم عشرين الف الف دينار وتقبلها جريج
ابن مينا المقوقس من الهرقل بما مبلغه ثمانية عشر الف الف
دينار واستخرج عمر ابن العاص فى سنة احد وعشرين للهجرة
الف الف دينار وفى سنة اثنين وعشرين اثنا عشر الف الف دينار
وفى ايام بنى العباس على يد احمد ابن طولون خمسة الاف
الف وعلى يد يعقوب ابن يوسف اربعة الاف الف وانتهت الى
ثلاثة الاف الف ومسحت اراضى مصر فى ايام هشام ابن عبد
الملك مما يركبه النيل فكان ثلاثون الف الف فدان واشتمل ارتفاع
مصر وما معها وجميع نفقاتها لسنة فى مملكة كافور الاستان
الاخشيدى بتقدير فكان ثلثة الاف الف ومائتى الف وينيف

يوم الجمعة مستهلّ المحرم سنة عشرين للهجرة فى خلافة عمر
ابن الخطاب بين الحصن المعروف بحصن الحمام وكان عدد Fol. 22 a
القبط بارض مصر دون الشيخ الكبير العاجز والفتى الذى لم
يبلغ الحلم ستة الاف الف نفس وفرض على كل منهم فى كل
سنة ستة وعشرين وثلثى وعلى الغنى الموسر منهم دينارين مثل
احدهم وثلاث ارادب قمح بكل بلد سكنه وكان المحمول من جهتهم
اثنا عشر الف الف دينار خارجًا عن جزية اليهود بمصر واعمالها
وحمل الى عمر ابن الخطاب وهو اول مال حمل اليه من مصر
وقد كان عمر ابن العاص دخل الى مصر فى الجاهلية وعرف
طرقها فى تجارة له مع نفر من قريش• فصل وجدت فى تاريخ
البيعة ان دخول المسلمين الى مصر وملكها فى ايام من بوونة
سنة احد وعشرين وثلثمائة للشهدا الابرار• فصل عدة القتائل
الذين حضروا الفتح بمصر سوى من قتل فى الحصار اثنا عشر الفًا
وثلثمائة الاماكن التى عرفت بمن خطها من العرب فى فتوح مصر
فى المحرم سنة عشرين هجرية مهرة ابن حيدان ابن عمر ابن
الحاف ابن قضاعة تجيب ام عدى لخم وجذام ابنا عدى ابن
مرة راشدة ابن جزيلة ابن لخم بنى المغافر ابن يعفر بنى وائل
عرف الخليج والقنطرة والخط هبيب ابن مغفل صاحب وادى Fol. 22 b
هبيب القرافة بنو حجص ابن يوسف ابن وادل الملك ابو
الخير ابن شراحيل وردان الرومى صاحب عمر ابن العاص•
شجاعة ابن منن غان ابن ملك ابن كعب ابن الحارث ابن كعب
سوف بربر عرف ببربر ابن ابى حبيب درب الخديجى كان فيه
عبد الرحمن ابن معاوية ابن خديج ابن حجر امير مصر فى
خلافة عبد الله ابن الزبير بمكة ومروان بالشام• وصفة عمر ابن

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كتاب سير البيعة واخبار الابا البطاركة ان عمر ابن العاص والعرب الواصلين معه اخذوا الطريق من الجبل حتى انهم وصلوا الى قصر مبنى بالحجارة بين الصعيد والريف سمى بابلون فضربوا هناك بيتهم مشور وترتّبوا جميعهم لملاقاة الروم ومحاربتهم وسمّوا ذلك المكان الفسطاط بلغتهم وتفسير هذه اللفظة الخيمة وكذلك قصر الجمع بمصر سموه العرب فسطاط بابلون فصل ووجدت فى كتاب الجناح ذكر فتوح مصر يقول ان عمر ابن العاص فتح مصر فى سنة تسعة عشر هجرية وكان خارج موضع يعرف بجنان الريحان فنزلوا فيه لمحاصرة مدينة مصر وكان الاسقف من الروم بمصر والاسكندرية يسمى قرة وقد خندق اهل الفسطاط عليهم Fol. 21 b
وكان اسم الفسطاط اللودية فسماه العرب الفسطاط لانهم قالوا هذا فسطاط القوم ومجمعهم واذ وصل اليها فى ثلاثة الاف وخمسة رجل ثم لحقه الزبير ابن العوام فى اثنا عشر الف وملك الحصن وفتحه عنوةً واستباح ما فيه وآمن اهله على انهم ذمّة ووضع عليهم الجزية والخراج فى ارضهم وان صاحب اللودية اعنى الفسطاط قرّر على كل حالم دينارين وهى سبعة وعشرين درهمًا الا ثلث الا ان يكون الحالم فقيرًا والتزم كل غنى موسر فى كل سنة بدينارين وثلاث اردب حنطة وان عمر اجتنى من مصر وجزيتها الفى الف دينار وجباها عبد الله ابن سعيد ابن مفرج اربعة الاف الف دينارًا ومدة ولاية عمر ابن العاص عشرة سنين واربعة شهور وعبد الله ولده سنتين وذكر ان المسلمين لما وصلوا الى مصر عملوا زرب قصب من الخط المعروف بالفر الى المكان المعروف بدورة خلف واجتمعوا اليه فسمى الفسطاط اى مجمع القوم ولم ينصبوا العرب خيمة ولا عرفوها • فصل فتح عمر ابن العاص مصر

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دائمًا ويشف فيه ظاهرًا• فصل وذكر الله نيل مصر على السن انبيائه قال اشعيا النبى الله يبارك اهل مصر ومن خلقته يداه بالموصل• فصل ومن الانجيل ايضًا وترايا ملاك الرب فى الحلم قائلا قم خذ الصبى وامه واذهب الى ارض مصر وكن هناك الى Fol. 20 b
ان اقول لك واقام بمصر السيد المسيح ووالدته العذرى الطاهرة والشيخ البار يوسف النجار سنتين• فصل ومن نبوة هوشع مما شهد به الانجيل الطاهر قوله من مصر دعوت ابنى فصل تفضيل مصر على غيرها من سائر الاقاليم حلول سيدنا يسوع المسيح بها بالجسد والسيدة الطاهرة مرتمريم والشيخ الصديق يوسف النجار بامر من الله ومرقس الانجيلى التلميذ بالاسكندرية وهو ابن اخت اسطفانوس رئيس الشمامسة واول الشهداء باورشليم ودخل اليها من الابا الاطهار وهم ابراهيم الخليل ويعقوب ابن اسحق اقام بها سبعة عشر سنة وتنيح بها ونقل جسده الى الشام والاسباط اولاده وحصل بها من ذريتهم ستمائة الف وخمسمائة وخمسين نفسًا يوسف الصديق واولاده وهما منسا وافرام وتنيح بها ونقل جسده الى الشام وصلى وسجد موسى النبى عند سجنه خارجًا عن بنى لاوى وعدتهم اثنى وعشرون الفًا ومائتى وثلاثة وسبعين نفسًا وموسى وهارون اخيه واختهما مريم ودخل اليها ايضًا لوط ابن اخى ابرهيم ويوشع ابن نون وداديال Fol. 21 a
النبى وارميا النبى وحزقيال وغيرهم من الملوك والعظماء والحكماء والفلاسفة والرؤساء والمسلطين فى كل عصر وزمان• فصل واما انتهى بلاد مصر فمن المشرق العباسة ومن المغرب الاسكندرية وطولها من العريش الى عيذاب وعرضها من البرقة الى ايلة وذكر ان برقة تعرف بالخمس مدن• فصل اخبار مدينة مصر تضمن

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من ذلك الصدع حتى تقطعه الرياح وبها حائط العجوز من العريش الى اسوان وتسمى العجوز وفى بحر النيل سمكة وهى التى تسمى الرعادة اذا وضع الرجل الجبار يده عليها فلا يملك قواه دون ان يضطرب جسده وترتعد ذراعه مقدار ساعة وتنحل عنه وبها مجمع البحرين ويسمى البرزخ الذى فيه يلتقيان البحرين وبينهما حاجزان وهما بحر الروم والصين والحاجز بينهما مسيرة ليلة بين القلزم والفرما وليس يتقاربا فى بلد من البلدان اقرب منهما فى هذا الموضع وبينهما فى الشرق مسيرة شهور وليس فى الدنيا بلد ياكل اهلها صيد البحرين طريّاً غير اهل مصر وبها القماش المطرز القصب التنيسى والشرب وهو الخيامى والدبيقى الملون وليس فى طراز مبلغ الثوب منه مائة دينار وليس فيه Fol. 20 a
ذهب غير تنيس ودمياط والمنّحف والصقلى ولهم الثياب الصوف والاكسية المرعز السمالوسيات وليس هى فى الدنيا الا بمصر ولهم النتاج العجيب من الخيل والبغال والحمير ولهم معدن الذهب والزمرّد والمغرة الحمرا والصفرا والمرقشيثا الذهبية والفضية والنحاسية وبركة النطرون والملاحات وبها الطين الاسوانى الذى يسمى طين الحكمة وتعمل منه كيزان الفقّاع وعمل الورق البياض ومطابخ السكر ومعاصر القصب الحلو ومزارع الارز وزيت الفجل والسلجم ودهن البلسان والافيون والابرميس والشراب العسلى• فصل واما نيل مصر فانه من الايات التى تعجب منها اهل الارض اذا سمعوا به فانه يطلع فى الغيض الشديد الذى فيه تنقص سائر البحار والعيون وتنجف وطلوعه فى وقت الاحتياج اليه وكذلك نزوله فى وقت الاحتياج اليه عناية من الله بسكان مصر وتزيد الابار بعد نقصه والزراعة عليه لا على الامطار وهو ينجرّ الى البحر المالح

واخرج الماء عنه وكان ابتدى جرى النيل اليه وكان عمر يوسف ثلاثين سنة فى مملكة الريان ابن دومغ ونعت باسم فرعون بعد تفسير المنام له وتعبيره عليه واخلع عليه وسلم اليه خاتمه وتدبير مملكته تضمنت سيرة البيعة السابعة عشر واخبار ابنا خائيل Fol. 19 a السادس والاربعين فى عدد البطاركة ارتفاع مصر واعمالها الى اخر خلافة مروان حمار الحرب وهو اخر خلفاء بنى امية وابتداء خلافة السفاح عبد الله العباسى فى السنة حملاً الى بيت المال سوى النفقات مائتى الف دينار فصل المبتدئون بعبادة الاصنام اهل مصر وبابل وافرنجس واهل السواحل فصل قحطان ابن فالق ابو العرب فى ايامه كانوا الناس يصورون كلمن يعرف بمعروف وله ذكر جميل وشجاعة وحسن صورة ويعبدون صورته فصل بو ديطر ابن نوح وهو الرابع تعلم بالهام الله له علم الفلك وحسابه للسنين والشهور والايام والساعات وما اشبه ذلك ثم تعلم منه نمرود الجبّار ووضع كتبًا فى علم الفلك وحسابه وتعجب الناس من حكمته التى وضعها فى كتبه ونقلوها عنه فحسده اردشير وخدم الشيطان وصام له وذبح له ذبائح وقدم له بخور وتضرع له فظهر له وعلّمه السحر والخيالات التى لا حقيقة لها فاظهر دين النجوم وتعلم نمرود الجبار منه علم الطاغوت وهو اول من لبس التاج المذهب مرصّع بالجوهر ولبس البرقير وظهر بهذا الشكل فصل فى الخواصّ Fol. 19 b التى بمصر والعجائب بها موسى وهارون اخيه ومريم اختهما ولدوا باسكر من اقليم مصر وبالطور كلم الله موسى والقى عصاه وبها فلق البحر وصنع العشرة ايات وملكها يوسف الصديق وبها النخلة وبها الوادى المقدس وصدع الابوقير الذى يحج اليه جنس هذا الطائر المذكور فى كل سنة فيمسك منه طائر واحد فلم يزل معلقاً

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للشهيد يوحنس ويسمى ابو يحنوس وجسده الطاهر بهذه البيعة • وبيعة للملاك الجليل ميخائيل رئيس الملائكة • ادربجة من قرى بوش بيعة للشهيد العظيم مارى جرجس طنسا بيعة على اسم شهادة بيعة على اسم الشهيد الشجاع مرقوريوس بيعة على اسم الملاك الجليل غبريال وبيعة على اسم السيدة العذرى الطاهرة مدينة الفيوم واعمالها الفيوم اسم احد اولاد قفط ابن مصرائم بناها لابنة له فهجرت فنفاها اليها كانت قبل يوسف ابن يعقوب ابن ابراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام وجدد عمارتها يوسف هذا وعمل المقاييس وبنا الفيوم وحجر اللاهون بنى بالحكمة واسس بالتقوية واتقن بالوحى من الله وحفر خليج المنهى وعمر ارض مصر وعدة النواحى به ثلثمائة وستة وستين قرية عدد ايام السنة تميز كل قرية يوم وخراجها الف دينار وهذه الاعمال تروى اراضيها Fol. 18 b
من اثنى عشر ذراع ولا تغرق من ثمانية عشر ذراعًا وبها من المباح مما ليس لاحد فيه ملكًا بل للناس مباحًا يتصرفون فيه ويستعينون به على احوالهم سبعين صنفًا استخرج خراجها فى ايام كافور الاستان امير مصر المشهور بالاخشيدى فى الدولة العباسية على يد ابن طرخان سنة خمس وخمسين وثلثمائة للعرب ما مبلغه ستمائة الف وعشرون الف دينار وذلك بازآ عقد الرملة وطبريّة ودمشق وكان بهذه الاعمال خمسة وثلاثين ديرًا وكان الاسقف بها ابنا افراهام فى بطريركية ثاودورس وهو الخامس والاربعين فى العدد والخراج عما يزدرع برسم هذه الديارات مما يحمل فى بيت المال فى كل سنة خمسمائة دينار فى كتاب فتوح مصر بيد المسلمين ان الفيوم كان يعرف بالجوبة وكان مصلحة لماء الصعيد فاستنبطه يوسف الصديق وحفر الخليج

ومعه فاس كانه يريد قطعها ويلقاه انسان و منعه قطعها وضمنها منه انها تثمر واذها فى تلك السنة الاتية تثمر قدر ثمرة سنتين
Fol. 17 b فصل خبر حجارة توجد بموضع يسمى بالبرمك ما بين خريج ويحتاك وهى عقبة جبل انا مر بها قافلة او جيش شدوا على حوافر دوابهم صوفاً كثيراً ورفعوا فى السير لان تلك [1] الحجارة انا اصطكت بعضها ببعض ثار للوقت ضباب مظلم منعهم السير ومطر قوى جداً وقيل ان هذه الحجارة احكمتها الحكماء فى تلك الارض انا تخلفت عنهم المطر حركوا تلك الحجارة بحكمتهم فياتيهم المطر عند الحاجة الى نزول المطر وذلك فى اخبار المعتصم وتضمنه بعض التواريخ وهو صحيح فصل الوجه القبلى بالديار المصرية بوصير وانا سميت باسم [2] ساحر كان هناك اسمه بوصير بها بيعة كبيرة متسعة جداً مبنية بالحجر داخل المدينة تجاور القصر عمرت فى القديم ولما تواترت النوب واحتاج الملوك الى حجرها نقل منها حجر كثير جداً وهى الان خراب ورسومها ظاهرة وهى قريبة من سجن يوسف الصديق اعنى ابن يعقوب ابن اسحق ابن ابراهيم الخليل عليهم السلام• مدينة وانا بها بيعة جرجيوس منية القائد بها بيعة فضل ابن صالح كان غلام الوزير ابى الفرج ابن كلمين جدد بناها فى الخلافة الحاكمية وهى على اسم السيدة العذرى وهى على البحر• وانا بوصير بيعة على اسم الشهيد العظيم الشجاع مرقوريوس الكبير وبيعتين اخر واحدة للسيدة
Fol. 18 a العذرى الطاهرة والاخرى للقديس الشهيد مارى جرجس وبيعة

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[1] In margin: فيدخلون فى الماء ويحركون عن ذكر مصر فى الاول.

[2] In margin: بحكم تقدمه

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مأسور فى الجحيم فى حق موته ودفعة يقول اخذ من الشيطان
كل مأسور فى الجحيم فاوجب على السيدة انها ما ماتت الا
عن خطية وكذلك غيرها ممن زكّاه الانجيل وغيره من كتب
العتيقة واعتقد ان بعد موت العالم وحشرهم فى الفردوس يجرى
لمن لا يتأدب فى حال حياته مثل ما جرى لآدم واعتقد ان
العقاب والثواب فى الاخرة على النفس العاقلة الناطقة دون الجسد
وان التأديب فى هذه الدنيا للجسد حتى لا يعود يوافق النفس
على ارتكاب الخطايا لنفوره من آلام القانون فيخلص فى اليوم
الاخر وجميع ما شرحه من سوء اعتقاده موجود فى كتبه التى
الفها ومنهم كتاب الفه ونعته بالعشرة رؤوس ومن كتبه التى الفها
ايضًا كتاب الفه ونعته بكتاب المعلم والتلميذ يتضمن ثمانية ابواب Fol. 17 a
وكتاب الفه ونعته بالمجموع فيما اليه المرجوع وكتب غير ذلك فصل
يذكر فيه خبر المصيدة بارض النيل مكان يجتمع اليه فى يوم
معين سمك كثير يخرج اهل ذلك المكان فيصيدونه بايديهم ولا
يهرب منه شى حتى ان اهل ذلك المكان ياخذوا منه ما ياكلون
ويملحون جميعهم فان غربت الشمس فى ذلك اليوم لم يعود احد
ياخذ شى منه بالجملة ولا ذلك العام لا يوجد فى ذلك المكان
سمك فى يوم من الايام الى مثل ذلك اليوم المعيّن فصل خبر
مدينة الحجر هذه المدينة كلما فيها حجر اسود مانع وصورة
معلم صبيان جالس وبين يديه صبيان كثير كبار وصغار ومثالات
سباع ووحوش وغير ذلك فصل خبر الاسطوانة المتحركة بارض
مصر وهى اسطوانة رخام ارتفاعها من الارض سبعة عشر ذراع
بالعمل وعرضها ذراعين و هى تتحرك يوم فى السنة حركة واحدة
فصل خبر الشجرة التى لا تثمر الا اذا جرى انسان الى نحوها

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ومؤتمرين بامره وان لكل واحد من هؤلاء الثلاثة عملاً لا يشركه
فيه الاخر وذلك ان الاب يامر والابن يخلق ما يامره الاب بخلقته
وروح القدس يحيى ما يامره الاب باحياه وان كل مخلوق موجود
الابن بامر الاب خلقه وكل حى موجود روح القدس بامر الاب احياه Fol. 16 a
ثم اعتقد ان فى طبيعة اللاهوت تأنيث وخص بالتأنيث روح القدس
واعتقد ان كلمة الله الازلية مولودة فى ازليتها من الاب ومن روح
القدس ويصرّح ويقول وكما ليس للاب ابتداء كذلك روح القدس لم
يزل منبثق منه بغير ابتداء والابن هو ايضًا لم يزل مولود منهما بغير
ابتداء ثم اعتقد ان الله لم يكلم شى من مخلوقاته بل كلامه لابنه
وروح قدسه وخالف جميع ما جاء فى كتب الله العتيقة والجديدة
من كلام الله لعالمه ثم اعتقد ان الابا والانبيا كانوا محشورين فى
الجحيم لذنوبهم الذى لم يقدروا يخلصوا انفسهم معما عملوه من
طاعة الله وانهم كانوا فى الجحيم معاقبين بعقوبة الى ان خلّصهم
الرب المسيح الذى هو بلا خطية ثم اعتقد ان الابا والانبيا خاليين
من موهبة روح القدس ثم ان روح القدس لم يتكلم على افواههم
ويسلب الابا والانبيا نعمة روح القدس وقال لو كان فيهم روح
القدس لما هبطوا الى الجحيم وادعم سوء هذا الاعتقاد بانّ كل
الحسنات التى عملها الابا والانبيا كان الله يحسب ذلك للشيطان
وان بهذا الحكم كان الشيطان يساعدهم على عمل الحسنات بغير Fol. 16 b
روح القدس ثم عضد ذلك باعتقاده الحسنات التى عملها التلاميذ
وكافة شعب المسيح يعتد بها للمسيح بحكم انهم يعملوها بروح
القدس واعتقد ان لا يموت احد من لدن آدم والى هلمّ جراً الا
انا عمل خطية يستحق بها الموت وان جسد المسيح خاصة لم
يعمل خطية يستوجب بها الموت فلما مات اخذ من ابيه كل

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الله وطلب خلاص نفوسهم الاغترار بتمويهاته والدخول معه فى زمرته فاول ما استرقهم به ان يعترفوا له بخطاياهم ثم اثبت فى نفوسهم ان بغير ذلك لا تكون توبة ولا غفران ثم امرهم ان لا يحلقوا رؤسهم جميعها بل وسط رؤسهم ويتركوا الختان لان الله خلق آدم كاملاً بغير نقص وقال كما برا صورة آدم وكمله حسناً جداً وهذه السنة لم يثبت عليها الا اليهود والحنفاء وانه لا يجوز البخور فى البيعة بغير اللبان الذى قدم للسيد مع الذهب والمر وان لا يغسل الانسان فمه بماء عقيب القربان كل ذلك اولاً فاوّلاً وهم يسمعوا له فى واحدة واحدة فى مدة تنيف عن خمسة عشر سنه ثم فى اخر الامر امرهم ان يصلّبوا بالاصبعين والقربان بالقربان المخبى الذى يقدس عليه يوم الاحد ويرفعه الكاهن عنده ويقرّب منه للمعترفين الذين يرومون القربان بعد الاعتراف وعمل القانون يخرج منه السرّ ويضاف الى خمر جديد يصلى عليه بمفردة ويتقرب به وابطل ثلاثة ايام صوم نينوى والجمعة الاولى من الصوم على رسم طائفة الملكية وحلّ جمعة نينوى ان يوكل فيها الزفر يومى الاربعا والجمعة فتيقظ له من الارثذكسيين من اخذ حذره منه واغترّ به من تابعه من النصارى فاما امر اعتقاده الذى اظهره وضمنه الكتب التى الفها ما لا يوافقه عليه طائفة من طوائف النصارى جميعهم ولا الملكية ايضا الذى قرب منهم بما تقدم شرحه لانه وضع فى كتبه ان الثالوث المقدس ثلاثة الهة لكل منهم حد الكمال بكلمة وروح تعمّهم طبع واحد وانهم مثل آدم وحوى وهابيل الذى هم ثلاثة اشخاص يعمّهم طبع واحد وكل واحد منهم كامل مثل كمال الاخر ثم ميّز الثلاثة واعتقد ان للاب الملك والرياسة على ابنه وروح قدسه وانه يامرهما وينهاهما وانهما تابعان له

Fol. 15 b

فخير ابن القنبر الذى صار قسيس بغير استحقاق من وجوه عدة وتسمى مرقس وفساد رايه فيما وضعه من مصنفاته فى الكتب المخالفة للحق التى استمال بها من الناس الساذجين العديمين الفهم واستمالهم الى طريق المخالفين وهو ان هذا الطاغى المخالف كان قد تزوج امرأة واقامت عنده مدة واده اراد ان يترهب وينعزل منها فلم توافقه على ما اراد فتحيل وزوّجها فى الخفية لغيره وجاء الى انبا يونس اسقف دمسيس واوهمه انها ترهّبت وسكنت الدير مع الرهبانات فرهّبه وقسمه قسيس فلم يخف امره بعد ذلك
Fol. 14 b وبلغ الاب البطرك انبا يونس خبره وهو الثانى وسبعين فى عدد الابا البطاركة حرومه وقطعه وحروم من قسمه قسيس لانه لم يكشف عن صحيح امره بما يثبت صدقه قبل ان يرهبه ويقسمه قسيس وصار شريكًا له فى اثمه واستخفافه بالقوانين الابسطلية ان بولس الرسول يقول ان الامرأة اذا هى اختارت ان تعتزل عن بعلها بموافقة منه لها فيما ارادت فلا تتزوّج بغيره فان آثرت التزوج فتعود الى بعلها الاول والرجل فلا يعتزل زوجته بالجملة وهذا اعتزل زوجته واحوجها تعتزل عنه وازوجها لغيره ثم لما اظهر نفسه بالعلم وتفسير الكتب المقدسة ترجمها من القبطى للعربى ثم تفسر ذلك تفسير التفسير على قدر ما يتصور فى عقله ولما اقام فى كنيسة دمسيس اخفا الدلال الذى يدل على ما يجب قراءته فى كل يوم من فصول الاناجيل وكتب البيعة المقدسة وجعل هو نفسه الدلال اى متى امر باخراجه من فصول الاناجيل والرسائل والقتاليقون والابركسيس يخرج ما يقوم فى نفسه مما يفسره
Fol. 15 a تفسير التفسير مما يقوى به بدعته ويدعم به سوء اعتقاده الى ان سرق عقول بعض الشعب الارثدكسى الذى حملهم خوفهم من

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به عادة فقال ابن القنبر لعن الله ساعة صرت منكم فقال له البطرك نحن ما عندنا الا الخير والسلامة ثم بعد ذلك طلب ان يفرد له كنيسة فى سنباط بعد ما جرى له فيها فقال مطرانها للبطرك اعفنى من المطرنية ودعه ياخذ له كنيسة انا رسمت له اذت فسكت البطرك
Fol. 13 b لم يتكلم وجرى له مع هذا المطران اعنى مطران سنباط امر قبيح اقتضى وثوب المطران عليه وضربه ضرب موجعاً وكشف راسه فى ملا من الناس وذلك فى شهر ابيب سنة احدى وتسعمائة كنائسيّة وفيه ايضاً جسر هذا الشقى ابن القنبر ورجع طلع الى الاب البطرك انبا مرقس ومعه ابن عبدون وواحد من اجلّا اصحاب البطرك يدل عليه الى قلايته بالمعلقة وهو فى جماعة فقال له البطرك ايش رجع جانبك الى عندى يا محروم بهذا الزى المغير عن صفتنا ومدّ يده الى راسه وطرح البرطلة وبقى مكشوف الراس وان احد تلامين البطرك اعاد البرطلة على راسه فصعب ذلك على البطرك وانكر على التلمين ما فعله بغير اذن وقام من عنده وخرج مخزى لا يعرف كيف يمشى ثم اتصل ذلك ببطرك الملكية فاحضره وانكر عليه وقال له تطلع الى بطرك قد خالفت امانته وكيف يستقيم لك ذلك ثم ان بطرك الملكية شيعه دير القصير واقام به هو واصحابه
Fol. 14 a مالكاً لامره لا يرجع الى شى غير المخالفة لكل طائفة مظنّ بنفسه انه حكيم و بظنه غلب عليه الجهل واقام بعد ذلك مدة يسيرة ومات وقد خسر نفسه و نفوس الذين اظلهم بخداعه • فصل ثم بعد موته وجدت رقعة فى اوراق بخط انبا ميخائيل مطران دمياط وهو يقول لمولف هذا الكتاب وربما كانت جواب عن مكاتبته له فى امر ابن القنبر وما اثر فى الوجود من الشر ضمنها الحقير المسكين ميخائيل بدمياط يوضح لمحبه الاخ ما اتصل بى من امر

سقط ودخل فى جملة الهراطقة المخالفين الذين يظنوا ان مشيّة الناسوت مخالفة لمشيّة اللاهوت وصار محرومًا من ثلاث بطاركة انبا يوندس وهو فى العدد الثانى والسبعين وتنيح هذا البطريرك وهذا الشقى معقود بحرومه ليس له منها خلاص وبطريرك انطاكية وهو انبا ميخائيل وانبا مرقس وهو الثالث وسبعين فى العدد وستين اسقفًا بالوجهى البحرى والقبلى• فصل وكان هذا ابن القنبر قد جمع جماعة من الملكية المخالفين لنا فى الامانة الارثدكسية مع من انتمى اليه من جهال القبط السادجين قد ورد الى قليوب واراد ان يستميل بها قوماً من اهلها فسمع به كاتب البلد وضامن البلد وغيرهم من الجماعة الارثدكسيين فراحوا اليه وقاموا عليه ومسكوه هو وجماعته والزموهم بوزن الجزية ورسموا عليهم واعلموا والى البلد بان هذه الجماعة مخالفين لشرعهم وهم تحت حروم البطرك وكل ارض حلوا بها لا بدّ ان يحصل لاهلها نكد فاطلب منهم الحالية ولا تفارقهم حتى تاخذ منهم شى ليلا Fol. 13 a يطلعوا البلد فى خفية فيحصل لاهل البلد نكد فطلبهم الوالى واعتقلهم ولم يفارقهم حتى اقاموا بسبعة عشر دينار على سبيل الجزية وبعد وزنهم الجزية كتبوا عليهم حجج بالقسامة انهم لا يطلبوا قليوب سوى عبار طريق طالبين المدينة او غيرها ولا ينزلون بها بالجملة الكافية وخرجوا من قليوب باسو حال ثم بلغه وصول بطرك الملكية من الاسكندرية وانه مقيم بايوان فتوجه اليه ليسلم عليه ويهنيه بالسلامة ومعه جميعة يزكوا مقالته اذا اشتكا حاله وكان قد اجتمع عند هذا البطرك جماعة من المطارنة اعنى مطارنة البلاد فاشتكوا للبطرك ما احدثه عليهم مما يخرج عن قوانين مذهبهم فنظروا فى ذلك وقالوا ان هذا رجل قبطى وهو يفعل ما لم تجر

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من السرائر المقدسة استحلفه الاب البطريرك بحضور جماعة من
الاساقفة والكهنة انه لا يعود لما نهى عنه فحلف بالايمان الموكدة
والمواثيق المحررة قبل ان يتناول السرائر المقدسة وتوجه الى
موطنه فما لبث يوماً واحد حتى عاد لما كان عليه ولم يقف عند ما
عقد ثانية عليه قدام مذبح الله بحضور الاساقفة وحضور الكهنة
والاراخنة والشمامسة ومجمع الشعب الارثدكسى فحصل انه لم
Fol. 12 a يخف من الله ولم يستحى من الناس بعد ان فسح له فى تناوله
القربان فوق هيكل الله وفسح لمن اتبع رايه ان يتقربوا باكراً يوم
عيد الاربعين شهيد الكائن فى ثالث عشر برمهات الذى هو من
عدد صوم الاربعين المقدسة ومنع فيه من تناول النبيذ وزيجة
الاقارب لبعضهم بعض الى غير ذلك مما شهر عنه وصار يركب
وحواليه جماعة من اتباعه ويسير فى بلاد الريف بمنزلة الولاة
ويعمل له ولجماعته ولائم ثم انتهى عنه انه انتقل الى طائفة الملكية
واعترف بالطبيعتين والمشئتين وقبلوه اليهم وتبرى من امانة
ساويرس وديوسقارس ابائنا البطاركة الذين قاوموا الملوك والروسا
بالدين وارو اتبع الملك فى اعتقاده ولم يرجعوا عن امانة الثلثمائة
وثمانية عشر الابا الاولين الذين قاوموا ديوقلاديانوس الكافر
وقاسوا العذاب انواعاً و قطعت اعضا بعضهم على الامانة الصحيحة
التى قررها الابا البطاركة والاساقفة بتاييد روح القدس ومنعوا
واحرموا من يخرج عنها ويعتقد غيرها وكان هذا الشقى الاعمى
البصيرة والقلب كما قال بعض الابا افرز نفسه من طقس الاخوة
كمثل يهودا الاسخريوطى لهذا ابعده الله من طقس الارثدكسيين
Fol. 12 b كما ابعد الشيطان من طقوس الملائكة العلويين لكبرياه وظنه بذاته انه
الكبير فلهذا سقط وهذا الشقى مرقس ظن بنفسه انه حكيم ولذلك

بانه لا يجوز له فعل ما جسر عليه بعد ما يكتب ما يتحققه منه
فكتب كل منهم خطه بما جرى من خلافه لشرعه وانه لا يجوز له
فعل ما جسر عليه ولا يفسح له فى هوى نفسه الذى ارتكبه
وخالف الشرع ويوكد كل منهم عليه القطع والحرم ثم لم يقنعه ما
فعله وكونه لم يقف عند ايمانه التى حلف بها على الانجيل
وجسد القديس العظيم انطونة فى بيعة الله ولا خلافه لشرعه وقبوله
ما وجب عليه فى شريعة النصارى الذى هو منهم حتى كتب قصة
ورفعها للسلطان ضمنها انه يروم عقد مجلس مع البطرك وموّه
فيها وقال ما اراد والتمس امانا عليها • [1]بخط القاضى الفاضل
ابن على البيسانى ما هذه نسخته انت رجل كبير الفضول
وبطرك النصارى تقول عن رجل برئًا عن الخروج عن حقيقة مذهبه
انه خرج وانى بمقالة غير معهودة قصرت بها كلمة شعبه وقطعت
سنة الامر الجامع لاهل دينه وقد نفيت دفعة وقدمت على
العودة من النفى بغير فسحة ومع هذا فاخرج اميا ليس له Fol. 11b
رتبة ولا حكم ولا تتصرف فى تقدمة على النصارى ولا حكم
بينهم الى ان يعقد لك مجلسا شرعيا ينقضى اخره اما ان تكون
منهم فلا تخالفهم واما ان تكون خارجًا عنهم فانت [2]ضال عن
المومنين واصحاب الكتاب فيلزمك الاسلام فانك غير [3]يهوديا ولا
[4]نصرانيا انتهى ذلك • فصل ولما استقر فى ناحية اقامته مستمرا
على ما كان عليه فى طريقته الاولى ثم حضر الى القلاية بكنيسة
المعلقة بمصر ومثل بين يدى البطريرك واعترف بذنبه وسال العفو
عنه فاجيب الى ذلك واقيمت الصلاة والقداس ولما حضر ليتقرب

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[1] In the margin فكتب القاضى الفاضل على قصته ما هذه نسخته.
[2] ضالّ.
[3] يهودى.
[4] نصرانى.

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سوالهم وكتب لرئيس الدير باحضار مرقس هذا الى المكان الذى
فيه جسد القديس انبا انطونة ويستحلفه عليه وعلى انجيل
يوحنا بانه لا يعود يفعل شيا مما كان يفعله وبعد ذلك يفسح
له فى عودته ففعل ذلك واطلقه فعاد الى بلاده بهذا الشرط فصل
وكان مرقس المذكور قد وصل الى الريف من دير انطونة بعد
استحلافه على الانجيل المقدس وجسد ابونا انطونة المذكور Fol. 10 b
والتوثيق منه انه لا يعود لما كان عليه ولا يخرج عن قوانين البيعة
وما حلته الشريعة وان هذا مرقس المذكور لما وصل الى بلاده عاد
لما كان عليه واشد واشر واجتمع اليه من جهلة الارياف والكفور
والبلاد جمع كبير جداً ما يناهز خمسة الاف رجل ووصلت اخباره
الى قليوب ومنهم من اطاعه ورجع اليه واوجبوا على نفوسهم ما
قرره على كل منهم ورتبه حتى ان منهم من اوجب على نفسه ما
يحمله اليه من ماله وثمرة بستانه وكرمه وعشر ما يتحصل له من
المال ويحمله اليه وزاد عما كان عليه اولا فكتب اليه الاب البطريرك
يشعره بما سيكون من امره ان لم يرجع ويرهبه ويتوعده بما سوف
يحل به ان تم على طغيانه وخروجه عن ما حلف به ولم يقف
عند ايمانه ووعظه وحذره عن عاقبة الايمان والحلاف وقبول المنع
وان [1]عاقبة هذا تنتهى الى الهلاك السو فلم يلتفت لما كتبه البطريرك
بل تواقح وزاد فى طغيانه وخلافه ولم يرجع فكتب البطرك للاساقفة
بالوجه البحرى كتب تتضمن قضية حاله من ابتداها الى انتهاها
وما تضمنته القوانين التى بها يجب قطعه بالحروم الموكدة ان هو Fol. 11 a
استمرّ على طغيانه وتمسك بظلالة شيطانه وان يكتب كل منهم خطه

[1] Effaced.

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ان يتشبهوا باليهود والحنفا فى شى من سننهم المستعملة بينهم
فى وقتنا هذا واقام لهذا القول ادلّة كثيرة ومنع ان لا يبخر فى
الكنائس بالسندروس بل باللبان لانه قدم للسيد مع الذهب والمر
فمن هذا الوجه لا يجب ان يبخر فى الكنيسة بغيره ويقول لمن
يعترف له انا احمل عنك بعض خطيتك والبعض يغفر لك من الله
بعملك القانون ومن ياخذ عن خطاياه قانوناً فى الدنيا لم [1]يجب
الله عليه قانوناً [2]ثانى فى الاخرة وصاروا اصحابه المعترفين عليه
يسمونه ابونا المعلم واذا وقف فى الكنائس اجتمع اليه جماعة كبيرة
واثار اسباب كثيرة لم تكن فى البيعة ثم تحقق ذلك الابا الاساقفة
بالوجه البحرى وطالعوا به الاب البطريرك ابنا مرقس وهو الثالث
والسبعين فى العدد فاذكر ذلك عليه و كتب له كتب يحذّره وينهيه
ويعظه بمواعظ تعزية له فلم يسمع منه ولا رجع له فاوجبت الضرورة
البطريرك ان يسير له يطلبه فطلع اليه الى القلاية بكنيسة المعلقة
بمصر وعقد له سنودس بحضرة جماعة من الاساقفة والكهنة القسوس Fol. 10 a
والاراخنة وقال له اعلم ان من حل شى من اوضاع البيعة وامر
الشعب بخلافه فانه تحت تبعة الشرع فلم لا ترجع عن ما انت
عليه وجرت معه خطوب كثيرة تقرّر اخرها انه يمضى محتفظاً به
مع وكلا من جهة البطريرك الى دير ابنا انتونة قريباً من اطفيح
وذلك فى شهر امشير سنة تسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار وان [3]يكن
هو وجميع اخوته يحلقون شعور رؤوسهم ثم تضور من هذه
الحالة وقصد الاب البطريرك ويطارح عليه بوالدته واخوته وخاله
ولم يزالوا على يديه ورجليه وبسوال الاراخنة له حينئن اجاب

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[1] يوجب. [2] ثانياً. [3] يكون.

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واربعين دينارًا البوصيرية اربعة عشر نواحى ثلاثة عشر وكفور
كفر واحد تسعة وثلاثين الفًا وثلثمائة وتسعين دينارًا الفيومية ستة
وستين نواحى خمسة وخمسين كفور احد عشر مائة الف وخمسة
واربعين الفًا ومائة اثنين وستين دينارًا البهنسائية مائة وخمسة
نواحى اربعة وثمانين كفور احد وعشرين مائتى الف اربعة وثلاثين
الفًا وثمنمائة ودينار واحد الاشمونين مائة واحد عشر نواحى اربعة
وخمسين كفور سبعة وخمسين مائة الف وسبعة وعشرين الفًا وستمائة
وستة وسبعين دينارًا السيوطية اربعة وخمسين نواحى اثنين
وعشرين وكفور اثنين وثلاثين وكان فى الخلافة المستنصرية Fol. 9 a
واستخرج ذلك فى ايام ابن الكحال القاضى فصل ثم تقررت فى
ايام الافضل ولده فى الخلافة الامرية دينار واحد وثلث فصل
فى وزارة رضوان ابن ولخشى فى خلافة الحافظ دينارين فصل
وكان بالوجه البحرى مرقس الضرير ابن موهوب المعروف بابن القنبر
قد جعله اسقف دمياط قسًا وقدس وداول الشعب من السرائر
المقدسة فانتهى امره للاب البطريرك انبا يوحنا وهو الثانى وسبعين
فى العدد فانكره ومنعه وقطعه ثم نصب نفسه لتفسير كتب البيعة
وغيرها من ظاهر قلبه معما عنده من العلوم ثم اوهم الشعب ان
من لا يعترف لمعلم بخطاياه ويعمل القانون عن خطاياه لا يجوز
له ان يتناول القربان وان مات بغير اعتراف للكاهن مات بخطيته
وراح للجحيم فعاد الشعب يعترفون له وتركوا الاعتراف على المجمرة
ومالوا جميعهم اليه وسمعوا قوله واجتمع اليه جماعة من السامرة وكان
يجادلهم ويوضح لهم ان الذى جاء للعالم هو المسيح المنتظر ورد
منهم جماعة وفسح للشعب فى تربية شعورهم مثل الملكية ومنع Fol. 9 b
من الختانة وقال انما الختانة لليهود والحنفا ولم يحل للنصارى

وكفور احد واربعين سبعين الفاً وثلثمائة وثمانية وخمسون ديناراً •
الدقهلية سبعين نواحى تسعة وثلاثين كفور احد وثلاثين • كفور
ثلثة وخمسون الف وسبعمائة احد وستين ديناراً • الابوانية ستة
نواحى وستة كفور اربعة الاف وسبعمائة دينار جزيرة قوسنيا اربعة
Fol. 8a وسبعين نواحى ثمانية وستين وكفور ستة مائة الف وتسعة وخمسين
الفاً وستمائة واربعة وستين ديناراً الغربية ثلثمائة واربعة عشر نواحى
مائة وتسعة واربعين كفور مائة خمسة وستين اربعمائة الف وثلاثين
الفا وتسعمائة وخمسة وخمسين ديناراً السمنودية مائة وتسعة
وعشرين نواحى سبعين وسبعة وتسعين وكفور اثنى وثلاثين مائتى
الف وستمائة وسبعة وخمسين ديناراً المنوفيتين مائة وناحية نواحى
تسعة وستين وكفور اثنى وثلاثين مائة الف واربعين الفا وتسعمائة
وثلاثة وثلاثين ديناراً فوة والمزاحميتين ثلثة عشر نواحى عشرة
كفور ثلاثة ستة الاف وثمادين ديناراً النستراوية ستة نواحى ستة
اربعة عشر الف وتسعمائة وعشرة دنانير رشيد والجديدية وادكو
ثلاث نواحى ثلاثة الاف ديناراً جزيرة بنى نصر اربعة وستين نواحى
احد واربعين كفور ثلاثة وعشرين اثنين وستين الفاً وخمسمائة
وثمادية دنانير البحيرة مائة وستة وسبعين نواحى سبعة وثمانين
كفور وتسعة و ثمادين مائة الف وتسعة وثلاثين الفاً وثلثمائة وثلاثة
Fol. 8b عشر دينار حوف رمسيس مائة وكفر واحد الوجه القبلى خمسمائة
وثمانية وثمانين نواحى ثلثمائة وتسعة وسبعين وكفور مائتى وتسعة
الف الف وعشرين الفاً وتسعمائة وثلاثة وخمسون ديناراً الجيزية
سبعة وتسعين نواحى سبعين وكفور سبعة وعشرين مائة الف وتسعة
وعشرين الفاً وستمائة واحد واربعين ديناراً الاطفيحية سبعة عشر
نواحى ثلاثة عشر وكفور اربعة تسعة وثلاثين الف واربعمائة وتسعة

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يحرر عليه ارتفاع فدن البيع والاديرة بالوجهى القبلى والبحرى لسنة خمس وسبعين وخمسمائة مما كان بيد النصارى من انعام الخلفا الفاطميين الى اخر سنة تسع وستين وخمسمائة الهلالية الخراجية ونقل عنهم الى المسلمين ولم يبق [1]شيا منه فى ايدى النصارى وذلك فى دولة الغز الاكراد فى اخر خلافة المستضى بامر الله ومملكة صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ايوب الكردى من العين [2]الفى وتسعمائة ثلاثة وعشرون دينارا و من الغلة اربعة الاف وثمان مائة وستة وعشرين اردبا ومن الفدن تسعمائة وخمسة عشر فدانا • الوجه القبلى اربعمائة وسبعة وستين دينارا والغلة المعينة وتسع مائة وستة فدادين الوجه البحرى الفى واربعمائة وخمسة واربعون دينارا وتسع فدادين فصل تجب ايضاحة فى هذا الكتاب ووصف الذى اشتمل عليه عدّة النواحى والكفور باعمال الدولة وغيره مال اقطاعها خارجا عن مدينة الاسكندرية وثغر دمياط وتنيس وقفط Fol. 7b وقادة وبركة الحبش بظاهر مصر والمقدر عن ذلك وهو ستين الف دينار عن الفى ومائة ستة وثامانون ناحية ونواحى الكفور الف ومائتى وستة وسبعين ناحية وكفور ثمنمائة وتسعين كفرا وثلاثة الاف الف واحد وستين الف [3]دينارا فصل الوجه البحرى من جميعه عن الف وخمسمائة وثمانية وتسعين نواحى تسعمائة وسبعة عشر كفور ستمائة احد وثمانين الفى الفا واربعين الفا واربعين دينارا الشرقية اربعمائة اثنى وخمسين نواحى مائتين واربعة وتسعين كفور مائة ثمانية وخمسين ستمائة الف اربعة وتسعين الفا ومائة احد وعشرون دينارا المرتاحية تسعة وثمانين نواحى وثمانية واربعين

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[1] شى. [2] الفان. [3] دينار.

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والتمس منهم شيئًا على حكم المصانعة مما تصل القدرة اليه فاغلق الكنيستين بعد ذهب الكنيسة الكبيرة وسمر بابها بلوح الى اخر يوم الجمعة ثالث عشر شعبان سنة [1]احد وثمانين وخمسمائة وصل انسان ارمنى وذكر انه من اصحاب تاج الدولة بهرام الارمنى الذى كان وزيرًا للامام الحافظ وذكر انه كان دفن مالاً لتاج الدولة الوزير
Fol. 6 b المذكور فى الكنيسة الكبرى وانه حضر ليظهره فلم يسمع له وقيل انه جاء يتخيل حتى تفتح الكنيسة ويحفر فى بعض المواضع ويقول المال عدم من هنا والذين ذهبوا الكنيسة اخذوه ويتظلم وتتم له الكنيسة مفتوحة فيقيم فيها ما قبّضه الخيل الا انه وضع عليها ختم ثانى من قبل الملك المظفر ولم يجدد فى ذلك شى ولما توجه تقى الدين الى الشام فى شهر شعبان سنة اثنى وثمانين وخمسمائة ووصل الملك العادل ابو بكر الى القاهرة امر بالافراج عن هذه البيع الاثنين فى العاشر من شهر رمضان من السنة المذكورة وتسلم القبط البيعتين هم والارمن وتصرفوا وكان مدة غلقهما سنة واحدة خمسة عشر يومًا وقدّسوا القبط فى الكبرى احد من شهر كهيك المبارك سنة ثلاث وتسعمائة للشهدا الابرار ثم منع القبط الارمن من البيعة الكبرى وتحدث فى ذلك جماعة من [2]الاكابر وعادت البيعتين بيد الارمن فصل الخط المعروف باسطبل الفيل مجاور بركتى قارون وذلك بين مصر والقاهرة وبهذا الخط المذكور • بيعة وهدمت
Fol. 7 a متقدمًا ثم صارت ساحة وباقى جدرانها ظاهر على وجه الارض وجعل موضعها مسجدًا انشاه حسين الكردى صهر صلاح ابن رزيك الوزير فى خلافة الامام العاضد لدين الله • فصل والذى

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[1] احدى. [2] Effaced.

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الاسقف عدّة شهور ثم مرض ومات ولم يبلغ مقصوده ودفن فى كنيسة الارمن بالزهرى ديح الله نفسه فصل ولما كان فى يوم الاحد اعنى احد الزيتونة اول الجمعة الثامنة من الصوم المقدس اول شهر برموده سنة [1]اثنى وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار حضر الى هذه البيعة جماعة من الكهنة والشعب من جملتهم ابو سعيد ابن ابى الفضل ابن فهد النحال وابو اليمن ابن ابى الفرج ابن ابى اليمن ابن زنبور وصحبتهما اذآ فيه زيت طيب ياكلا به الجلبان وجعلاه داخل الكنيسة ثم طلباه فلم يجداه فانهما الحرّاس المسلمين به وخلوا [2]غلمانهم ضربوهما فمضوا الحراس الى الفقيه بها الدين على الدمشقى مستغيثين لما حل بهم وقالوا له يضرب [3]المسلمين بين النصارى فى شهر رمضان فى وجوههم وللوقت طالع السلطان بهذه القضية فعظم ذلك عليه واحضر صفى الدولة ابى المعالى ابن شراقى كاتبه وانكر عليه ذلك وطلب منه التوقيع الذى كان اخذه بان يتمكنوا النصارى القبط من التصرّف فى هذه الكنيسة وكان بالاتفاق الردى التوقيع Fol. 6 a فى كمّه فاخرجه وداوله له ورسم بان يغلق باب هذه الكنيسة فامتثل ذلك لوقته وغلق باب الكنيسة • وبعد قليل رسم للقبط بتوقيع ثانى باعادة الكنيسة لهم وان يفتح لهم بابها ويصلون فيها وان لا يعارضهم احد بوجه ولا سبب واستمرّ بعد ذلك حالها على الوضع الصحيح وافرد للصلاة فيها ايام الاحاد والاعياد لاحد [4]القسا بكنيسة السيدة الطاهرة بحارة الروم • وبعد هذا وصل الى الباب من طوس فقيه امامى واقطع له البستان المتقدم ذكره مما كان بين الفقيه على الدمشقى بعد وفاته فضيق على النصارى

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[1] اثنتين. [2] غلمانهما ضربوهم. [3] المسلمون. [4] الاقسة.

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بالباقلانى الذى كان قاضى القضاة بمصر فى يوم الاثنين السابع والعشرين من شوال سنة ثمان وستين وخمسمائة فصل ولمّا لم يبق فى طائفة الارمن من له كلمة تسلّموا القبط بتوقيع مولانا السلطان بسفارة الشيخ الرئيس صفى الدولة ابن ابى المعالى المعروف بابن شرافى كاتبه هذه البيعة الكبيرة العتيقة البنا وجدد معالمها الامير سعيد الدولة بهرام زمام الارمن ولمّا كمل الشيخ صفى الدولة ما يحتاج اليه فى العمارة للبيعة على يد القس [1]ابو الوفا ابن [1]ابو البشر
Fol. 5 a حضر اليها الاب البطريرك انبا مرقس وهو الثالث والسبعين فى العدد وانبا يوحنا اسقف طموية واسقف بسطة انبا ميخائيل وجماعة من الكهنة والاراخنة والشعب الارثدكسى وكرزت فى يوم الاربعا السابع وعشرين من بوونه سنة [2]اثنى وتسعون وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار [3]وقدست فيها وقرّب الشعب من يده وصارت هذه البيعة بطريركية [4]وتولا القداس بعد ذلك بها كهنة بيعة السيدة بحارة الروم بالقاهرة واهتمّ ابو سعيد ابن الزيات بتصوير [5]جاف هذه البيعة من صنعة ابى الفتح ابن الاقمص المعروف بابن الصوفى المصوّر وكمل ذلك فى امشير سنة اثنى وتسعين وثمنمائة للشهدا الابرار فصل وصل من بلاد الارمن اسقف ومعه [6]ثلاث قسوس من قبل ملك الارمن والبطرك وعلى يده تقليد منهما [7]وكتابين احدهما من الملك صلاح الدين والاخر من الملك سيف الدين [8]بو بكر اخيه الى الملك تقى الدين يوكدا فى كتبهما باكرام الاسقف وان يسلم اليه كنيستى الارمن بالزهرى والبستان وانزل هذا الاسقف بكنيسة يوحنا المعمدان
Fol. 5 b بحارة زويلة فلم يمكنه الفقيه الطوسى من ذلك و قوى عليه واقام

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[1] ابى. [2] For اثنتين وتسعين, so generally throughout. [3] وقدّس.
[4] وتولّى. [5] شاو (?). [6] ثلاثة. [7] كتابان. [8] ابو for ابى.

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Fol. 4 a وقال له اريد اليوم اكشف اليك سرّاً لم يطلع عليه احد غير استان
واحد وانت تكون الثانى فقلت له اذنى اكتمه فكشف عن سوءته وقال
ابصر هذا الحال فرايت قضيب ذكره قد عدم بالاصالة ولم يبق
الا جلدة طويلة والانثيين وفى هذه الجلدة حبة فاستعلمت منه
قضية الحال فذكر انه كان قد لحقته مثل هذه الحبة وهو صبى
فاكلت منه القضيب جميعه حتى لم يبق منه غير هذه الجلدة التى
تراها وها قد عادت الحبة فى هذا الوقت وقال اذنى داويته الى
ان برئ وزالت الحبة واستعلمت منه حال الاستان فذكر انه كان
رفع فيه الى الحافظ بسبب ابنة الياصال فانها كانت جميلة
الصورة وكانت تاتى اليه و تخدمه وتستشيره وتعترف عليه وتعمل
قادوده ولم يكن احد يقدر ان [1]يخلوا بها لاجل ديانتها وعقلها
واستشهر امر خلوتها به وترددها الى قلايته فاجتمع به ذلك الاستان
فى امرها وقال له ان بعض الناس يتهموك بها فقال له لو كشف للناس
امرى فى حال عضو التناسل لم يتحدث فى احد ولكن الله متولى
السرائر بعلم الظاهر والباطن وانه حملته نفسه ان اخبر الحافظ بصورة
Fol. 4 b الحال وساله فى ان يسير من امناه من يتخيره لكشف ما ادعاه
البطريرك من حال عضو التناسل فسير له استان من اكابر خدامه
مؤتمن عنده على خزاين ماله وصادق القول عنده بكشف له عن
ذلك فلم يمكنه ان يمتنع من ذلك فاطلعه على امره وزالت
الشبهة عنه وظهرت براته وباطل ما نقلوه عنه وكان هذا القول بعد
توجهه الى الشام ووفاته به وكان اجتماعى انا الحقير ناظم هذا
الكتاب بابى القاسم هذا عند الاعز حسن ابن سلامة المعروف

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[1] يخلو.

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يده من آنية المذابح ودنانير ذهب وذكر ان فى هذا الدير من الارمن [1]عشرون راهباً وجعل له بالقاهرة قسيسا نائباً عنه مع ولد القس لاقامة الصلوات والقداسات فى اوقاتها فى كنيسة يوحنا المعمدان علو ببعة السيدة الطاهرة بحارة زويلة على ما تقدم شرحه اولاً وتجتمع بها جماعة من طائفة الارمن من الرجال والنسا والدير الذي لهذه الطائفة والكنائس فانه خالٍ مسدود الباب فصل ووصلت البشائر بوصوله الى البيت المقدّس سالماً وتلقاه جميع النصارى بالابتهاج والفرح بالقراة والصلبان قدامه والشموع [2]الموقود والمجامر والبخور فصل ثم اقام اياماً فى عيشة صالحة وتنيح الى رحمة Fol. 3 b
الله سبحانه فى الخامس من شهر طوبة من السنة المذكورة ودفن فى دير يعقوب [3]ابن زبدى باورشليم وكان حسن الخلق جميل الصورة تامّ القامة مستدير اللحية وقد وخطه الشيب من العارضين هذا وعمره ما يناهز [4]ثمانون سنة فصل وذكر ان اسقف الارمن المقيم بالبيت المقدس لمّا راى اجتماع الناس الى هذا البطريرك القديس لما [5]فيه الخصال الجميلة حسده واسقاه فمات ولم يمهل الله هذا الاسقف بعده ولا هناه بعيشة صالحة ومات بعده بعشرين يوماً والله اعلم بالسر فيما دُقِل عن الاسقف وكان البطريرك المتقدّم ذكره كاهناً عالماً بصيراً بالكتب الالهية مفسّراً لها وكان [6]قوما حسدوه لنشاه الجميل بين الناس فقالوا عنه انه يحاضر النسا وكان هذا القول من الحسدة زيادة فى برّه وقال جامع هذا الكتاب اننى اجتمعت بابى القاسم خليل الطبيب الفيلسوف العسقلانى وقال انه حضر الى هذا البطريرك المذكور فى بعض الايام فى قلايته بدير الزهرى

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[1] عشرين. [2] الموقودة. [3] بن. [4] ثمانين. [5] Add من. [6] قوم.

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المعمدان علو بيعة السيدة الطاهرة بحارة زويلة وسكنها البطريرك
فى سنة [1]اربعة وستين وخمسمائة فصل وهذا البطريرك كان [2]اسقفا
Fol. 2 b اتفيح ثم تحيل فى خلافة الحافظ [3]الى صار بطركاً [4]بمالاً صانع
به وضمن للحافظ ان يكشف له عن السير والملاحم وجعل له بالاذن
بالحضور الى قصر الخلافة فى يومى الاثنين والخميس ليسلم
عليه ويعرّفه ما يتجدد فى كل جمعة والاعياد مع الامراء ووجوه
الدولة وصار مهما ظفر به من السير والملاحم والتواريخ واخبار الملوك
المتقدمين يحضره اليه الى قصر الزمرّد ويجتمع به على مثل ذلك
واستمرّ هكذا حاله الى حين وفاة الحافظ فى جمادى الاخرة سنة
اربع واربعين وخمسمائة فصل وتجاور هذا الدير من خارجه عند
الفاخورة كنيسة لطيفة جدد بناها فى الخلافة الامرية للملكيين
عوضاً من الكنيسة التى كانت بحارة زويلة وهدمت فى الخلافة
المذكورة ثم نقلت مسجداً فى الخلافة الحافظية قصد فى ايده
[5]ابى البركات [6]ابن ابى الليث الملكى اعنى هذه البيعة المستجدّة
وعمارتها على اقبية وتحتها طافوس للموتى فصل وكان توجه بطريرك
الارمن الى البيت المقدّس وصحبته خمسة وسبعون كتاباً من الكتب
الالهية احدها فيه الاربعة اناجيل مصوّر مذهب بعجائب المسيح
Fol. 3 a له المجد ومسيره فى يوم السبت الخامس عشر من هتور سنة ثمان
وثمانين وثمنمائة للشهدا الموافق لليوم الثالث والعشرين من ربيع
الاول سنة ثمان وستين وخمسمائة بحكم تلف طائفته بين الغز
الاكراد وذكر انه انشا [7]دير وفيه كنيسة خارج اورشليم على اسم
شركيس وشركيس هو ابو سرجة و حمل اليها جميع ما كان تحت

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[1] اربع. [2] اسقف. [3] Add ان. [4] بمال. [5] ابو. [6] بن. [7] ديراً.

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Fol. 1 b

تاريخ الشيخ ابى صلح الارمنى

تذكر فيه اخبار من نواحى مصر واقطاعها

الفصل الاول ابتدئ بعون الله وارشاده ان فى عصرنا هذا فى ابتداء سنة اربع وستين وخمسمائة كان بنا الكنيسة التى على اسم مارى يعقوب بناحية البساتين [1]نواحى بلاد مصر بناحية الجبل فى زمان • • • اميراً مسلطاً عليها من جانب الخليفة وكان
Fol. 2 a محبّاً لجميع النصارى الكبير منهم والصغير وكان له فى كل شهر عشرة دنانير على الاقطاع [2]فكمل تجديد همته عمارة هذه البيعة التى احرقت وعمل لها قبّة عالية على الاسكنا تنظر من البعد وجعل لها اقبية وعقودات وكملها بالابواب الكبار ثم اخذت الابواب فجدّد عوضها فاخذت ثانياً فجدّدها وكمل تجديد البيعة ولم يكرزها ولم يقدس فيها ولما تنيح دفن بها وهذا الدير فى وسط البساتين والرياض والمزدرعات وهو من المستنزهات الحسنة فصل ولمّا ملك الغز الاكراد اقليم مصر فى شهر ربيع [3]الاخرة سنة اربع وستين وخمسمائة وجرى للارمن ما هو مشهور وابعد البطريرك الارمنى هو ورهبان الارمن من هذا الدير سدّ بابه وبقيت هذه الكنائس خالية ولا يجسر احد يسلك اليها فصل واقطع البستان للفقيه البها على الدمشقى وافرد للارمن كنيسة يوحنا

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[1] Prefix من. [2] Perhaps كمل تحت يد همته. [3] الاخر.

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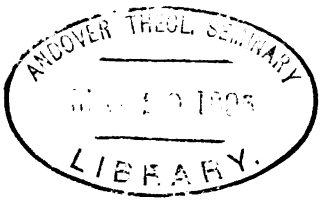

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تاريخ الشيخ ابى صلح

الارمنى

تذكر فيه اخبار من نواحى مصر واقطاعها

طبع

فى المطبعة المدرسيّة فى مدينة اوكسفرد

سنة ١٨٩٣ المسيحيّة

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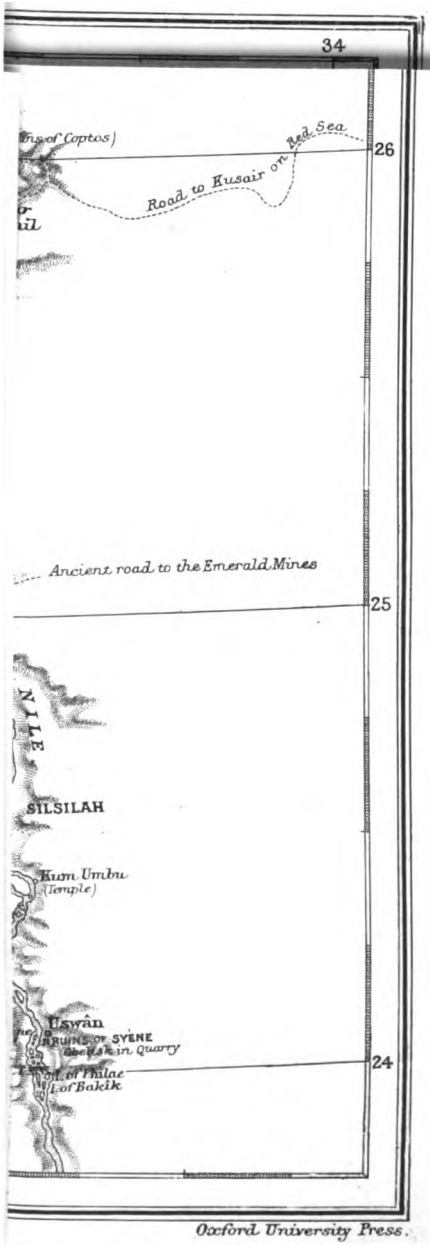

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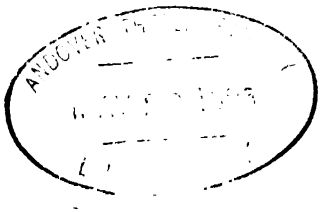

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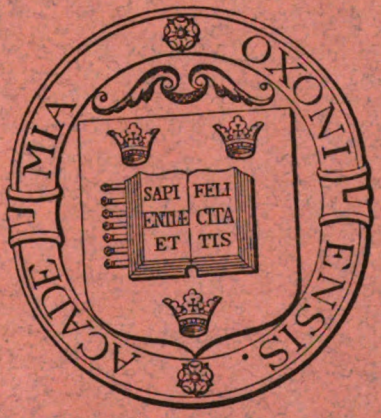

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تاريخ الشيخ ابى صلح

الارمنى

تذكر فيه اخبار من نواحى مصر واقطاعها

طبع

فى المطبعة المدرسيّة فى مدينة اوكسفرد

سنة ١٨٩٥ المسيحيّة

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